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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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THE FIRST AMERICAN FLAG OVER THE FRENCH FRONT

(From a photograph taken at Ham, near St. Quentin, in April)

As soon as the United States entered the war against Germany, members of the Lafayette Escadrille (the American Squadron) of the French Flying Corps, raised the Stars and Stripes on their machines. The pilot in the picture is Edward F. Hinkle, one of the plucky young Americans who have made a notable record in their flying work for the Allies in France. A hundred of our Army aviators recently sailed to take their places on the fighting line. The Government proposes to send ten thousand more, as soon as they can possibly be trained. This would be the most telling contribution to the combatant forces that America could make.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LVI

NEW YORK, JULY, 1917

No. 1

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Wars
and Their
Objects*

When men or nations are negotiating, the objects they wish to attain are constantly in mind.

When, on the other hand, men or nations are fighting, attention becomes so concentrated upon the combat itself—upon the means and methods of war—that the objects for which the struggle was entered upon are sometimes forgotten. Still more frequently, when negotiation and argument are unavailing and nations resort to force, the issues change; and the objects to be gained take on a different character as the war progresses. When we intervened to rescue Cuba from Spain, no one imagined that we would end the thing by annexing the Philip-

pires and leaving Cuba independent. Yet in that war of nineteen years ago we held to the spirit of our original objects with unusual fidelity. We gave Cuba a guarantee of liberty and order, and found for her an appropriate place in the Western Hemisphere and in the world at large. We speedily transformed our annexation of the Philippines into a new kind of experimental tutelage. Instead of discouraging ideals of Philippine self-government and ultimate independence, we fostered those ambitions and undertook to train a wholly inexperienced people in the art of self-government. It will take several decades more to give anything like permanence and stability to the awakened and transformed Philippine nation. But it is not the object of the American Government to retard the process. On the contrary, America is trying to create a Philippine republic just as fast as it can possibly be done. To have set up a Cuban republic, to have created the Panama republic and given the world the benefits of the Panama Canal, to have taken long strides in the direction of harmonizing the West Indies and Central America on a plan compatible with local liberty and autonomy, and to have laid the foundations for a Philippine republic of the future—all this is to have made contributions of a constructive and permanent kind to the world's democratic development.



"TO FIGHT FOR YOUR FREEDOM AS WELL AS OUR OWN."—ELIHU ROOT.

From the *World* (New York)

(In his address to the Council of Ministers of the Russian provisional government, at Petrograd on June 15, Mr. Root declared that the triumph of German arms will mean the death of liberty not only in Russia but in the whole world. With no enemy at their gates, therefore, Americans who love liberty will fight for it—and will fight for Russian freedom equally with their own. The oldest democracy joins with the youngest)

*Why America
is Fighting*

If there was some measure of altruism in the objects we set for ourselves nineteen years ago, there is a far greater measure of altruism in those that have been enunciated for us, and accepted by us, in entering upon the present world war. President Wilson's statements, taken together, form a body of expressions that represent American opinion to a remarkable degree. Republicans and Democrats alike have endorsed and sup-

ported his statements as to our objects. An untrammelled press has rendered the verdict of public opinion, and it is unanimous. Mr. Wilson's great speech to the Senate in January was expressly revived by him and fully avowed in his war message to Congress of April 2. We do not seek any territories or indemnities. We are not actuated by sentiments of hatred or enmity towards bodies of population in any country. We seek to help in a democratic world movement that will abolish imperialism and militarism and create a modern world.

To Free the World—a real Need

We have been living in a world that was partly modern in its control and partly dominated by forms of political and military autocracy that are dangerous to the liberties of the half that has become free. Just as Lincoln said that our American nation could not survive half slave and half free, so Wilson has said in effect that the world of our time cannot survive half dominated by military autocracy and half emancipated under democratic institutions. He was not merely using fine language. He was dealing in the most practical kind of concrete truth. A military autocracy like that of Germany, setting forth on its career in a world that is not also highly militarized, could so aggrandize itself that within ten years it could bring all the nations one after another under the baneful spell of its dominance. We know a great deal more about the causes and the fundamental nature of this war now, as we see the third year of it ending, than we knew in the first year.

Moderate Terms, but Hard Fighting

If you are conscious that your own objects are wholly altruistic, or that they are at least reasonable in the nature and extent of their self-seeking, it does not follow that you must make war in a moderate, inoffensive fashion. If the enemy were also altruistic or reasonable in his desires, it would be a monstrous thing to make war upon him at all, because reasonable and generous nations must find peaceful ways to remove misunderstandings. We are at war with Germany because that nation is wrong both in the objects it pursues and in the methods by which it seeks to gain its ends. It stakes everything upon the use of force guided by such intelligence and skill as have never before been brought to the service of warfare. There is no moderate course, there-

fore, to be pursued in meeting the German military organization. No argument can now be used against German militarism but that of an adequate opposition expressed in terms of military efficiency. Germany proposes to achieve certain things for herself, regardless of the rights of others, by sheer power. This is a condition that cannot be met by argument or a display of sweet reasonableness. Either German force must be successfully opposed by force, or the world must reconcile itself in advance to the consequences of German victory.

First Then, the Fight

But what are to be the consequences of a victory for the Allies and ourselves? The military victory must be won by military means, and to that end there must be such a display of energy guided by intelligence as America never before exhibited. We have had a few people in the United States, erroneously called "pacifists," whose intentions have been decent enough but whose minds have failed to comprehend the realities. Their practical position for several years has been that America must be badly prepared, so as to be drawn inevitably into war with the certain defeat of all those things that the pacifists professed to hold dear. They were willing to trust a few men with guns, but not enough men to be successful in a fight. They preached a gospel of inefficiency. They told us that it was disgraceful to be strong, because strong people might be tempted to oppress weak people. They were sufficiently influential with the party in power to keep us wholly unprepared for self-defense, when everything that they professed to hold valuable was at stake. The process of mental recovery is slow and difficult, but the country seems to be throwing off its delusions and awaking to stern realities. Our endeavors to form an army are awkward, expensive, and not wholly intelligent, but we shall have made a moderate beginning by the middle of next year, and meanwhile in some real forms of preparation that are not dependent upon the obsolete traditions and the red tape of the War Department we shall perhaps have made brilliant progress and retrieved our bad record of dundering inefficiency.

What Germany Combats

In subsequent pages we shall discuss further the question of preparation, and of efficiency for war purposes. We are to do our part to

see that the schemes of German imperialism do not prevail in the world. We propose to help destroy those projects, and to destroy the mechanisms by which they were to be made successful. But while we are using force to aid in destroying the things we denounce as evil, we must also use statesmanship in bringing about the things we regard as constructive and beneficial. America will be strengthened rather than weakened for war if we can be assured that America will not yield anything whatsoever of its principles as respects the objects of this war. It was with the best of motives that President Wilson last year endeavored to bring the hostile nations nearer together by asking them to state the objects for which they were fighting, Germany having made overtures for a peace conference which the Allies had repudiated with scorn. Germany declined to disclose in advance her peace program; but the Allies, after much interchange of views, set forth a bill of particulars that was somewhat unfortunate as to its timeliness and its effects. It was so drastic in its projects of dismemberment and conquest that it unified the Teutonic group and enabled Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, all of them to proclaim to their own people that they were fighting for national

existence. Furthermore, it confused all the larger issues by making it appear that the Allies were little better than their enemies, inasmuch as they on their side adhered to the idea of force for furthering their own imperial or nationalistic projects, and were deliberately intending to make this war the means of extending their domains. Germany assumed the defensive tone, as if innocent and virtuous.

*Allied
Appetite for
Spoils*

At a period in the war when the Allies were quite confident that they had beaten Germany and Austria, they entered into secret agreements among themselves as to the division of the victors' spoils. Great Britain, it is understood, was to keep about a million square miles of Germany's colonies. Japan was to keep much that she had taken away from Germany in China and the Far East. Russia was to have Constantinople and a great deal of Asia Minor, and the Black Sea was to become a Russian lake. Italy was to extend her control all around the Adriatic, and was to make large gains of Turkish islands and perhaps of mainland adjacent to Smyrna. France was to have Alsace-Lorraine and certain other compensations. There was to be a new Poland under Russian influence, extending to the Baltic. Bohemia and other parts of Austria were to be made independent. Rumania was to have Transylvania and other enlargements. Serbia was to have Bosnia and a large part of Bulgaria's Macedonian territory, besides a part of northern Greece. Even if the Allies had tentatively agreed among themselves upon all these readjustments, it was obvious that no such program could be accomplished as a matter of negotiation, and that it could come into effect only as the result of overwhelming victory enabling the conqueror to impose his extreme terms without mercy or consideration. Certainly the people of the United States have not gone to war against Germany in order to protect Germany and her allies from any of the consequences of a merited defeat. But it is always well to defeat your enemy before you say too much about your plans for appropriating and dividing up his possessions.

*First Find
the
Principle*

From the American point of view, the establishment of principles is much more important than particular adjustments. We have discovered in European militarism a menace to



AN OUNCE OF PREVENTION IS WORTH
A POUND OF CURE
From the News (Dayton, Ohio)

the whole world, and we wish to see it ended. Certainly we are not in the war to help Germany keep Alsace-Lorraine; but on the other hand we are not fighting to help France conquer those provinces in order to hold them by force until Germany shall find a convenient moment to recover them again. We are fighting to win freedom for a just solution of precisely such vexed questions as those of the disputed provinces. There can be no solution until everybody is willing to accept the principles of friendship, good will, and faith in the keeping of agreements. Some line, approximately two hundred miles long, extending from Belgium to Switzerland and forming the frontier between France and Germany, must be agreed upon and accepted. And the line must be as free from fortifications as the line between Canada and the United States. The feud over those provinces does not concern France and Germany alone. It has done more than any other one thing to create and keep alive modern militarism. It is to be hoped that the sobering effects of the war may lift that particular problem out of its atmosphere of passionate sentiment, and also out of the realm of political and economic calculation.

*Russia's
Change of
Heart*

The German formula seems to be that in case of full victory they will keep everything they can lay hands upon, and exact all indemnities that Europe and America can be made to pay. And the Germans have been much emboldened in their notions of what they may exact if they win the war, by the discovery that their enemies are also out for conquest. Unquestionably in the early stages of the war Russia led the Allies in formulating the general project of taking things and keeping them. England and France were very reluctant to admit Russia's claims to Constantinople and Armenia. But they yielded to those claims because they relied upon Russia to win the war for them. But now that Russia has renounced her policy of acquisitions, and has declared her unwillingness to help win the war for anybody's program of conquest, the whole situation has become changed. The United States has not entered this war upon the basis of the secret treaties that the Czar and his allies had previously made respecting territorial aims and objects. We went into the war primarily for our own protection. We are in no manner, directly or

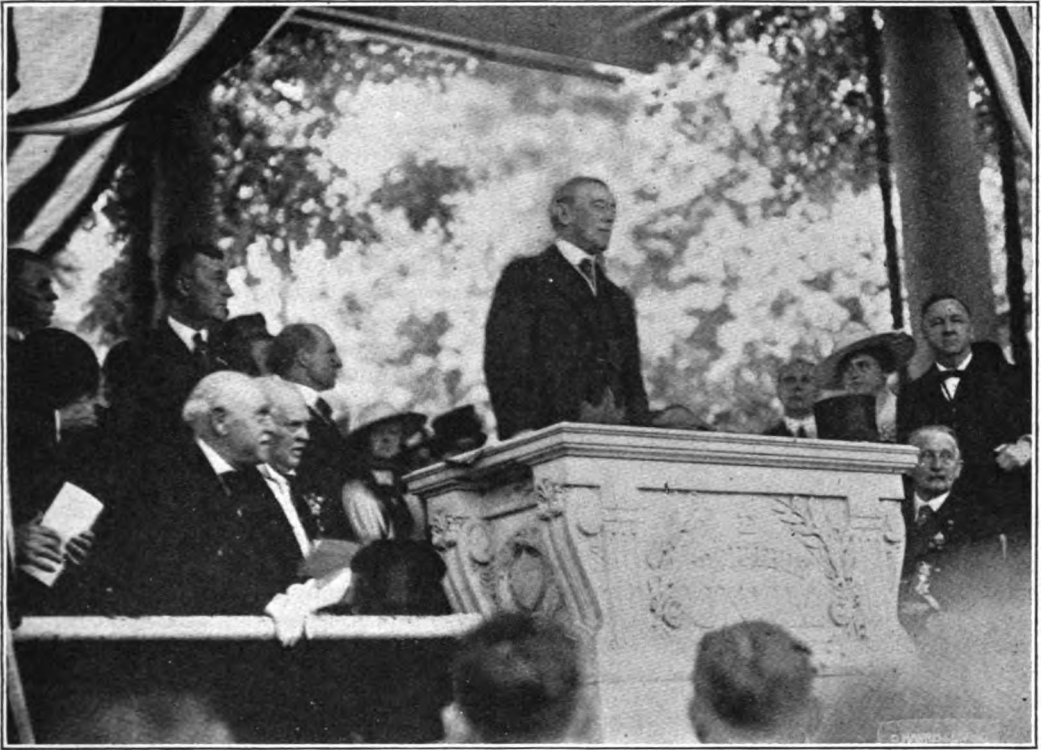
indirectly, committed to the program of annexations that the Allies announced last year. Russia's repudiation of that program has knocked the keystone out of the arch. Russia is willing to adhere to the treaty by terms of which the Allies agreed not to make separate peace; but she desires a revision of the agreements under which she was to fight for certain specified changes in the political map of Europe and Asia. The Russian people are intensely desirous of peace in order that they may set about the great work of educating their people and reconstructing their affairs upon the new basis of democracy. It is their duty to fight on with their allies; but, on the other hand, it is the business of the Allies to find some new and reassuring statement of war objects.

*Views Will
Be Duly
Reconciled*

We are not making these observations captiously or with any lack of sympathy for France or of admiration and good will for the attitude of Great Britain. France in reality is fighting for justice and peace, and she can state her case in such a way as to win the full



THE IMPERATIVE KNOCK OF RUSSIAN LABOR
From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)



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PRESIDENT WILSON MAKING ONE OF HIS NOTABLE ADDRESSES

(In a Memorial address on May 30, President Wilson dwelt upon "the cause of human liberty" as defining the object of America in entering the world struggle. In his famous Flag Day speech of June 14, he indicted Germany for her war objects and methods, and denounced "the sinister intrigue" for peace on German terms that is being "no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia." He declared that "we are not enemies of the German people" and that "we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own." In his note to Russia, made public on June 9, he had declared that America is fighting "for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force.")

support of the vast majority of the Russian people. Great Britain is too democratic at home, and the British Empire is too progressive and democratic in its parts, to make British imperialism a dangerous thing for the future world. But it may be quite possible for our British friends to make it a little clearer to Russia—and, incidentally, to some people in the United States—that they do not conceive of this war merely as a struggle for world supremacy between the German Empire and the British. It is true that the conduct of the war seems now to have fallen into hands of an intensely imperialistic group in Great Britain. But this is because the immediate demand for military and naval efficiency brings the aggressive and dominant type of man to the front. It is reasonable to believe that the British people have no aims or schemes for the future that would seriously disadvantage the peoples of any other democratic and peaceful nation. Undoubtedly the British Liberals are in full accord with the idea of a restatement of the

objects of the war; and the old ruling caste in Great Britain will have to accept the Liberal views.

*America
Speaks to
Russia*

President Wilson in his message to Russia stated again the objects America seeks; and it is well to note that the British and French governments have seemingly approved of this message, while also assuring Russia of their readiness to reconsider all points in the Allied program. The following sentences are from the President's notable communication to the Russian people:

We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. Wrongs must first be righted and then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent their being committed again. . . .

No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life

and liberty. No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done. No readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples.

And then the free peoples of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and practical coöperation that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another.

*Joint
Guarantee
for Future*

So far as Germany has rights at stake in this war that ought to be safeguarded in the future, she must be willing to have the world at large guarantee those rights. As for England, since she is now living in a world made up so largely of her own allies and companions in arms, she can afford to take her chances. No single nation in the future can be permitted to exercise military dominance through superiority of land power in Europe and Asia. By the same token, no one nation can be permitted to hold sheer dominance of the seas, which must henceforth be made neutral and safe with a complete revision of maritime international law, an abolition of submarines, and a prohibition of naval warfare. For a hundred years Canada and the United States, by solemn agreement, have banished "navalism" from the Great Lakes.

The present war must in like manner banish navalism from the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. If things obviously necessary at this time cannot be accomplished as a result of the present war, all the world's suffering and sacrifice will have been in vain. Millions of young men will have sacrificed their lives at the behest of elderly incompetents.

*The World for
Happiness
and Youth*

War is a horrible business that victimizes youth, and cheats it of its right to live and be happy.

The young men and the young women of the world must insist upon seeing that this war ends with the accomplishment of something worth while. Otherwise the fools who precipitated the war will end it in folly, and the world will groan along under the curse of armaments and in constant dread of fresh wars. The system of kings and dynasties is played out, and democracy should have its full opportunity. Professional statesmanship is a menace as well as a humbug, and the "ruling classes," whether in Germany or elsewhere, should be suppressed for the world's safety. Secret diplomacy should be discarded along with militarism. As for colonialism, it must be viewed in a new light and relieved of its worst evils. Colonies should be held only for the best welfare of



"HAIL, LIBERTY!" (A TYPICAL RUSSIAN CARTOON GLORIFYING THE REVOLUTION.)

From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

everybody concerned. Thus Egypt will always remain Egypt, and England's influence there will not be detrimental to the legitimate interests of any other nation. The United States in the Philippines, viewed rightfully, has a temporary rather than a permanent mission to fulfill. If it is right that German Southwest Africa should become a part of the South African Union, this solution ought not to be to the disadvantage of German settlers or traders. When a proper order of affairs is established in the world, the South African Union will become a member of the world family of states in its own right, rather than by way of London. As for Asia Minor, all nations ought to cooperate for the development of that neglected region that has so long suffered from the blight of Turkish misgovernment. In due time the inhabitants of Asia Minor can learn the principles of religious and political freedom and carry on a government in which Armenians, Turks, Greeks, Arabs, and men of all nationalities and creeds can have their just part as neighbors enjoying liberty and equality. This is no fantastic dream, but a thing that can be much more readily accomplished than the development of the Philippines, if it is entered upon in good faith by the associated nations.

*Can Russia
Fight
Again?*

Our readers will be greatly instructed by Mr. Simonds' straightforward discussion of the war as it now stands, presented in this number of the REVIEW. He finds Russia eliminated, so far as fighting is concerned, and he sees England, France, and Italy holding their deadlocked positions and waiting for America to arrive on the scene and give the Allies preponderance. Although Mr. Simonds' estimate of Russia's military collapse is probably correct, the world still continues to speculate, with hope on one side and with fear on the other, as to what Russia may do some time hence. In certain respects the political chaos in Russia appears less fraught with danger than a month ago. The Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates represented only a small part of the Russian people in its fantastic assumption of authority and its shallow pretense of a higher social morality than that of France, England, and America. Gradually the real representatives of the Russian people were coming in from distant parts of the empire, and in the middle of June the "All-Russia Congress of Workmen and Soldiers" was in



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RUSSIA INDULGES IN ORATORY

(The illustration shows soldiers and sailors on the rostrum of the Duma, listening to a speech by one of their comrades. In the background is the empty frame which until recently held the great painting of Czar Nicholas)

session and was giving the provisional government its cordial support. The Minister of War, Kerensky, was exerting himself to the utmost, while General Brusiloff, as commander-in-chief, was endeavoring to revive the fighting spirit on the quiescent battle-fronts. Germany was using every imaginable device to keep the Russians demoralized and to persuade them not to fight, while holding out all sorts of inducements and promises to entice them into making a separate peace. But while the sentiment of the country was for universal peace at the earliest possible moment, it was overwhelmingly opposed to a peace that would merely array Russia with Germany, leaving France, England, and America to fight what had been Russia's battle.

*Still Some
Slender
Hopes*

Even if Russia cannot fight aggressively for a year, she can strengthen the authority of the provisional government and steadily build up her military strength, so that she can from month to month occupy the attention of an increasing, rather than a diminishing, number of German and Austrian soldiers. For some months past the Central Powers



© International Film Service

AMBASSADOR SPRING-RICE (LEFT) WITH LORD NORTHCLIFFE, IN WASHINGTON

(Great Britain's business affairs in the United States are on a scale of such magnitude as to require a co-ordinating head. Lord Northcliffe—still best known in America as Alfred Harmsworth—was sent here last month as a capable man of affairs to represent the British war government in that great field of emergency business that does not belong to the Ambassador. Our readers will be interested in a sprightly sketch of Northcliffe contributed to this number by Mr. Allan Dawson, editor of the *New York Globe*)

have been able to transfer men from the Russian front to use them against the French, British, and Italians. But if Russia makes even a moderate effort she can prevent the further thinning of the Teutonic line, and can, on the contrary, compel the tide to turn in the other direction. If Russia can but settle down politically she may yet be able, by virtue of her firm good faith and a wise use of limited resources, to render material aid in the final battles. The Allies will have to assume that they must go for-

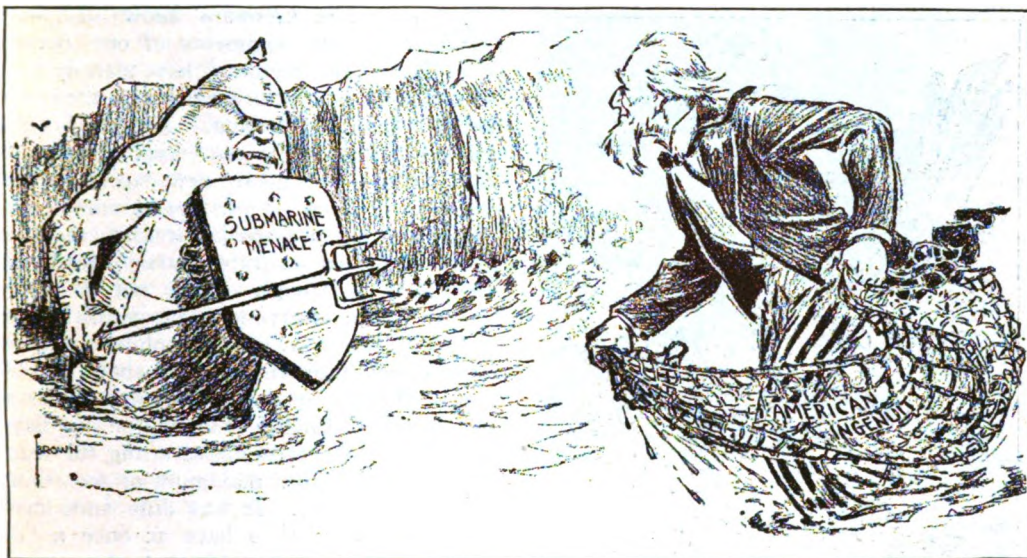
ward without Russian help; but it is permissible to hope, nevertheless, that Russia may recover and do the unexpected thing.

*What Can
America Do
to Help?*

Since, however, the Allies are waiting for America, it becomes highly important for America to know what she can do. It is not unreasonable, in view of existing conditions, to say that the war will be lost or won according to the intelligence shown by the United States in the choice of methods. The most immediate contribution we could make to the cause of the Allies was financial credit, together with assistance in the use of that credit to buy food and other supplies at reasonable prices, while also assisting to the utmost in supplying ocean tonnage. In the line of direct participation in the war, the most essential service for America to render at the outset was to bring the highest concentration of naval effort and inventive skill to bear upon means to deal with the submarine peril. It is useless now to conjecture what the British Navy might have accomplished in three years if its policies had been directed more intelligently and aggressively. The great war will probably be lost or won according as the submarine campaign succeeds or fails within the next few months. The idea that we can build merchant ships so fast that submarine losses will not affect the main situation is a delusion. During the last three or four months the Germans have been sinking ships three or four times as fast as all the shipyards of the world can provide new tonnage. The submarine must be tackled directly, and beaten.

*The
Submarine
Menace*

The Germans know how to concentrate upon things that give results. Earlier in the war they won their successes by enormous superiority in artillery. They supported their batteries by the aid of aircraft, in which, also, they were incomparably superior for a long time. When they were driven off the surface of the seas, they concentrated their naval energy upon submarines and mines. The enormously superior British navy has looked on helplessly while the German submarine fleet has grown steadily in numbers and efficiency. All the cargo ships that can be built will be needed for the transportation of food and other supplies. But if the great tonnage of new carriers that the Shipping Board is planning—and that Mr. Winthrop Marvin describes in a valuable article contributed



AMERICAN INGENUITY MUST CONFRONT THE SUBMARINE MENACE
From the *Daily News* (Chicago)

to this number of the REVIEW—is to be kept afloat and to serve a useful purpose, it must rely upon something more satisfactory than a diminishing average chance of running the submarine blockade in safety. We were informed some weeks ago by Secretary Daniels and members of the Naval Advisory Board that the solution had probably been found. No recent information has been vouchsafed to the public. American energy and resources can build many ships of steel and of wood for carrying men and supplies. But the thing needed is American genius to meet the submarine emergency, and to beat the Germans at their own game.

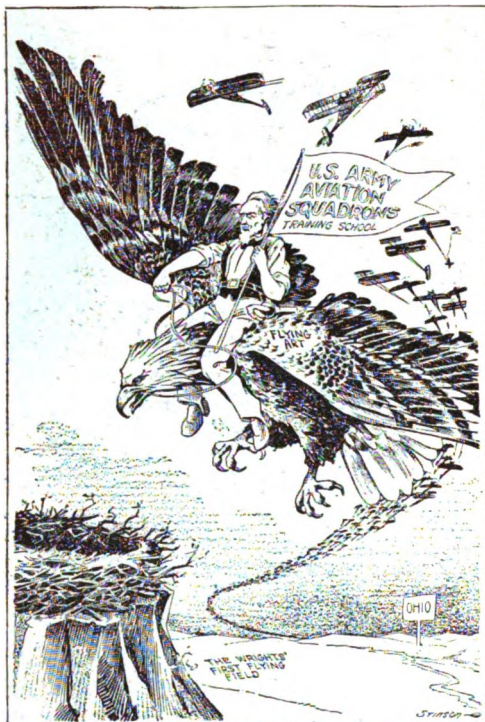
*Supremacy in
the Air*

But there is another thing that America can attempt, and that may prove more decisive than the submarine if pushed without delay. The thing needed is to adopt Germany's plan and outdo her in combining high intelligence with the expenditure of energy and resources. The one field plainly open for such a combination is that of aviation. In the present stage of the war America should attempt to contribute only that which represents the highest training and skill. If England and France had possessed overwhelming superiority in the air at all times during the past year, they would have won the war. They could have driven the German airmen completely off the field, and thus—to use a phrase now current—could have “put out

the eyes” of the German artillerymen. With a sufficient number of aircraft, the French and British could have made constant raids upon German lines of communication and upon munition works like those of the Krupps, at Essen. When the war broke out, in 1914, it was discovered in England that the only aeroplane engines they had were made in Germany. England and France, taken together, are now able to maintain an air service almost equal to that of Germany, but they cannot surpass it. If Germany were relieved of the need of maintaining an air service on the long Russian line, the English and French airmen might find themselves overpowered. The United States, however, can standardize engines and parts, apply the principles of quantity production, and within a few months be producing several times as many aeroplanes as any other country.

*Our New
“Aero”
Program*

The Aviation Board, under the leadership of Mr. Howard Coffin, and with the support of the Council of National Defense, has studied this question of air service until it has mastered all the theoretical and practical essentials of an American policy. It has secured the approbation of Secretary Baker and of the President. The exponents of this policy, including Mr. Coffin, Admiral Peary, and others, have gone frankly before the committees of Congress and stated their case. They are asking for money enough to de-



BACK TO THE OLD NEST
From the *News* (Dayton)

(At Dayton, Ohio, they are pleased because the War Council has chosen the very field where the Wright brothers made their experiments for the development of the most important of the future training schools. It is planned to train many hundreds of airmen at Dayton)

velop an immediate aviation program on a large scale. They ask Congress to appropriate not less than \$600,000,000 to begin with. To many unaccustomed minds this program is novel. There are those who would prefer to have us take hundreds of thousands of our boys and carefully teach them how to put their thumbs on the seams of their trousers and acquire a beautiful regularity in infantry drill. At this moment we are taxing our resources to teach some of the most brilliant engineers and professional men in the world what the ordinary boy in a military school learns of simple discipline, in order to fit them to be subordinate officers in regiments of infantry. The idea that we must feed hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of our boys into the trench warfare abroad is all very loyal, sincere, and simple-hearted. But as a sole reliance, it might be fraught with defeat for the Allies and for ourselves. We are capable of better things. Doubtless Mr. Edison would shovel coal for his country, and Mr. Marconi would scrub decks. But this war needs brains.

Our Army
"at the
Front"

The Germans know just how many regiments of our American "regulars" have already been sent abroad as the forerunners of the army under General Pershing. Everybody else knows, it is safe to guess, except the Americans who rely upon newspapers. The waiters in New York restaurants, even those who do not speak German, seem to know by fairly accurate hearsay about the movement of troops. It is not so many months since everyone was permitted to know that our available mobile army in the United States consisted of about 30,000 men. We are speaking, of course, not of the National Guard, but of the regulars. We are in the process of recruiting the regulars rapidly up to a maximum of something less than 300,000. It was duly announced that Pershing was to have at once a "division" of regulars, and that this would comprise somewhat more than 25,000 men. Whether these men sailed in advance of Pershing, or afterwards, or still remain in the United States, is perfectly well known to the German authorities, but will not be known to the readers of American newspapers and periodicals until the War Department authorizes publication. We are at this moment carrying reticence about such matters farther in the American press than it has ever been carried before in any country in the history of the world. It cannot be deemed an indiscretion, however, to recite the obvious mathematical fact that if a mobile army of 30,000 is suddenly recruited up to 210,000, for example, it is much diluted as respects training. It would, perhaps, be sufficiently obvious that regiments of regulars thus reconstituted would contain an average of 15 per cent. of soldiers who had had some discipline and training, and 85 per cent. of untrained men.

Much "Diluted"
Regiments

Such men in England and Canada have been subjected to an average of a year's training before being sent to the firing line. The Canadians, for instance, have trained for half a year or more in the great Canadian camps, and then for perhaps a longer period at Salisbury Plain or elsewhere in England. But it may be said further, without passing from the realm of the obvious to that of whispered military secrets, that an army thus suddenly recruited is likely to be far worse off in the supply of its experienced officers than in the untrained character of its privates. Our reg-

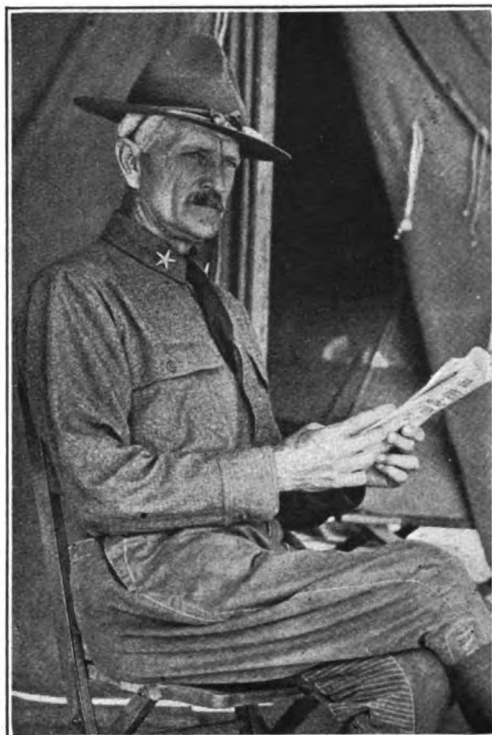
ular officers are a fine lot of men, but they are merely human beings and not supermen. When these officers are ordered by the War Department to carry on a number of great training camps, like that at Plattsburg, and to give instruction in many institutions like Princeton or the western universities, how are they also to take full charge of all the new formations required when the regular army is suddenly expanded to seven or eight times its previous size? The War Department and the General Staff—knowing the situation as it was, and dealing in military fact rather than in sentiment—took the ground that we should not be prepared to send any troops to Europe until the middle of 1918. If anyone has been able to answer their statements and arguments, we have not been made aware of it.

*"Sentiment"
Also an Asset
in War*

Undoubtedly General Joffre understood all these facts thoroughly while he was here. Certainly no living man understands them better than do General Pershing and the brilliant officers who went abroad with him as his personal staff. Nevertheless, General Joffre desired to have a division sent over, and General Pershing last month was the idol of the boulevards. This was because he represented so perfectly the fine spirit of the American army, and the good faith of the American people in entering upon the war. General Joffre knew how France had suffered, and he desired to have Americans in evidence as soon as possible to encourage France and as an object-lesson to all concerned. It means a considerable commitment as respects shipping to maintain even one division across the Atlantic, while it is being trained for war. This can be met, of course; but to have adopted the policy of rushing division after division of untrained troops, without equipment, across the Atlantic would have been disastrous in every sense.

*The Bold
Policy
Will Succeed*

It has been claimed that one aviator is worth a thousand infantry soldiers. This, of course, depends upon the relative conditions. Ten thousand American aviators in France would require no more food and clothing than ten thousand National Guardsmen. But if the flying machines were available, and the aviators were duly trained, such a force of airmen, added to those of the British and French armies, might win the war in a comparatively short time. They would be worth, just now,



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MAJOR-GEN. JOHN J. PERSHING

(This photograph shows General Pershing as he appeared in the recent Mexican expedition. On page 57 is a picture showing him as he looks in Paris)

half a million raw infantry recruits. One of the principal reasons why the Germans make so many air raids upon the coasts of England is to make the British feel it necessary to keep hundreds of their aircraft at home for protection and defense. This situation could soon be completely reversed if America were specializing in the building of aircraft and the training of aviators. Experience has now settled the earlier questions as to the importance of aeroplanes in war. Our authorities at Washington are preparing training fields for aviators in different parts of the country, one of the largest being at Dayton, Ohio. It is their present opinion that England and France should build battleplanes, and that in this country we should build chiefly the training machines. It is further proposed that American workmen and skilled mechanics should be sent abroad to assist in greatly increasing the output of battleplanes. It is proposed to utilize some of the largest of the automobile factories of this country to build training planes and to make engines for the European battleplanes. This is a program that appeals to the imag-



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HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
IN HIS OFFICE

(Mr. Daniels had vision enough, two or three years ago, to create the Naval Consulting Board; and his energy in the work of his department is commended at home and abroad)

ination by reason of its boldness and its extent. But it also appeals to the judgment, because it is sound and well considered. The press of the country is endorsing it with great confidence in its wisdom. Congress is not likely to block a program that the whole country is ready to support.

Our Administrative System in War Time The American people have already shown the world their ability to act together and rise to great emergencies. They did not wish to go into the war, yet they are convinced of the essential justice of the cause for which we are fighting. They are entitled to the highest intelligence the country possesses in the conduct of its military affairs. It happens that our political system does not lend itself to those changes in cabinet posts that the more elastic parliamentary arrangements of Europe are constantly bringing about. Men who fill posts fairly well in times of peace may not be the right men in times of war. These are times in which it is reasonable to assume that no man would for a single day occupy any public office for reasons of his own personal ambition, if he believed that some other man could be found

who would fill the place more efficiently. It is hardly conceivable that any cabinet officer, under a system like ours, would not hand his resignation to the President and insist upon having it accepted at the very first moment when a more capable executive could be found to administer the duties of his post. Hundreds of the most efficient and highly trained men of America are giving their services, without pay and without newspaper publicity, upon government boards of one kind or another, all of them being willing to serve the country in however modest or subordinate a place. It happens in some instances that men of extraordinary talents are obliged to await the decisions of men above them of far less ability and experience; and these in turn may have to wait upon the final action of someone whose habits of mind are not decisive and whose inexperience is a handicap to the dispatch of business. The American public at the present moment is extremely submissive, and has been encouraged to accept the novel view that to find fault with official incapacity is a sort of disloyalty. Yet the truth is that it is essentially disloyal not to find fault with office-holders unless they are doing their work as well as it should be done.

*Sanity of
American
Press*

The remarkable spirit of service and energy that the efficient men of the country are showing is bringing things to pass, and it is fairly forcing businesslike methods upon officialdom. The newspapers have given an exhibition of loyalty, sanity, and moderation that has never at any time been surpassed. Just why the Administration has been so anxious to bring the press under the restraints of censorship has not been made clear. Contrasting the discretion of the one party with the discretion of the other party, it would seem more suitable that a committee of experienced editors and publishers should be appointed to act as a board of censors to control the utterances of the relatively inept and amateurish officials. Blunders of expression thus far have not been on the part of the press, but on the part of office-holders. Congress was compelled to waste many days, if not weeks, of valuable time in combating and finally killing a censorship measure that was arbitrary and needless. The Espionage bill as a whole had perhaps some justification, although there was probably power enough already in the hands of the Government to deal with offenders.

Enrolling
Ten Millions

There was, of course, never any reason to anticipate difficulty in securing a fairly complete enrollment under the act providing for the Selective Draft. The Census Bureau had estimated that there were about 10,000,000 men in the country between the ages of 21 and 31. When allowance is made for those who were already in the army and navy, therefore not obliged to enroll, the estimate proved to be sufficiently accurate. Some of the States enrolled more men than the Census Bureau had expected, while others fell short. The evasions were not important in any locality. It was announced, late in June, that a statement was soon to be made by the President regarding the methods to be used in selecting some 600,000 men out of a total enrollment about sixteen times as great. We have never seen any intelligible interpretation of the law, yet the common opinion that it can be made to work fairly well seems to be justified. There is a certain lack of common sense that affects everything that relates to army enlistments and



GENERAL ENOCH H. CROWDER, WHO HAS DIRECTED THE ENROLLMENT OF TEN MILLION CITIZENS UNDER THE SELECTIVE DRAFT LAW

(Major-General Crowder has been an officer in the army since his graduation from West Point thirty-six years ago. He managed to acquire knowledge of military law, and was transferred to the Judge Advocate's branch of the service in 1895. He became Judge Advocate General of the army in 1911. He was in the Philippines for three years, was in Manchuria with the Japanese army, served two years in Cuba, and was in Chile on a special mission in 1911. When the new law was passed he was appointed Provost Marshal General for the purpose of directing and managing the great enrollment, and he will be concerned with the further processes of selection and enlistment. He was born in Missouri fifty-eight years ago)

the like in the United States. This was illustrated by the query on the enrollment blanks, "Do you claim exemption?"—which ten million men were required to answer, although the great Government that prepared and issued the blanks knew that no one was entitled to claim exemption.

The question of exemption had nothing to do with the unqualified duty of enrollment. Nobody could be exempt until rules of selection had been prepared; and exemption could only be claimed under such rules before the local drafting and exempting boards. But no one really expects to apply ordinary standards of reason to army matters. American common sense will somehow assert itself, in spite of War Department red tape. Thus our splendid groups of surgeons who have been going abroad, one after another, know quite



© G. V. Buck, Washington.

BRIG.-GEN. HENRY P. MCCAIN, ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY

(The Adjutant-General has supervision of army recruiting and is in charge of all the lists and records. His office is the center of all kinds of information, and his duties require a vast expansion of routine work and organization in times like these. General McCain graduated from West Point thirty-two years ago, and has been in the Adjutant-General's department for the past seventeen years. He was born in Mississippi)



HER SONS RESPOND
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)

well what they need to take, and only laugh good-naturedly when they receive printed lists from the War Department advising them that they are to take horses and saddles, with various other things that it is no more possible for them to take than elephants. We are providing the money, however, for a very large military establishment; and the time is coming when the army bureaus at Washington will have to be overhauled and modernized. As things stand, those bureaus would be rather helpless but for the civilian organization that has been developed by the Advisory Board of the War Council.

**War Problems
and the
Army**

We are in serious danger from the prevalence of a most monstrous fallacy. That fallacy consists in supposing that the excellent little body of officers and men that we call our army is prepared to take the leading part in organizing a national war. Our army is a permanent military police force, very small, with excellent regimental officers. For the chance it has had, it is as good a force as any other. But a great war, that taxes all the energies of a nation, involves problems of organization for which the technical training and specialized experience of the typical army officer renders him less fit than he would have been if he had spent his life in some very active civilian pursuit. The business of calling out the National Guard and putting it into camp in Texas subjected the War Department to a strain that it met most

painfully and unequally, although it would have been a small affair for a committee of railroad managers or a firm of big contractors. This is not in the least to the disparagement of the army. The Washington bureaus had never learned how to do such things, because they had never had such problems to solve. Their red-tape methods could be endured under normal conditions of peace. In emergencies such methods were as hopeless as they were unfit. Militarized Germany represents the sum total of the nation's energy and talent applied to the carrying-on of war. To become militarized as Germany now is would require for the United States a period of from five to ten years, under dangers so drastic that mere routine persons and mediocre officials would have been forced aside for men of the first order of brains and leadership.

**Preparing
the Camps**

Congress was ready, without hesitation, to vote almost inconceivable sums of money for the army to spend. Congress also responded acceptably to the Department's demand for the right to draft soldiers by the millions. The Department announced that it would begin with selecting about 600,000 men, who would at once be put into training in thirty-two large permanent camps, called "cantonments." After trying to select sites for a few weeks, the Department decided upon sixteen rather than thirty-two. Then it found that



JUNE 5, 1917—UNCLE SAM ENLISTS
From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)

construction plans had to be agreed upon for these shelters, each camp being intended to accommodate about 40,000 men. Late in June the Department was uncertain whether the wooden barracks buildings should be of one story or of two stories. It had been announced originally that they would all be ready for the men by September 1. Later, however, it was stated that they might not be ready before November. The Civilian Advisory Board could have built them easily; but the Department, we are told, had to cater to local contractors under political pressure. Weather considerations induced the Department to locate most of the sixteen in the South, as more suited to winter training. In 1898 our selection of camp sites and management of the whole business reflected extreme discredit upon the army. In 1917 the officials are determined to avoid the criminal blunders of the typhoid-infested camps of nineteen years ago. Doubtless the new camps will be very expensive, but fairly satisfactory from the standpoint of army men, and quite sanitary.

Mistaken Theories But the theory is at fault, because it contemplates not the training of a nation for actual war service, but only the project of developing a small "regular" army into a large "regular" army. A plan of universal military service could have been operated for half the expense, in a simple way, giving ten times as many young men some training in the vicinity of their own homes. If the war is to be won by the Allies, it will be due to methods and processes very different from those that have been too much employed in the fighting along the French line. All Americans should be trained for military service for the defense of this country in case of its invasion. But the sending of large American armies to fight in Europe is likely to prove futile—a waste of resources and energy due only to that same inferiority of intelligence that has characterized the Allies in their management of the war from the very beginning. The German military machine can stand upon the defensive and grind up human fodder for the next twenty-five years, if we are to proceed upon the supposition that our task is merely to feed successive army divisions of our boys into the jaws of the machine. A study of the present season's fighting from the standpoint of the so-called "attrition" policy, will show how little is gained and how fearful are the costs.

Mistaken Theories



**UNCLE SAM NEEDS TO STUDY IN THE LIBRARY OF
MILITARY BLUNDERS**
From the *Post-Express* (Rochester)

Buzz-saws and Woodpiles

*Buzz-saws
and
Woodpiles*

Sometimes the buzz-saw loses a tooth in its contact with the woodpile, but it is almost invariably the case that woodpiles vanish and buzz-saws survive. The buzz-saw represents skill in mechanism and a steam or gasoline engine to supply the force. The woodpile is superior in quantity, and with the aid of human muscle it meets the buzz-saw unflinchingly. This is the way the brave British soldiery met the German war machine at a time when, as we are told on high authority, three Germans sufficed to operate the buzz-saw mechanism for every two yards of the line, while nine Englishmen on the other side (for every two yards) represented the woodpile that was being fed to the buzz-saw. America can send to Europe, for the purposes of this war, experts of various kinds—railroad engineers, trained aviators, skillful surgeons, and so on. But such numbers of



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A TYPICAL SCENE IN THE OFFICERS' TRAINING CAMP AT FORT SHERIDAN, NEAR CHICAGO

infantrymen for service in the trenches as we could properly train and send to Europe with equipment and continuing supplies, would not make a dent in the German war machine short of two or three years, in view of the shipping situation and many other obstacles. The great aviation program is a sound one. The routine army scheme of leaving this nation still without a plan of universal training, while turning bodies of picked young men into "regulars," and sending them to Europe, is doomed to failure from the start.

"States of Mind" and the War

Mr. Simonds shows how the war on the fighting lines is at a pause, has gone stale, and may continue deadlocked for two more years. And he shows plainly, also, that Europe is waiting for America. But the war has reached a stage where internal politics, international diplomacy, and prevailing states of mind are becoming relatively more important than the fighting. General Pershing went over to affect the "psychology" of France. Our brave friends of the indomitable Republic needed cheering up. But the Germans and their allies are also likely to be affected in a psychological sense by exhibitions of American efficiency and intelligence. With Russia passive, and the submarine campaign producing results, Germany has figured upon wearing out France and giving England hunger panics within the coming three or four months. England has probably 3,000,000

fairly well-trained men in her reserve camps at home. A few infantry divisions, more or less, from the United States, that could not possibly be made effective before next spring, are too negligible to enter into the German calculations. If Germany should force France and England to make peace on her own terms, she might exact a large indemnity which she would expect the United States to provide or to guarantee. Our attitude towards such an indemnity would depend largely upon whether we were in a state of preparedness for national defense here on our own soil. And Germany's ideas will change radically, when we arm ourselves. Every step in America's war progress is known at once, and well studied, in Berlin.



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STUDYING THE WAR MAP IN THE SUMMER TRAINING CAMP AT FORT MYER, NEAR WASHINGTON

*National
Defense an
Object*

We shall have shown ourselves very incapable observers of European conditions if we fail to see the need of readiness for national defense. This means that we ought to have 5,000,000 men under training, though with no plan of sending them to Europe. It means that we ought to have Admiral Peary's Coast Guard aeroplane service; that we ought to have a hundred times as much field artillery and a hundred times as many machine guns as we now possess, not for use in Europe but for defense at home. The Aviation Board's plan for making America incomparably strong in trained men and flying machines for war service is the best plan of all, because it meets the double test of rendering the earliest possible help to our allies in Europe and of providing the most quickly devised method of national defense in case we are assailed. It is true that the drafted army will be useful for defense, although what we need is not a standing army of a million men, but trained reserves of at least five million, with appropriate equipment and supplies.

*Training
the Country*

From the German point of view, creating military efficiency here at home in the real sense would begin to make us worthy of respect. It would show that we do not intend, under any circumstances, to pay Germany a penny of indemnity on behalf of ourselves, and that our credit can never be drawn upon to pay indemnities for any other of Germany's foes. Neglecting our own thoroughgoing preparation to uphold our dignity, while sending small expeditionary forces abroad in a chivalrous and romantic spirit, would satisfy the efficient German mind as to our incapacity. Elsewhere in this number we have an article on the training camps in which selected civilians are qualifying for officers' commissions. These are men of high type, many of whom ought to be advanced rapidly as they are assigned to the tasks of organizing and training the levies of raw men who will enter the cantonments in the autumn. But meanwhile there are many thousands of men, younger and older, who are getting a good beginning in their home-guard companies, while scores of thousands of boys and young men are doing well in school and college battalions. Some of the States—notably New York—are doing all that they can to encourage military discipline and training among young men who for one reason or another may not now enter the army. The Government should

show energy in supplying equipment to young men who are thus willing to be trained in their home neighborhoods or in their schools.

*Students and
Their Duty*

"War fever" has been especially prevalent in some of our colleges and schools, with consequences not wholly desirable. If we had been entering upon a ninety-day struggle, immature undergraduates, along with everybody else, might well have rushed to the enlistment booths. But the particular exigency called for nothing of the kind. Congress and the authorities at Washington were amply able to develop an army and navy system, and to find the proper types and classes of men in suitable numbers. It is particularly desirable that students in our schools and colleges should stay at their work and finish their courses, provided their work be thorough, and of a kind to prepare them for mature and efficient service after they graduate. If the work of the colleges is valuable, it should go on more seriously than ever. If it is not valuable, the methods should be reformed. No young man in the middle of a college course, who is willing to do his work well and who looks forward to a life of usefulness as a man and a citizen, need think of himself as a "slacker" in the eyes of sensible people if he sticks to his college work. The country will need him much more when he is through his course than it needs him now.

*Training
While at
College*

Furthermore, there are no other circumstances where military training can be given so economically and conveniently as in the large colleges and schools. Afternoons and evenings afford time for as much drill and as many lectures as military instruction could well require. The bodies of young men are already assembled, the college provides the dormitories, the commissary service is furnished, and little more is required except khaki suits, rifles, and a military instructor or two. The conscientious student at college may do all the work that pertains to his course of study while improving his health and fitting himself for future service, by taking military instruction regularly. Such a young man, after graduation, can soon qualify if he is needed for an officer's commission. Or if he enters the army as a private he may count upon rapid promotion. Young men at West Point are merely college students who are under military discipline and who take special studies in military science because they

expect to enter the army. The student at Yale, or at the University of Nebraska, who will avail himself fully of opportunities for military training while at college, serves the country best by sticking to his course, precisely as the West Point boy does his duty by remaining at West Point rather than by rushing off and enlisting as a private.

Food and Embargo

The food situation is not less serious, although it was less under public discussion in June than in May. The excitement in April and May was due to the need of stimulating effort in the planting season. Our wheat crop will be considerably below the average, though a little better than last year. It is too early to know how seriously the late season will have affected the corn crop. The demand for wheat to send abroad is increasingly great. Women are studying domestic economy and the better management of food problems, with a great deal of wisdom and sense. Mr. Hoover was last month explaining to Congress why it was desirable to confer upon the President large powers over the food supply. Mr. Hoover's great capacity was fully recognized, and even without laws at his back he was finding ways to meet some of the problems of food distribution. Meanwhile, Congress had given the President the desired embargo power as one of the sections in the so-called Espionage bill. Under this power, the Administration can absolutely control the export of food supplies—and, for that matter, of anything else. This country

is a belligerent, and it is not under any obligation to concern itself about the supply of commodities to neutrals. In anticipation of this embargo power, the neutral countries were buying food supplies and the like in the United States and shipping them with feverish energy. They must now submit to whatever restrictions may be placed upon them.

Neutrals and Commerce

Mr. Hoover's experience abroad, while controlling Belgian relief, gave him a valuable insight into the commercial relationships of the European neutrals—that is to say, of Spain, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. As a belligerent, we must decline to help Germany by way of neutral countries. Further than that, we may regulate our trade with neutral countries in accordance with the positive interests of our allies. Thus England needs Spanish ore, and we can afford to trade more favorably with Spain if she in turn ships ore more favorably to England. Germany's methods have been far more harmful to these European neutrals than to us in the United States. When Belgium was assailed, their right of existence as small states was also challenged. Lawless use of submarines and mines has injured them more vitally than it has affected us. If they could help end the war promptly, they ought all to take part against Germany. Certainly they cannot object to our regulating our commerce in the interest of the nations that are fighting for the rights of neutrals. We are their champions.



MR. HOOVER IS THE EXPERT IN SHOWING HOW TO DRIVE OFF THE RATS AND CROWS
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

Latin America Friendly

A very interesting statement came from Uruguay last month, in the form of an order issued by President Viera, of that country. "No American country," declares the order, "which in defense of its rights shall find itself in a state of war with nations of other continents, will be treated as a belligerent." The Government of Uruguay had hoped that all American republics might unite in an agreement for common action, but in any case Uruguay extends full hospitality to the ships of the United States. Brazil took her place with us immediately upon our entering the war. Argentina has been tending toward a position similar to that of Uruguay. It is well known that one of Germany's objects has been to defy the Monroe Doctrine, and that Germany has planned to acquire naval stations and colonies in the West Indies and South America. Even in Mexico a move-



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THE PEOPLE OF TASHKEND, ASIATIC RUSSIA, CELEBRATING THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLIC

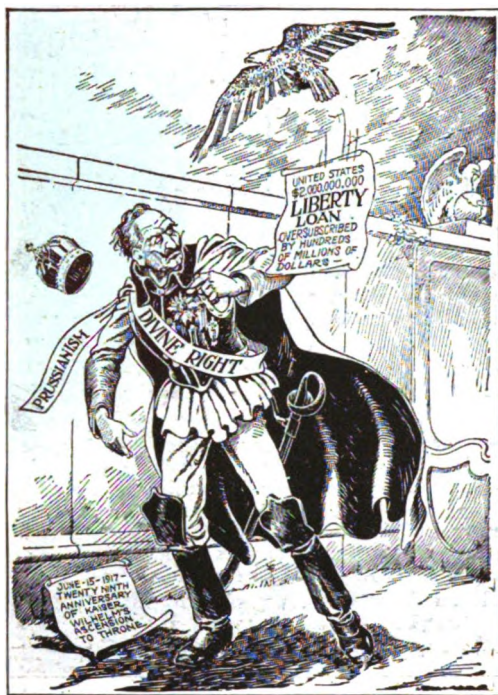
(On the signs in the center of the picture are such sentiments as the following: "Long Live the Democratic Republic," "Rejoice, Children, We Will Be Educated in Free Schools by Free Teachers," "Long Live Brotherhood and Equality," "Long Live the Democratic Federated Republic." America must somehow help these enthusiastic people to make their new-found liberty both real and permanent)

ment in the direction of Mexico's normal sympathies was gaining ground last month.

*The Root
Commission
in Russia*

The admirable utterances of Mr. Root in Russia, and the good sense shown by the American commission to that country, brought deserved praise from the American press last month. Mr. John F. Stevens and his group of railway men were welcomed as helpers in the solution of Russia's transportation problems. A Russian mission meanwhile had arrived in the United States, and it was received with especial marks of consideration at Washington. All sorts of efforts are being made to find grounds of common understanding, for the present and for the future, between Russia and the United States. Undoubtedly, as a result of Mr. Root's presence in Petrograd, and other opportunities for conference, there will be ample opportunity for the United States to have an influential part in the decisions of the conference that Russia and her European allies will hold over a revision of agreements and a restatement of the war's objects. When Secretary of State, Mr. Root showed not merely a high order of talent, but above all he showed a sym-

pathetic ability to grasp the point of view of other nations. He smoothed out differences with Canada because he was willing to see the Canadian viewpoint, while Ambassador Bryce was equally willing to see ours. Mr. Root had the confidence and the good will of the South American governments because of his solicitude for their progress and welfare, and his courteous treatment of their representatives. He has known how to express the best American feeling and sentiment towards Russia; and his attitude is in precise accord with that of President Wilson and Secretary Lansing. We may hope, therefore—as well as ardently desire—that great good may come of the Russian mission. The Italian commission which is in this country has been treated with high regard, the fine personnel of the group lending added distinction to its official character. A Belgian commission also arrived last month, and found American sympathy and esteem quite unabated. President Wilson, on June 18, declared to the Belgian guests that "on the inevitable day of victory Belgium shall be restored to the place she has so richly won among the self-respecting and respected nations of the earth."



ANNIVERSARY GREETING FROM AMERICA
From the News (Dayton)

**Progress of
the Revenue
Bill**

Elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW is an article emphasizing the importance of going to the excess business profits of the country to obtain the first and largest part of the revenue which Congress is now attempting to provide by taxation for military expenditures. In the last part of June, the Finance Committee of the Senate was still considering the bill it would report and from current newspaper accounts and private information concerning the work of the committee, the final report will recommend a measure bearing little resemblance to Mr. Kitchin's House Bill. Indeed, Mr. Kitchin is reported in the daily press as stating that if the House Bill has been changed by the Senate as radically as current accounts have it, he would refuse to go into conference at all.

**Some
Important
Changes**

Apart from the adoption by the Senate Committee of a fairer and more scientific principle for the excess profits tax, the important changes made in the House Bill have been the omission of the retro-active income tax; some scaling down of the extreme surtax rates prescribed by Mr. Kitchin; elimination of the customs tariff increase of 10 per cent., and, most important of all, a scaling down of the

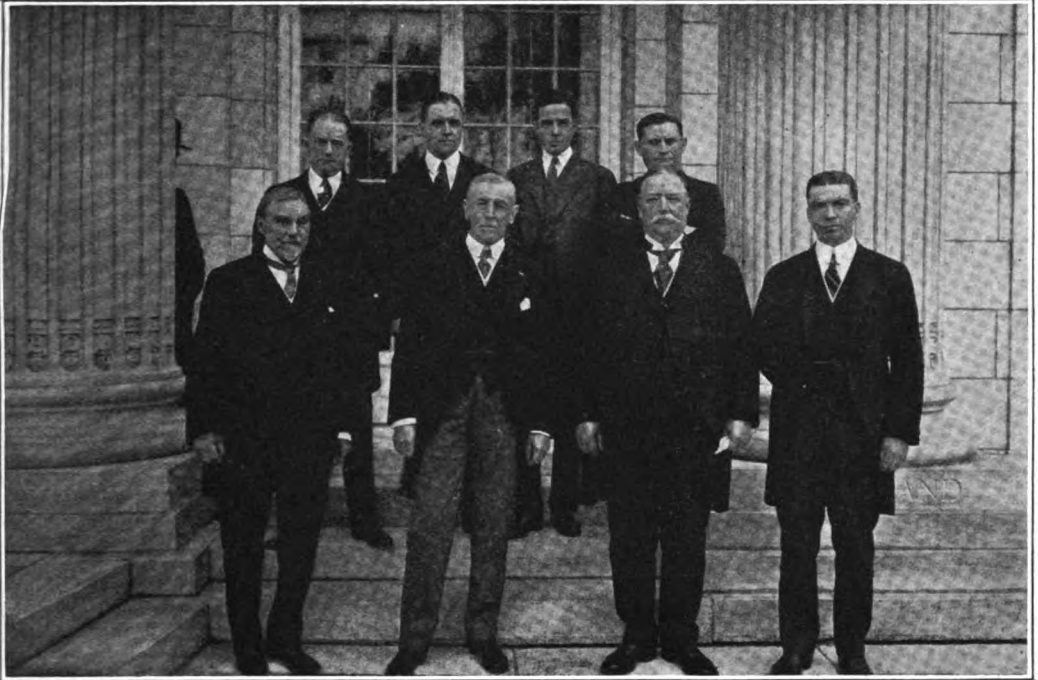
total sum to be raised by taxation the first year, from the House Bill's aggregate of more than \$1,800,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000 or less. There is a growing feeling in the country that it would be unwise in the first year of the war to raise by taxation a sum which, in proportion to the whole war expenditures of the country, is some 50 per cent. greater than England's proportion, which in turn is greater than that of any other of the warring countries. With all the admitted good reasons for planning a pay-as-you-go war, as far as it can be managed without unsettlement of business, it remains true that the all-important thing is so to manage finances as well as military effort as to win the war; and to interfere with industry by too abrupt changes will certainly handicap the effort to win the war.

**The
Liberty Loan
a Success**

On June 15 the subscription books closed for the \$2,000,000,000 Liberty Loan. It was announced that the issue had been oversubscribed by \$800,000,000 and perhaps somewhat more. Mr. McAdoo was later reported as deciding that no bonds in addition to the stated amount would be issued, and that the applications of the larger subscribers would be scaled down to bring the total issue to \$2,000,000,000. When it is considered that Americans as a nation have not acquired the habit of investing in bonds, and that more especially the purchase of Government bonds by the public is a new thing, the success of so large a loan at a rate of interest considerably lower than any of the other countries at war are paying their people on their bond issues, may be said to show a very encouraging attitude on the part of the public. It is true that Secretary McAdoo put a vast amount of energy and ingenuity into the work of preparing the public for favorable action, and he was most generously and whole-heartedly aided by the press of the country, the banks and brokers and investment houses, and almost countless private agencies that helped in making sales.

**Political
Turbulence in
Many Lands**

Political conditions have been turbulent through June in various countries. Mr. Stoddard writes for us on the dethronement of King Constantine of Greece. The Allies, in placing Constantine's second son, Alexander, on the throne have entered upon a dubious experiment. The Greek political situation as brilliantly interpreted by Mr. Stoddard, and



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AMERICAN RED CROSS OFFICERS AND WAR COUNCIL

(The President of the United States is also president of the Red Cross organization. Mr. Taft is chairman of the executive committee. At the left of the picture, in the front row, is Mr. Robert W. De Forest, of New York, vice-president, and at the right is Mr. Elliott Wadsworth, executive head of the organization. In the back row are the members of the new War Council. From left to right are: Mr. Henry P. Davison, chairman of the council, Mr. Grayson P. Murray, Mr. Charles D. Norton, and Mr. Edward N. Hurley. The remaining member of the council, Mr. Cornelius N. Bliss, Jr., was not present when the photograph was taken)

the military situation as explained by Mr. Simonds, will be found of timely value by those who are interested in the Balkan puzzle. The abnormal conditions caused by the war have upset two recent ministries in Spain; and the latest situation was not cleared up as these pages went to press. China, in the endeavor so to adjust her policies as to secure for herself the best after-war conditions, is undergoing fresh shocks of revolution with much danger and trouble ahead. Within belligerent countries, also, there are violent political controversies. The climax of the Irish question has been reached in the plan of a convention representing all interests. We have already commented upon unsettled affairs in Russia. Austria has been in the throes of political upheaval, with the Polish element defiant and veering towards the idea of a Greater Poland, wholly independent. Hungary has changed premiers and cabinets, and is trying to conceive of a possible future with new affiliations. Politics and diplomacy have been much more important in June than fighting. And politics, with diplomacy, can alone end the deadlocked war.

Red Cross Work on War Basis

One of the things about which all Americans can agree is the project of supporting hospital work and relief work on a great scale, under the auspices of the Red Cross. Anticipating the needs and opportunities as America was entering the war, President Wilson some weeks ago appointed a Red Cross War Council, with Mr. Henry P. Davison, the New York banker, as its chairman. It was determined to go about this work with energy, foresight, and system, and to provide at once, by popular subscription, a fund of \$100,000,000 upon which to proceed. It was decided to concentrate the effort at raising the money, in so far as possible, within the third week of June. Responses were so gratifying from day to day that it was evident that a country which had just subscribed nearly three thousand millions for the Liberty Loan would not fail to give outright a hundred millions for the various forms of humanitarian service that the Red Cross organization is capable of carrying out. We shall in due time explain the Red Cross program.

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From May 21 to June 20, 1917)

The Last Part of May

May 21.—Premier Lloyd George lays before Parliament his proposal that all factions of the people of Ireland meet in convention and decide upon a form of government.

May 22.—Ex-Premier Viviani and Marshal Joffre arrive in France, having secretly left the United States on May 15.

May 23.—The Italian war mission to the United States—headed by the Prince of Udine, William Marconi, and the Minister of Transportation—is welcomed at Washington.

The United States denies passports to delegates to an international Socialist conference in Stockholm, whose aim is said to be pro-German peace.

The Premier of Hungary, Count Tisza (a leader of the pro-German element) resigns.

May 24.—The Italian offensive against the Austrian lines enters a second phase, breaking through on the Carso Plateau, northwest of Trieste, and resulting in the capture of 9,000 Austrians.

The British Admiralty announces the sinking of the transport *Transylvania* by a submarine in the Mediterranean on May 4; 458 lives were lost.

May 25.—A squadron of German airplanes carries out a destructive raid over England; 76 persons in towns along the southeast coast are killed by bombs.

An official at the French army headquarters estimates Germany's effective military strength at 3,000,000 men, two-thirds being on the Western front; this is 500,000 less than General Joffre's estimate of September, 1916.

The British mission to the United States crosses into Canada on its return to Europe.

May 26.—The offensive on the Isonzo front is characterized by the Austrians as Italy's greatest effort in two years of war; 22,500 Austrian prisoners have been taken since May 14, according to official Italian reports.

The sinking of a second Brazilian steamship by a German submarine, without warning, causes President Braz to recommend to Congress the seizure of German merchant shipping in Brazilian harbors.

May 27.—The Italians, in their offensive toward Trieste, cross the Timavo River and approach within a mile of Duino, their immediate seaport objective.

May 28.—The Brazilian Chamber of Deputies unanimously votes in favor of revoking neutrality and authorizing the seizure of German ships.

The Italian war mission holds its first conference with officials at Washington; it is understood that Italy seeks from the United States coal, iron, lumber, and machinery.

Industrial conditions in Russia are characterized by Minister of Finance Shingaroff as forcing

the country toward economic ruin; workers have adopted an eight-hour day and practically doubled wages, and it is estimated that factory production has decreased 40 per cent.

May 30.—The American armed oil steamer *Silvershell* exchanges sixty shots with a German submarine in the Mediterranean; the war vessel finally disappeared so suddenly as to warrant the belief that it was struck and destroyed.

May 31.—At the first session of the Austrian Reichsrat held since the war began, Emperor Charles declares that the Teutonic fighting spirit will not relax in the struggle for honor and existence; a conciliatory spirit is promised to enemies who abandon threats and seek to reopen more human relations; the Emperor pledges expansion of constitutional privileges.

British losses as announced during May total 27,390 killed and 86,728 wounded and missing; the casualty rate in the Arras offensive is thus shown to be less than that at the Somme in 1916, although larger forces are engaged.

The First Week of June

June 1.—The fortress of Kronstadt, defending Petrograd, is taken over by the local Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, in opposition to the central government and the army.

June 2.—Grand Duke Nicholas (former commander of the Russian army, and a cousin of the deposed Czar) is reported under arrest at Tiflis, charged with participation in a royalist movement.

June 3.—It is announced from Washington that the United States mission to Russia, headed by Elihu Root, has arrived at a Russian (Pacific) port, and announced from Petrograd that the American railroad commission, headed by John F. Stevens, has arrived at Vladivostok.

June 4.—Gen. Alexis Brusiloff becomes commander-in-chief of Russia's armies, succeeding Gen. Michael V. Alexieff.

The arrival of an American squadron at Rio Janeiro, Brazil, is indirectly indicated by news dispatches.

June 4-5.—German naval bases at Zeebrugge and Ostend are bombarded at night by British warships.

June 5.—A German destroyer squadron is engaged by British destroyers and light cruisers, and one German vessel is sunk.

Eighteen German airplanes drop bombs on the English coast, east of London; 12 persons are killed.

The Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, in a statement sent to Socialist and trades-union organizations throughout the world, renews its appeal (of March 28) for a peace without annexations or indemnities, on the basis of the right of nations to decide their own destinies.

The French Chamber of Deputies, by vote of 453 to 55, declares that peace terms must include restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France and reparation for damage done to occupied territory.

An Austrian counter-attack on the Carso Plateau, near Jamiano, results in severe losses to the Italians; the Austrians claim a total of 22,000 prisoners taken during the Italian offensive.

June 7.—Premier Borden's plan for a coalition ministry in Canada fails to receive support from Sir Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the Opposition, who would not accept the Government's compulsory-service proposal.

June 7.—In the greatest mine explosion of the war, the British blast away German positions on the Wytschaete-Messines Ridge, dominating Ypres from the south, and wipe out a bulge in the German line five miles across and three miles deep; 7,500 Germans and 47 guns are captured.

The Austrian counter-attack on the Carso Plateau is stopped by the Italians after three days; with reinforcements brought from the Russian front, the Austrians recapture one-third of the ground previously lost.

The Kronstadt "republic" yields to negotiations and recognizes the supreme authority of the Russian provisional government.

The U. S. collier *Jupiter* arrives at a French port with 10,500 tons of wheat and other supplies for American troops.

The Second Week of June

June 9.—A communication from President Wilson to the provisional government of Russia is made public at Washington; he warns against the propaganda of a Germany facing defeat and states anew America's war aims, which include readjustments of power tending to secure the future peace of the world and the welfare of its peoples.

Major-General Pershing and his staff, on their way to France, are received by King George, who declares that it has been the dream of his life to see the two great English-speaking nations more closely united.

The United States lends \$3,000,000 to Serbia; the total to Allied governments reaches \$923,000,000.

June 10.—Italian efforts are suddenly shifted to the Trentino front, where Austrian positions are carried at three points, including a mountain 7,000 feet high.

June 11.—Premier Borden presents his compulsory military service bill in the Canadian House of Commons; men between 20 and 45 are to be enrolled and divided into ten classes, to be called in rotation; voluntary enlistments had failed recently to balance the wastage among the 400,000 men at the front.

Lord Northcliffe, the British newspaper editor, arrives in the United States to head a permanent War Mission in charge of industrial matters.

June 12.—King Constantine of Greece abdicates in response to the demands of England, France, and Russia (the three protecting powers of the Greek kingdom); his second son, Alexander, 24 years old, is selected to succeed him.

The American tank steamer *Moreni* is sunk by a German submarine, after a running fight lasting two hours.

June 13.—General Pershing and his staff arrive in Paris, to study new war conditions and to prepare the way for the first expedition of American troops.

A fourth German airplane raid over England within three weeks—and the most destructive of the entire war—results in the death of 104 persons in London and serious injury to 134.

The British official report of merchant shipping losses by submarine attacks shows an increase for the first time in five weeks.

June 14.—The German Zeppelin airship *L-43* is destroyed over the North Sea by British naval forces.

With an additional instalment of \$25,000,000, the total amount loaned by the United States Government to Great Britain reaches \$500,000,000.

The Third Week of June

June 15.—Count Moritz Esterhazy forms a coalition ministry in Hungary.

Baron Rhonda (David A. Thomas, the coal operator) is appointed Food Controller in Great Britain, succeeding Baron Devonport.

The British Government decides to release all prisoners taken in the Irish rebellion of April, 1916.

The American mission to Russia is welcomed at Petrograd by the Provisional Government; Mr. Root declares that the triumph of German arms would mean not only the death of liberty in Russia but throughout the world.

June 16.—A proclamation of the Russian Provisional Government states that peace offers by Austria (through Prince Leopold of Bavaria, commander of the German armies on the Russian front) have been rejected as a scheme to disunite Russia from her allies and ruin her army.

June 17.—The Russian Duma votes in favor of "an immediate offensive in close coöperation with Russia's allies."

The German Zeppelin airship *Z-48* is destroyed by a British aviator after a bomb-dropping raid over the east coast of England.

The British evacuate positions in the Struma Valley region, on the Bulgarian front in Macedonia; it is reported that the movement is due to the dangerous climate during summer.

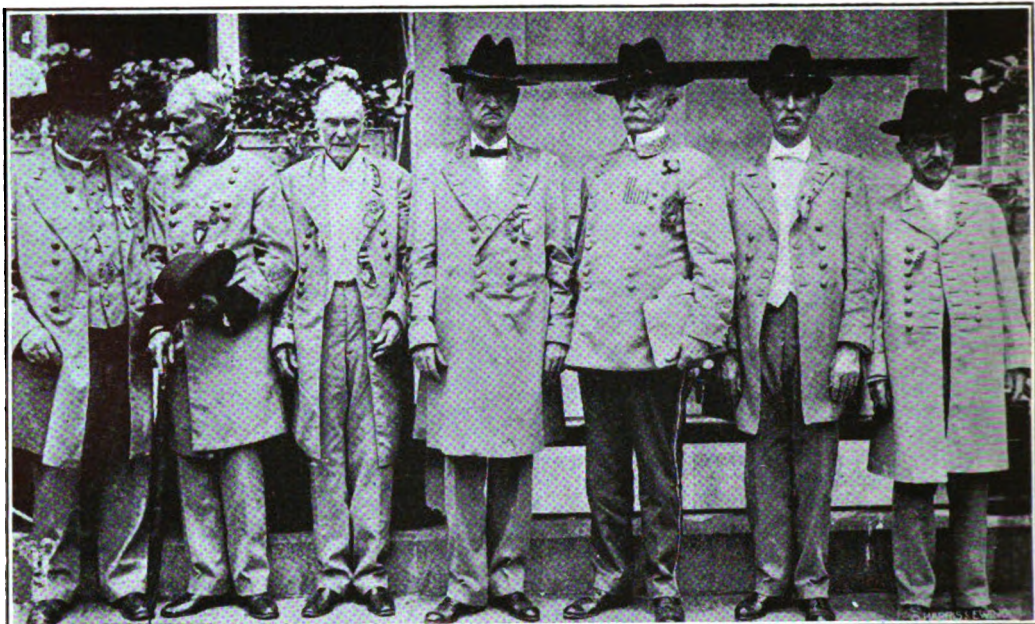
June 18.—Haiti severs diplomatic relations with Germany, having demanded and failed to receive guarantees for the safety of Haitian citizens in the submarine war zones.

A commission from Belgium to the United States (headed by Baron Ludovic Moncheur, former Minister) is received by President Wilson, who avows the determination of America that "on the inevitable day of victory Belgium shall be restored to the place she has so richly won among the self-respecting and respected nations of the earth."

June 19.—The Premier of Austria, Count Clam-Martinic, submits his resignation to Emperor Charles when the Polish party in the newly assembled Reichsrat refuses to vote for the war budget, and joins the Slav opposition.

The new Russian Minister, Boris Bakhmetieff, and the members of a special war mission from the Provisional Government to the United States, arrive at Washington.

W. J. Hanna (recently Provincial Secretary in Ontario) is appointed Food Controller in Canada.



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DISTINGUISHED CONFEDERATE VETERANS AT THE ANNUAL REUNION, IN WASHINGTON LAST MONTH

(For the first time, the Confederates held their reunion in "the North," and the occasion was a notable one. President Wilson made an address, in which he declared that "at the heart of the men of the North and South there was the same love of self-government and of liberty." In the group, from left to right, are: Rev. Jonathan W. Bachman, of Chattanooga, Chaplain-General; Surgeon D. J. Roberts, of Nashville; William E. Mickel, Adjutant-General of the veterans' organization since 1903; Major-Gen. George P. Harrison, Commander-in-Chief and a former member of Congress from Alabama; Col. James Dinkins, a prominent Louisiana banker and Confederate historian; Gen. G. H. Tichenor, and Dr. Benjamin S. Purse, of Savannah)

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From May 21 to June 20, 1917)

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS

May 22.—The Senate passes a bill appropriating \$50,000,000 for a Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department, to insure not only ships and cargoes but also crews; the bill is passed which increases the number of Interstate Commerce Commissioners from seven to nine and permits rulings by sub-divisions of the Commission. . . . In the House, a letter from the President is read, declaring it imperative that authority to exercise censorship over the press should be granted to the President.

May 23.—The House, by vote of 329 to 76, passes the War Taxation bill, estimated to yield \$1,857,000,000 annually in additional revenue.

May 28.—The Senate resolves to investigate shell and gun explosions on newly armed American merchant ships. . . . The House passes the first of the Administration's food bills, appropriating \$15,000,000 for a food survey or census, for distributing seeds, and for educational and demonstrational work to stimulate production and decrease waste.

May 31.—The Senate adopts a drastic provision against the hoarding of food and other necessities, embodying it as an amendment to the Food Survey bill. . . . The House rejects the press censorship measure by vote of 184 to 144; the provision was included in the Espionage bill, which had been revived in conference committee under pressure from the Administration.

June 2.—The Senate adopts the first of the Ad-

ministration's food bills, providing for a survey of food and stimulation of crops.

June 12.—The Senate approves the Administration's Espionage bill, with a clause authorizing the President to use an embargo power against neutral countries in order to limit their importation of material likely to reach the enemy, and also to compel them to furnish in return articles needed by the Allies.

June 14-15.—In the Senate debate on the Railroad Control bill, Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) and Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) criticize the tendency to centralize legislative powers in the executive.

June 16.—The Senate passes the measure empowering the President to enforce preferential shipment, in interstate commerce, of such commodities as he may from time to time designate.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 19.—The President issues a statement of the Administration's food-control program, involving the creation of the office of Commissioner of Food Administration and the appointment of Herbert C. Hoover to that post.

May 22.—The Navy Department's preliminary report on shell accidents during practice fire on three armed steamships states that "they may be attributed to shells made prior to 1900."

May 25.—Major-General Goethals, managing director of the Government's ship-building activities, declares himself in favor of construct-

ing steel rather than wooden ships; he believes that 3,000,000 tons of steel ships can be turned out in eighteen months.

May 29.—A naval investigating board reports that the accident on the armed liner *Mongolia* was not due to defective gun or ammunition. . . . In a Congressional election in New Hampshire, Sherman E. Burroughs (Rep.) defeats Patrick H. Sullivan (Dem.) in a normally Republican district.

May 31.—The end of two months recruiting for the regular army shows 92,686 enlistments—approximately half of the number required on April 1 to bring the army to full war strength of 293,000.

June 5.—Nearly 10,000,000 young men between 21 and 30, inclusive, present themselves throughout the country for registration for war service; nowhere is there serious disturbance.

June 7.—In a formal report on food requirements, Mr. Herbert Hoover (who will possibly be Food Administrator for all the Allies) declares that the United States must export twice the normal quantity of cereals; home consumption must therefore be reduced by elimination of waste and by substitution of foods not suited for export.

June 15.—The director of the army aviation service recommends an expenditure of \$600,000,000 for a huge fleet of aircraft, capable of maintaining supremacy for fifty miles back of the German fighting lines. . . . Subscriptions for the first American war loan—the "Liberty Loan of 1917"—are closed, with the \$2,000,000,000 offering oversubscribed by \$750,000,000.

June 18.—The Census Bureau estimates that there are in the United States 4,662,000 persons born in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey.

June 19.—Announcement is made through the Department of Commerce that the President—impatient with delay of food-administration legislation in Congress—will immediately exercise his new powers under the embargo clause of the Espionage law and check extraordinary purchases by neutrals.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 23.—The President of China dismisses Premier Tuan Chi-jui, who had favored entering the war against Germany.

June 1.—Eleven provinces in China proclaim their independence and appoint Hsu-Shih-chang as Dictator and Wang Shih-chen as Premier.

June 5.—It is reported from Amoy, China, that the seceding provinces demand the dismissal of the National Assembly, a revision of the constitution, the reinstatement of Premier Tuan Chi-jui, and a declaration of war against Germany.

June 7.—The United States expresses to China the hope that political disputes will be set aside and government reestablished so that the Chinese republic may proceed along the road to national development; entrance into the war is declared to be a matter of secondary importance.

June 9.—The Premier of Spain, Marquis Manuel Garcia Prieto, tenders his resignation, having held office less than two months.

June 12.—Eduardo Dato forms a ministry in Spain, with the avowed purpose of observing

strict neutrality and devoting attention to economic problems.

June 13.—The Chinese Parliament is dissolved by the President.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

May 21.—Fire destroys 1,500 buildings in the residential section of Atlanta, Ga., the property damage amounting to \$3,500,000.

May 25-27.—Tornadoes sweeping across Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Alabama cause the death of nearly 300 persons.

May 29.—American exports for the year ending April 30 are officially announced as \$6,060,000,000, a 50 per cent. increase over last year and more than twice the total of any other year.

June 1.—Tornadoes in Kansas and Oklahoma cause much property damage and loss of life in small towns.

June 7.—San Salvador and several smaller towns in the republic of San Salvador are severely damaged by earth shocks accompanied by volcano eruption and torrential rains; the loss of life is small.

June 8.—Explosion and fire in a copper mine at Butte, Mont., cause the death of more than 140 workmen.

June 19.—Trading in cotton for future delivery, on the New York Cotton Exchange, reaches 27 cents a pound, the highest price since 1871.

OBITUARY

May 20.—Fredrich Achelis, recently president of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, 77.

May 22.—Dr. William A. Mowrey, a noted New England educator and editor, 88.

May 23.—Harry Lane, United States Senator from Oregon, 62. . . . Col. William Conant Church, editor of the *Army and Navy Journal*, 81. . . . Edward Cary, a veteran New York editorial writer, 77.

May 26.—Emmanuel Louis Masqueray, chief of design at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904, 60.

May 28.—A. L. Keister, recently a Republican member of Congress from Pennsylvania, 65.

May 29.—Edouard de Reszke, the Polish grand opera basso, 62.

May 30.—Rear-Admiral John Henry Upshur, U. S. N., retired, 94. . . . William J. Lamp-ton, a widely-known newspaper man and humorist, 52.

June 3.—Louis Gathmann, inventor of improvements in guns, explosive shells, and armor plate, 72.

June 4.—John M. Haines, recently Governor of Idaho, 54.

June 12.—Mme. Terese Carreno, a noted pianist, 63.

June 13.—Albert R. Savage, Chief Justice of the Maine Supreme Court, 70.

June 16.—Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, Bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Trenton, 67.

June 18.—Judson C. Clements, for twenty-five years a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 71.

SOME WAR GROUPS



© by International Film Service, 1917

THE RUSSIAN DIPLOMATIC AND WAR MISSION AT WASHINGTON

(Third from the left in front is Lieutenant General Roop, representative of the Russian Army; next, reading to the right, is Ambassador Boris A. Bakhmetieff, who heads the Mission, and Professor Lomonosoff, Member of the Council of Engineers and representative of the Ministry)



© Harris & Ewing, Washington

THE ITALIAN COMMISSION AT THE JOSEPH LEITER HOME IN WASHINGTON

Seated (left to right): Hon. Francesco Saverio Nitti, former Minister of Agriculture; Countess di Cellere, wife of the Italian ambassador; Fernando di Savoia, Prince of Udine and head of the commission; Ambassador di Cellere; Marquis Luigi Borsarelli, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Senator Guglielmo Marconi. Standing (left to right): a secret service man, Prof. Vincenzo De Santo; Cavaliere d'Amato, Lieut. Com. Kimmel; Lieut.-Col. Gilmore; Lieut. da Zara, aide to the prince; Signor di Sousa, secretary to Senator Marconi; Hon. Augusto Ciuffelli, former Minister of Public Works; Lieut. Stephano Avonzo; Hon. Enrico Arlotta, Minister of Transportation; Cavaliere de Parente, secretary of the legation and secretary of the commission; J. P. Harrison, of the State Department, and Cavaliere Alvisè Bragadin, secretary to Arlotta. The remaining two are secret service men.



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THE JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL UNIT, WHICH IS NOW AT WORK IN FRANCE

(No medical school in America is more famous than that of the Johns Hopkins University, which is in association with the hospital that was endowed by the old Baltimore merchant, Johns Hopkins. Undoubtedly the Johns Hopkins unit now in France for hospital service, with Dr. Winford Smith, of Baltimore, at its head, will prove eminently worthy of Baltimore's fame in surgery and medicine)



Photograph by American Press Assn., N. Y.

A GROUP OF AMERICAN RED CROSS NURSES SHORTLY AFTER THEIR ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND TO TAKE UP THEIR DUTIES IN ENGLISH, FRENCH AND AMERICAN HOSPITALS

(They had just been reviewed by Queen Mary and Queen Alexandra)



Photo by Central News Photo Service

PRINCETON STUDENTS TRAINING FOR WAR SERVICE

(Many of the Princeton students who graduated on June 16 had already enlisted in different branches of the army and navy service. Most of the undergraduate body had for several months been taking regular military drill under Colonel Heintzelman of the regular army. Princeton has been so developed as to give trench digging practise under a Canadian officer, aviation teaching under experts, and various other special things besides infantry drill. The institution is to be headquarters for a large summer training camp for New Jersey boys)



Photo by Central News Photo Service

THE DRAFT REGISTRATION IN NEW YORK CITY ON JUNE 5
(Waiting in line to register outside of a barber shop on Stanton Street)

RUSSIA AND VARIOUS WAR TOPICS IN CARTOONS

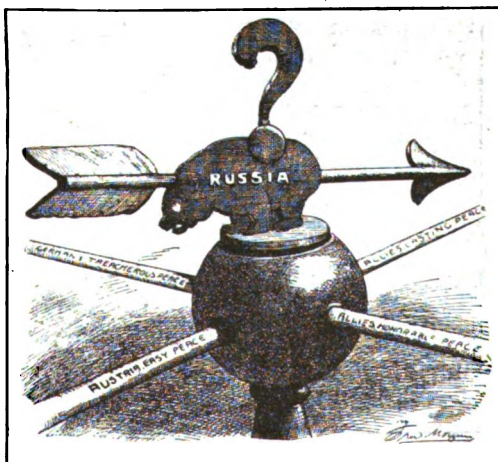


THE CHOICE OF HERCULES
Russia at the Crossroads
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)



FIRST STEPS IN SELF-GOVERNMENT
From the *World*, (New York)

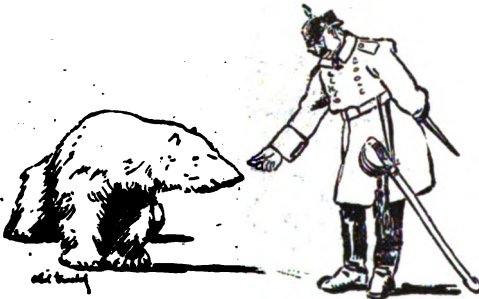
RUSSIA—with her continuing struggle for a stable government, the paralysis of her army, and the uncertainty of her



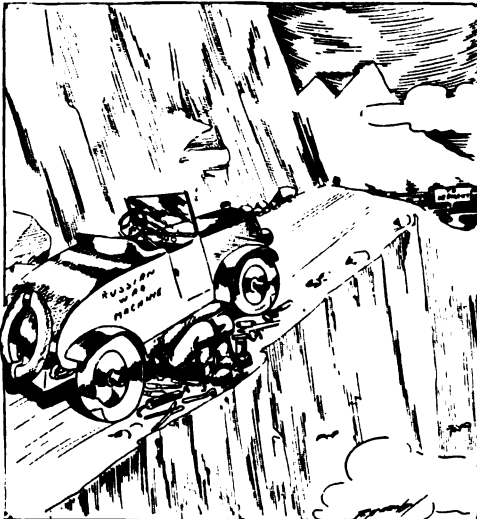
WHICH WAY DOES THE WIND BLOW?
From the *Inquirer*, (Philadelphia)



FEELING BETTER
From the *World* (New York)



SEDUCTION
"Nice bear! Have a little sugar"
From *Le Gaulois* (Paris)



HAVING A LITTLE TROUBLE JUST WHEN HE WAS
WITHIN SIGHT OF EASY GOING
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)



HELPING HIM UP
From the *News* (Newark)

future—has kept the eyes of the world centered upon her in recent months.

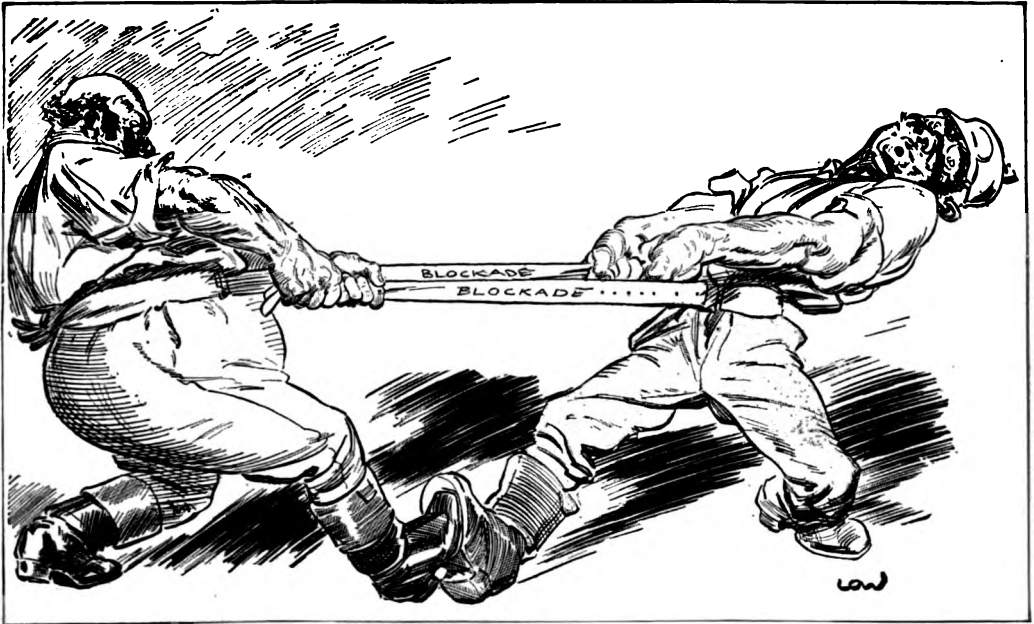


GOOD ADVICE

THE DONKEY: "Be careful, Madam . . . for a stomach so weakened through privation, so much food all at once might be harmful."

(The various dishes being offered by Madam Revolution are "Universal Suffrage," "Liberty of the Press," "Constitutional Assembly," "Peasant's Freedom," "The Right to Strike," "Women Suffrage," "Military Grades Through Election.")

From *Il Mulo* (Bologna)



THE MUTUAL BELT-TIGHTENING
From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)

The "belt-tightening" process among the belligerents, particularly Germany and Great Britain, will doubtless continue as long as

the British blockade remains effective and the German U-boats maintain their present rate of destruction.



ANGERED NEPTUNE
"I can't find peace either on or below the waters."
From *Wahre Jakob* (Stuttgart)
July—3

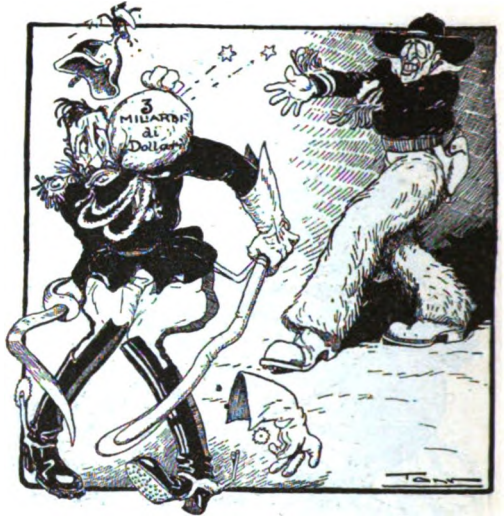


JOHN BULL AND THE GERMAN U-BOAT
"I clean and clean but can't wipe out this "U" from the alphabet. It gets bigger and bigger!"
From *Der Brummer* © (Berlin)



WILSON AND ROOSEVELT HAVE THEIR MILLIONS—
ON PAPER

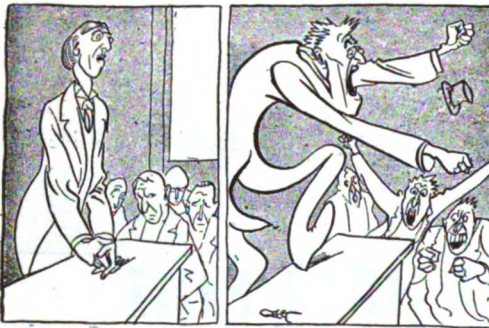
From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich)



WILSON: "WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS PRO-
JECTILE?"

From *Il 420* (Florence)

Cartoons from the few remaining neutral countries are particularly interesting when they endeavor to interpret America's part in the war. *Nebelspalter*, of Switzerland, apparently scorns our potential fighting forces as being a "paper" army; *Hvepsen*, of Norway, pays its respects to President Wilson and *La Union*, of Chile, thinks we are angling for South American allies.



WILSON, PAST AND PRESENT

He was formerly a measured speaker with a pious demeanor, but now he can outdo the most violent demagogue)

From the *Hvepsen* (Christiania)



THE HOT PEACE SOUP

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich)



THE YANKEE CAT FISHING

(Meaning, of course, that the United States is attempting to draw South American countries from their neutral position)

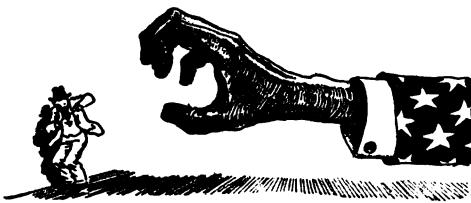
From *La Union* (Valparaiso, Chile)



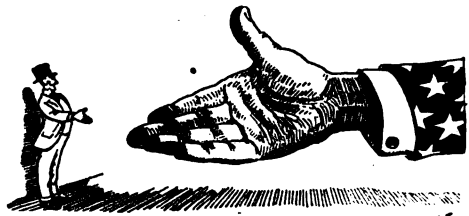
"WELL DONE"
From the *Evening Journal* (New York)



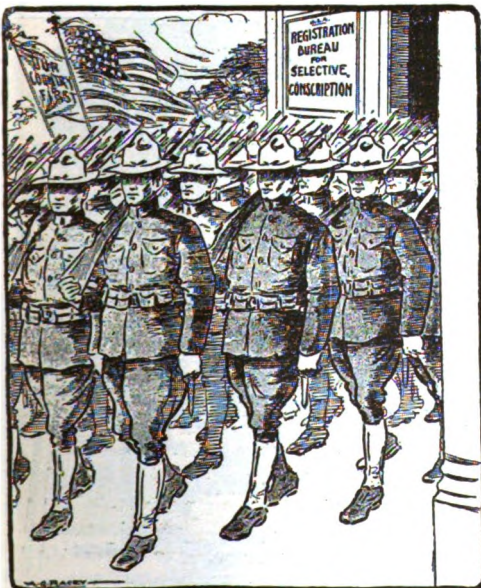
THE END OF A PERFECT DAY
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)



© 1917, by H. T. Webster



THE DRAFT—IT'S ALL IN THE WAY YOU SEE IT
From the *Pioneer Press* (Saint Paul)

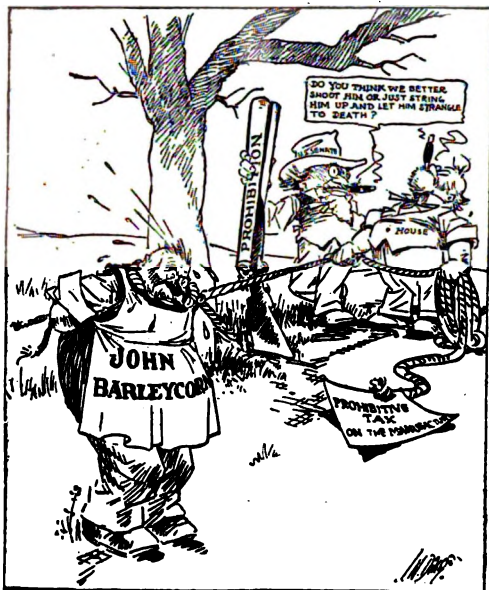


"OUR COUNTRY 'TIS OF THEE"
From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)



© 1917, by John T. McCutcheon

THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



A QUESTION OF METHOD
From the *Tribune* (New York)

"John Barleycorn" is still awaiting his fate. Congress has been considering prohibition of the liquor traffic as a war measure, but exactly how much prohibition there



FOLLOWING THE BLAZED TRAIL
From the *News* (Dayton)

should be has not been decided. Drastic censorship of the press has wisely been eliminated from the espionage bill as finally passed. Federal control of food and other resources, and the operation of railroads by the Government, are also among the war-time possibilities.



TRYING TO MUZZLE THE WRONG DOG
From the *Times* (New York)

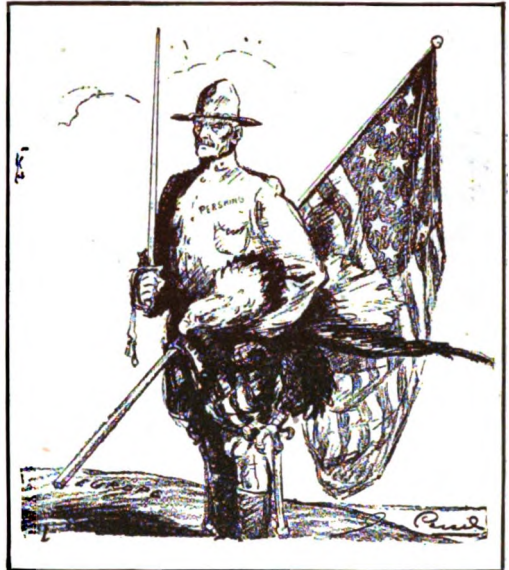


ALL IN FAVOR SAY "AYE"
From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany)



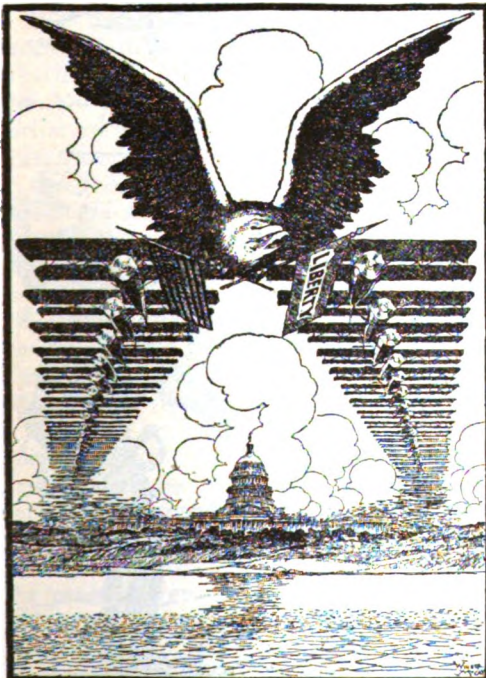
ARRIVING
From the *Evening News* (Newark)

General Pershing's arrival in Europe last month caused much rejoicing on the part of our Allies. His presence was concrete evidence of America's coming participation in the actual fighting. Our most substantial



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"WE'LL PLAY OUR PART"
From the *Evening World* (New York)

contribution to the cause would, however, be an overwhelming fleet of airplanes, and the speedy application of American genius to the defeat of the German submarines.



© 1917, International News Service

THE FLEET WE NEED!

Give Uncle Sam the mastery of the air, and he will soon win the mastery of the battlefields!

From the *American* (New York)



TRUST SAM TO CLEAN THEM OUT

From the *News* (Dayton)



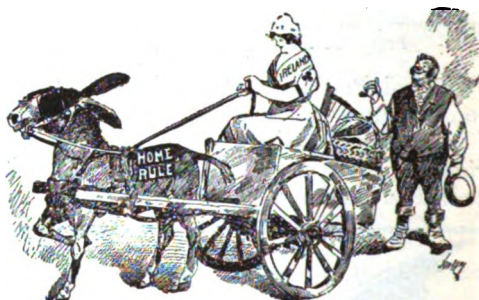
FIFTY-FIFTY
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)



"I REMEMBER THOSE BOYS WHEN THEY BOTH HAD GOOD JOBS" From the *World* (New York)



KING FOX'S FUNK-HOLE
King Fox (Ferdinand, of Bulgaria) is taking no personal risks, but the outlook from his funk-hole is not very reassuring. From the *Westminster Gazette* (London)



JOHN BULL: "GO AS FAR AS YOU LIKE, MY DEAR!" From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)



PEACE CHESTNUTS
From the *News* (Dallas)



BILL'S SISTER'S HUSBAND'S TROUBLES
From the *Evening Telegram* (New York)

THE WAR WAITS ON AMERICA

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE GREAT PAUSE

THE present month will see the end of the third year of the world war. As we approach the new milestone is there any promise of peace? Certainly not in the events of June, for that month has been marked by a pause, which can only suggest that the great offensive operations of the spring have failed to give any promise of a decision in 1917.

Last month there was plain evidence that the French offensive had failed to attain any but local results. The British operation about Arras continued, but was no longer an immediate threat to German positions on the whole western front. Since that time the Italian offensive has followed the course of the French—it has passed its crest, has been beaten down by an Austrian counter-offensive and come to a dead halt.

We have had the brilliant and locally successful British blow, which constitutes the Third Battle of Ypres, but this, for reasons which I shall set forth in a moment, seems rather an indication of a prolongation of the war than a speedy determination. As I see it, the British, finding that they were unlikely to achieve great results at Arras and change thereby the whole German position in the West, made a splendid attack to enable them to hold the Ypres Salient at less cost to themselves. Third Ypres is comparable, to my mind, with the French operations about Verdun last year, which were to give them elbow room, not to break the German lines.

And save for Ypres, we have had no major operation in the West up to June 20. Bear in mind that the weather is good; the season for a great campaign in full swing, and that the campaign of the spring opened with great local triumphs, and it is plain that the pause is significant.

It means, I think, that the Allies have recognized that there can be no decision this year, that with Russia out of the war for the present Germany is still strong enough to hold her western lines and enforce casualties that make a grand general attack, such as the French essayed between Soissons and

Louvain, a thing if not absolutely impossible, inadvisable, under present circumstances.

We may accept the statement of French and British military authorities that they have deprived the Germans of all chance of making a western offensive this year as probably correct. This is the real achievement of the British and French attacks. They have consumed German reserves in great quantities, perhaps in sufficient numbers to keep the Germans on the defensive in the West. Not improbably the Italians have done the same in the case of Austria.

But, on the other hand, we may accept the German assertion that their position in the West has, despite local fractures, endured the great storm of the Anglo-French attack. The preparations of more than six months have not sufficed to permit the Allies to get a decision in the West, for the very simple reason that German numbers and munitions remain adequate to hold the western front.

In my judgment, we shall not see this year any renewal by the French and British of a combined and grandiose effort—not to break through the German lines at a given point, to be sure, but so to weaken German numbers and positions as to compel a wide retirement immediately. Only a great Russian offensive would seem to justify the new trial, and I do not expect such an offensive.

We shall see, I believe, one or two more blows like that struck at Arras and that later delivered at Ypres, one quite probably about La Bassée. The Arras blow was so successful at the outset that it led the British forward into a sustained effort profitable because of the losses imposed upon the Germans, but bringing no subsequent progress to warrant insistence.

On the other hand, the Ypres blow, like those of the French last year at Verdun, was a brilliant, complete and rapid achievement of a local objective; it gave the British an admirable position; it turned the Germans out of one of the best positions on the whole front and it resulted in the capture of prisoners and guns and the demoralization of a section of the enemy front—temporary, but of permanent moral value.

Remember that the British have now to their credit a long series of local successes. They have in the last year captured at least 75,000 German prisoners, probably nearer 100,000, with a loss of less than 10,000 prisoners themselves. They have taken between 400 and 500 guns without losing a single piece, and they have driven the Germans back at all points when they have attacked. They have established an artillery superiority frankly conceded by the Germans.

And here, for the present, it would seem the western situation must stand. It is waiting, I believe, for the arrival of sufficient American troops to give the Allies in the West that numerical superiority in reserves necessary to bear the great losses incident to a general, sustained offensive like the Somme, which cost the British and the French not less than 750,000 killed and wounded, and the Germans between 600,000 and 700,000.

To me the present pause means that the French and British High Commands have definitely laid aside all thought of a victory—a decision—in 1917 and mean, aside from local attacks designed to improve their positions and drive the Germans out of high land and down to the plain, as at Arras and Ypres, to await another year—and America.

This means that the British are satisfied that the submarine menace will not win the war. It must mean that they are convinced that, despite great losses, it will not bring starvation this year or next. It must mean that the Allies believe they can face the hazards of another year of war better than the colossal expense in lives and an effort to get a decision this year, with Russia out and America unready.

Unless all signs fail, American troops will be in the battle line when the real great advance begins. The arrival of General Pershing in France last month is the first sign. We have been promised by the Administration that an American division will follow soon.

But it will be a case of many divisions. We should have, to play any useful part next summer, at least half a million men on the western line. And if the war goes into 1919—as now seems probable—we shall need a million. For this, I think, the French and British will wait. France, looking to the future, to the continued existence of the race, can make no more great sacrifices. Even the British are beginning to face the problem of men. When we come they will do their full share, but until we come neither will

dare to make great payments in human life for small gains.

II. RUSSIAN PUZZLES

And in all this we see clearly the meaning of the Russian collapse. It has freed Germany's eastern armies and enabled the Germans to meet the spring storm in the West and survive. It has enabled Austria to recall many divisions and check the Italians on the Carso.

I do not pretend to read the riddle which is the Russian situation of to-day. But such accounts as we have indicate that on the merely military side the Russian army has been disorganized to such an extent that it would be vain to hope that it will win new victories this year.

A good deal of nonsense has of late been written about the French Revolutionary armies and this nonsense has given rise to the notion that what happened in the days of the French Revolution might happen now. That is, that like the French armies the Russians might win great victories speedily.

The truth is that the French Revolutionary armies were defeated again and again for a long period. They were defeated by much smaller professional armies of their enemies and they only escaped destruction because Carnot, a supreme organizing genius, employed conscription and continued to turn out vast numbers of men, who slowly learned discipline and developed commanders. This took several years—the process was not really completed when Napoleon appeared, and while he was in Egypt the Revolutionary armies were defeated everywhere.

Russian armies may be reorganized in a far shorter time than were the French, but it is wholly improbable that they will be useful this year or efficient next in the best possible political circumstances—and we have no right to assume that such circumstances will exist in 1918 or 1919.

The Russian Revolution may easily turn out to be the greatest single incident in the present war. It may have consequences for human progress, it may bring new ideals and new ideas which will change the world as did the French. It may, on the other hand, bring chaos and confusion in Russia and eliminate Russia as a factor in foreign affairs for a quarter of a century. All discussion of Russian affairs is pure guesswork.

But to writers on the military situation the Russian puzzle is simple in the extreme.

The Revolution has put the Russian army out of the reckoning for a long time. Without the Russian army, the French, British, and Italian forces cannot crush Germany and Austria, or, if they can, it will only be at a cost in human life which will have an effect upon all these countries for generations.

Before this task the three western allies in Europe have paused. They are assured now of the aid of another great nation—greater than any one of them in human reserves. Since Russia has collapsed, they have no choice but to wait for the American arrival—and this is the reason why. Europe to-day says quite frankly that the war waits upon America—it will end when we are able to take a potent rôle—to send over hundreds of thousands to the Western front.

III. THE THIRD BATTLE OF YPRES

When the French made their splendid dash from Verdun in December of last year it was explained as an operation to give the Verdun garrison "more air." In a sense the British attack at Ypres was the same. It was not an attempt to break the German lines; it was not a sustained offensive in the way the Somme affair was. It was purely local and restricted—but as such it compares favorably with the French exploit at Verdun, which was a high-water mark in scientific warfare of the trench type.

To explain this British "show," to use the term of the British army for a military operation, it is necessary to go back to the familiar story of the other Ypres fights and to illustrate it I have drawn the accompanying diagram. At the close of the first battle of Ypres, that is, in November, 1914, the British occupied a very wide circle in front of Ypres, but between Ypres and Armentières the Germans had driven in a deep wedge which extended westward of the ruined villages of Messines and Wytschaete, villages lost by the British in this battle.

The second battle of Ypres, in April, 1915, did not much affect the situation on the front south of Ypres to Armentières. On the north the British were forced to retreat materially and this narrowed the whole salient. But the fighting was north and west, and with very little change the southern and eastern lines had stood since the Prussian guard failed in its supreme effort in November, 1914.

The position of the British was, on their

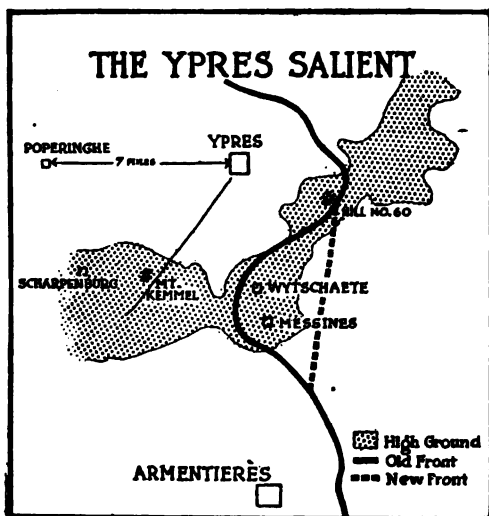


DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE THIRD BATTLE OF YPRES

part, difficult in the extreme. A glance at this diagram discloses the fact. The Germans had succeeded in wresting from the British all the high ground from the point of the Ypres salient southward. From this high ground they had direct view of the two roads available for the British into the salient, the Dickiburt road and the Poperinghe road.

From their position the Germans looked down on the rear and upon the lines of communication of their foes. Entering Ypres by daylight was a hazardous feat and automobiles speeded over the road under shell fire, while even at night the roads were systematically "watered." Ypres itself was only about three miles from the Germans on the high ground. Unwisely the British had no direct vision behind the German lines. Their observation points were on Mt. Kemmel and Scharpenburg Hill southwest of Ypres.

Actually the German position has been accurately described as resembling the tiers of stadium benches from which an audience looks down upon a football game. Like the players the British were far down, but unlike football players their operations were greeted not by cheers but by shells.

On the whole Western front Ypres was the worst position. And because of this there has been going on ever since November, 1914, a bitter controversy in the British army as to whether Ypres should be held or evacuated. To evacuate it and fall back to the ridge which has Kemmel and Scharpen-

burg as its two summits would be to get out of a bad position, costing many casualties a week and having no military value, and to stand on a strong position with the Germans in the plain—for they would have to follow the British retreat.

As in the case of Verdun the moral value outweighed the military. Because they had paid so much to hold Ypres the British recognized the moral victory the Germans would win by laying hands upon the ashes of the old Flemish town—for of Ypres there is nothing left but the walls of the old town jail.

•So week after week and month after month the British hung on at Ypres. The "Wipers" salient, as the British call it, was held and the expense in life, which was great, was borne by the successors of that little regular army, the flower of which sleeps on the slope of the hills which were just beyond the German lines.

But if there were to be no retreat, then it was essential that there should be a change of front, that the Germans should be pushed off the highland as Nivelle had pushed them back from the shores of the Douaumont plateau before Verdun. A try had been made in the spring of 1915, when Hill No. 60 had been taken. But the German attack a few days later, when "poison gas" was first employed, had so shaken the whole British line that Hill No. 60 had been given up, and the crest, little more than a mine crater, was left in German hands.

This situation, well-nigh intolerable for the British, endured right down to June, 1917. The Germans in all this time concentrated their guns on the British lines of communication and their efforts on fortifying the high ground, the Messines Ridge of the despatches, until their defenses rivaled those of Vimy Ridge, although the hills themselves are neither as high nor as advantageous for military purpose.

Such was the situation on the eve of the third battle of Ypres, and all preparations made by the British had been made under the eyes of the Germans, who were clearly cognizant of what was coming and had every opportunity to prepare and every natural advantage in their favor.

IV. THE END OF THE YPRES SALIENT

Notwithstanding all the warning and opportunity, the Germans were overwhelmed by the British artillery fire and swept off the

Messines Ridge far more rapidly than other German divisions had lost Vimy Ridge. Two weeks of artillery preparation, followed on the moment of attack by the explosion of great mines under Hill No. 60, which was transformed quite literally into "Hole No. 60," preceded the attack.

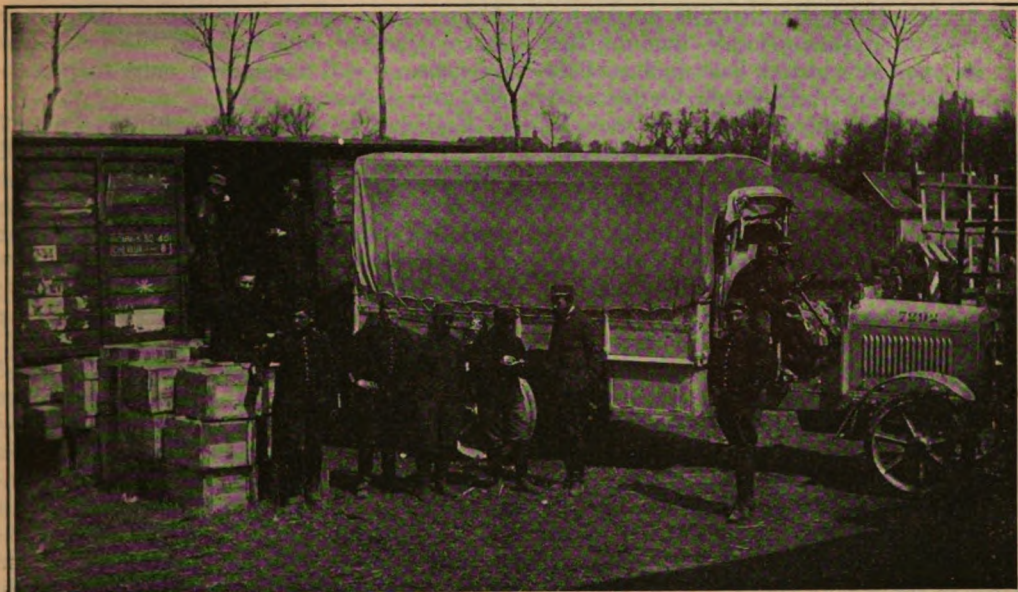
Then, before four o'clock in the morning, the British sprang forward on a front of nine miles from the point of the Ypres Salient almost to Armentières, and in a few brief hours the Germans were cleared off the Messines Ridge and the famous Ypres Salient, born in the desperate hours of October, 1914, when a handful of British troops saved Europe, ceased to exist.

When the British rush was over the new line ran straight south from the point of the old Salient, from the east side of Hill No. 60, in fact, to a point north of Armentières, when it met the old line. All the high ground of the ridge, as well as the ruins of Wytschaete and Messines, was in British hands; nearly 7500 prisoners and about fifty guns were also gathered in, and the British casualties were comparatively slight.

Instead of sitting in the stadium seat and looking down on their foes the Germans were now in the plain; they no longer had a direct vision at the Ypres roads. More than this, their position was made difficult because they were enclosed on three sides: toward the west by the British front, toward the north by the Ypres-Comines canal, toward the south by the Lys River.

The next few days following the sweep British patrols pushed forward almost to the Lys at Warneton, and there was no German reaction before that which slowed down the British offensive after the taking of the Vimy Ridge and the Monchy plateau along the Scarpe. Actually the battle was over in a day—like the Verdun operation. All the British sought to achieve had been achieved and they now possessed all the advantageous positions in the Ypres sector, as they had seized similar positions before Arras.

A local retirement of the Germans behind the Lys River and the Comines Canal is suggested by despatches as I write these lines, but it will have only local meaning. It will not mean any new threat to Lille; it will not mean any opening for a further British drive. The work of the First British Army, commanded by General Plumer, was complete when its divisions had reached the foot of the eastern slopes of the Messines Ridge.



Photograph by Jacques Boyer, Paris

UNLOADING MUNITIONS FOR THE FRENCH ARMY AT A CONCENTRATION STATION



Photo from Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

THE HARBOR OF BREST, FRANCE, THE PROBABLE PORT FOR AMERICAN TROOPS BOUND FOR THE FRENCH FRONT

(In the foreground is shown a French warship. In the middle distance is the turning bridge. Brest has about ten thousand acres of harbor, a good depth of water, and all the drydocks, naval repair shops, and shipbuilding facilities that go with the principal naval port of France)

Bear in mind again that the purposes of the attack were purely local—that the British, for reasons which I have indicated, desired some ground held by the Germans and in popular vernacular “went and took it,” and the meaning of the Third Battle of Ypres is patent. It was a defensive-offensive—as such one of the most brilliant of the whole war. But it was nothing more and to interpret it as an attempt to break the German lines or to get to Lille is, I believe, to misinterpret it absolutely.

V. KING CONSTANTINE GOES

*The abdication of Constantine in mid-June surprised few familiar with recent events. Actually the fate of the Kaiser's brother-in-law was sealed when the Germans failed to come south after their Rumanian triumphs of last year. To these triumphs the Hellenic king had contributed. His threat in the rear of Sarraïl's army had prevented it from penetrating into Serbian Macedonia. He had surrendered Kavala and the whole Trans-Struma district to the Bulgars; he had turned over to them guns and munitions.

Probably he planned also to strike Sarraïl while German troops, led by Mackensen, came south against Salonica, but Mackensen did not come, and Constantine was left to face the foes whose defeat he had sought. Always thereafter his fate was sealed.

But to the last he found a strong supporter in the Czar, and only when the Russian Revolution removed this sovereign was Constantine actually friendless. Some day the story of the Greek episode will supply one of the amazing royal romances of history. Originally, when Constantine betrayed Serbia, the French sought his removal, but the royal families of Britain and Russia objected.

When Lloyd George came into power British influence joined French in seeking the removal of Constantine, but Russia's veto held. At the Rome Conference last winter Italy joined France and Great Britain; then came the Russian Revolution and now Constantine has abdicated, his eldest son has been eliminated, and Alexander—pro-ally, not pro-German—has succeeded to the throne.

The time has passed when such a change would materially affect the eastern campaign. Granted that a new election brings Venizelos back to power, it will be years before the Greek army, still filled with officers loyal to

Constantine or under German influence, can be reorganized and put into the field, and even then it will not number more than 250,000 men at best.

Conceivably Alexander will in the end prove an experiment as unfortunate as all previous Allied experiments in Greece—but if he stands with the Allies there will be an end of anxiety and danger due to the threat of an attack in the rear; the Allied position in the Balkans will be established firmly; Greece will become, like Portugal, a minor ally of the enemies of Germany.

But will Greece be saved by the change? I believe this is a detail that should attract attention in official Washington. To-day Italy has overrun Hellenic Epirus. Janina was occupied last month. At the Rome conference Sonino talked to Briand of Italian claims upon Corsica. Last winter Italy annexed Rhodes and the Dodecanesus, the Twelve Islands of the Eastern Egean, Greek by race, history, and aspiration.

Unless Greece finds a powerful champion now, she may lose much that is hers by every right invoked by the Allies in this war.

Venizelos, it seems, is the one man capable of saving Greece. Has he been sacrificed by Allied blundering? We shall probably see before very long. As it stands Greece has lost Epirus and the Kavala district, the Salonica district is held by Sarraïl's army, and several Egean islands are occupied by Allied forces.

Of Constantine it is fair to say that, having to choose between two rival groups, he made his decision for the Germans not merely because of relationship, but because he believed—German-trained soldier that he was—that the Germans would win. Had he chosen for the Allies, the Serbs would have been saved. His honor was engaged, but he believed his safety, the safety of his country, was more important than fine points of honor.

The bitterness in Allied capitals against Constantine—the “Tino” of the cartoonists and paragraphers—has been very great. Certainly he has not been an heroic figure or played a splendid rôle. Yet those who have dealt with him have shown neither intelligence nor decision. His going is now little more than a sordid minor tragedy.

And with the minor tragedy of the King there is the greater tragedy of the race. To Greece the Allies offered Smyrna and that Asiatic littoral—Hellenic by race since the far-off days when a Persian King came to

Marathon because of Greek settlements on the shores of Asia Minor. To this proffer Britain added the Island of Cyprus, also Greek by race. Here was the promise of the Greece that for centuries had lived in Hellenic hearts. This has gone to dust and ashes now. Perhaps the Greece of 1914 may be saved. More cannot now be hoped for, even if Venizelos comes back and wins.

As for Constantine, the fate of Albert of Belgium filled him with terror and he sought to escape it—but he is now in a worse position than the Belgian King, who has a few miles of his kingdom, an army and the hearts of his people, together with strong allies, while Constantine, at best, may hope for a palace in Berlin after the war on a pension, if Germany is able to pension exiled kings.

But, as I said earlier this year, I do not believe the Balkan field will see any great activity this year. Russia's collapse has relieved Bulgar divisions; German and Austrian stiffening remains and Sarraill's army is not strong enough—at least until the Greek situation clears up—to risk a general offensive from the Gulf of Valona to the mouth of the Struma.

VI. ITALY

Last month I noted the beginning of an Italian offensive on the Julian front. Between Gorizia and the sea this operation became the most considerable of Italian efforts and British heavy artillery contributed to initial successes. Most of these successes, the better part of the several square miles of difficult territory gained, were retained when the Austrians launched a heavy counter attack.

But under this attack the Italian advance stopped as the British had between Lens and Bullecourt on the Arras front. Men and guns were taken—nearly 30,000 prisoners in all. But the Austrians claimed an equal bag of prisoners, and by the first days of June it was plain Trieste was not in immediate danger and the Italian effort was over—for the time being.

The Austrian counter-offensive was made possible by the Russian situation. Division after division of troops arrived from the Galician front and these new divisions, arriving when the first strength of the Italian blow was spent, turned the scale. Austria was still able to find men to halt Italy—as Germany had found men to check both French and British attempts.

As I write these lines there is the report

of a fresh Italian effort along the Trentine front—small but interesting gains. Yet I do not think this is more than an effort to forestall an Austro-German attack later in the year by the Trentine, an attack like that made by the Austrians alone in the Verdun time and pushed across the Italian frontier almost to the Venetian Plain. In my judgment such an offensive will be made by the Central Powers later in the summer, if they can possibly risk it. It will be a bid for a moral victory like that achieved in Rumania last year. It will be designed to counteract the effect of local defeats in France and it will seek to give Germany new prestige on the eve of a new campaign for peace which will certainly come with the snow.

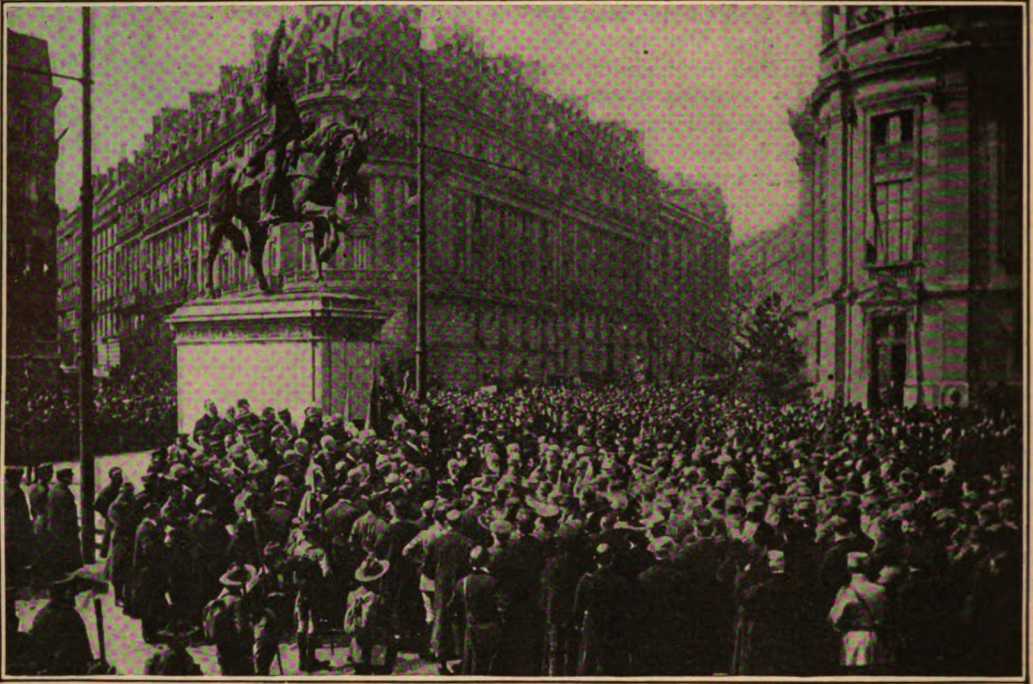
There is also a profound German conviction that a real Italian disaster would lead to an Italian Revolution, like the Russian and having equally serious consequences for the foes of the Central Powers. I do not know whether there is any solid basis for such a conviction—but it exists and will—I am satisfied—be acted upon if Germany feels able to strike in the fall.

VII. 1918 OR 1919?

I had hoped to discuss in this article the growing conviction in Europe that next year will not see the end of the war. A year ago I told my readers, here, that the best judgment in Europe regarded a four years' war as certain. No one in Paris or London, or for that matter in Washington, now well informed, expects the war will be shorter than four years.

But 1919 is now becoming more and more a possibility. The belief that American aid is indispensable to a real defeat of Germany goes hand in hand with the belief that America cannot be ready next year, that we shall take as long as the British to get large and well-equipped armies to France. The Battle of the Somme opened just twenty-three months after the outbreak of the world war. Twenty-three months from April of this year would mean March, 1919. And it was only at the Somme that the "new" British armies began—it took another year to learn the lesson which has made the victories of Arras and Third Ypres possible.

At all events one can no longer say that an extension of the war to and through the summer of 1919 is impossible or highly improbable. And this is unmistakable proof of how far we have traveled since 1914.



Photograph from Underwood & Underwood

PARIS HOLDS FÊTE AT THE WASHINGTON STATUE IN HONOR OF AMERICAN ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR
(Great crowd gathered around the George Washington Statue on the Place d'Iéne, Paris, attentive to the address being made by an orator who paid great homage and honor to the United States)



Photograph from Underwood & Underwood

"AMERICA DAY" IN LONDON: CIVIL WAR VETERANS WHO JOINED IN THE PARADE
(A group of American Civil War veterans in London attracted considerable attention when they paraded through the streets to St. Paul's Cathedral, to attend the service in honor of America's joining the Allies)

WAR PROFITS TO PAY FOR THE WAR

AMERICA'S first great war task is to raise money, partly by bond issues, partly by taxes.

The first loan closed successfully on June 15.

The making of a War Revenue bill, prescribing the new taxes, was begun by Mr. Kitchin's sub-committee of the Ways and Means Committee of the House in April last; the bill was passed on May 23. Since then the Senate Finance Committee has been engaged in practically redrafting it along less unscientific lines, with omissions or radical changes of many items, some merely vexatious, others heavily burdensome and still others dangerous to industry and more or less futile for revenue purposes.

Business men affected by destructive proposals in the House bill hurried to Washington, pleading their willingness to contribute to the nation's need, but begging Congress not to interfere with the processes of their industries in ways that would curtail productive operations and hamper their efforts to be of service.

The committees of the House engaged on the Revenue bill refused to give hearings and the Democratic floor leader announced that he would vote for it "with his eyes shut."

But many individual members of House and Senate were interviewed, and the Senate Finance Committee itself gave repeated courteous audiences to the representatives of interests justly or unjustly alarmed and aggrieved.

But even where the objections were well supported, such interviews usually ended with this inquiry: "But where are we to get the money? We have to raise so much; we counted on getting so much of it from you people. If it doesn't come from you, whom is it to come from?"

Thus business men have been forced to consider where this war revenue should come from. And after very little consideration the answer was plain—so obvious that for some time those who saw it could scarcely believe it to be the true answer; could scarcely believe that even with their "eyes shut" Mr. Kitchin and his associates failed to see it.

In its laborious framing of schedules to raise a billion and a half dollars (in the House, a billion eight hundred million) toward paying the year's war expenses, Congress has been debating whether a few million dollars can be raised here and a few million more raised there by special taxes on the processes of business. These are found on even surface investigation, in many cases, to bear unevenly and inequitably on different concerns and different industries, and to endanger the all-necessary productivity and industrial activity of the nation by strangling certain branches of business.

But, until weeks after the House bill had actually been passed no adequate attention was given to the one great natural reservoir of distinctively war revenue—the business profits, almost unbelievable in size, *for which the war is responsible.*

Congress has been talking about mere millions, the taking of which will in many cases produce hardship, injustice, and depression, when there are scores of millions literally crying to be taken, which ought in every moral sense to be taken, which are ready to be given, and which the nation will sooner or later have to take—if not quietly and decently now, later on with force and fury.

To make the case even clearer, we have the object-lesson of Great Britain seeing from the first the essential rightness of this method of raising the most important fraction of her war revenue. We see the process working well with her, the money being furnished with the least confusion, evasion, and discontent.

Finally, the really big men at the head of "big business" in America, the very men who would be called on most heavily for such war profits, are strongly for it. Their sense of duty and propriety calls for it and their intelligent selfishness demands it. For it is coming, and far better that it should come before a time that may arrive when hundreds of thousands of American boys have been killed, when the pinch of war is felt here, when people are, perhaps, hungry and unfed—and a few are in possession of billions of dollars of profits which would not

have been but for the war, and which have not been properly levied on for the war.

Mr. Otto Kahn, of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., one of those far-sighted leaders of "big business" who are asking that the Government should come to them and take the money which ought to pay for the war—assumes that for the year 1917 there will be war-stimulated profits in excess of the average profits of the three years preceding our entry into the conflict amounting to \$2,000,000,000.

He advocates a 40 per cent. tax on this excess. The resulting \$800,000,000 can be taken without one hundredth part of the hardship that would be caused by a typical device for raising one-fortieth of that sum in the bill passed by the House of Representatives.

Heads of the other very largest groups of business and financial interests admit the righteousness, expediency, and effectiveness of such a tax and advocate it. A representative of very large interests suggests a rate of 40 per cent. the first year, 60 per cent. the second and 80 per cent. the third year, if the war should last so long.

Here, then, are the people in control of the great bulk of these war profits earnestly arguing for the tax. Here is the money that Congress needs to take; here is every moral and business reason arrayed on the side of making the excess war profits tax the base unit in the whole revenue scheme.

It is true that there was a clause in the House bill providing for a sort of excess profits tax—an impost of 16 per cent. on all profits over 8 per cent. earned during 1917.

Aside from the loose wording and vagueness of the measure, it was inequitable in more than one way. In the first place it put a premium on inflated stock issues—the larger the stock issue, the larger the exemption. Conversely, it penalized business with conservative or nominal stock issues. In the second place, instead of bringing the impact of the tax on war profits, it put a burden on businesses that had actually suffered by the war where these earnings, though reduced, were, nevertheless, large in proportion to capitalization.

This would have brought severe hardship to tens of thousands of people who had invested in securities of old, established, highly prosperous concerns at prices conforming to traditional high earnings.

Finally, and most important, the defective principle embodied in the House bill did not

get the needed money. Only a little more than \$200,000,000 was expected from it.

Nor would it have been practicable to raise a much larger sum by increasing the rate. It can be seen at a glance that by applying the true principle, by segregating war profits proper, a rate of taxation can be applied which would be in its manifold hardships entirely out of the question in any such defective plan based on the mere arbitrary exemption of a certain percentage of profit.

In the excess war profits plan there would be a minimum of hardship—it is probably safe to say there would be no hardship at all.

For, see the vastness of the earnings peculiar to the period of war. On the opposite page are the officially reported earnings of only 104 industrial companies, those that make public record of their profits, for the five years from 1912 to 1916, inclusive.

Bear in mind that these are only 104, though, generally speaking, the most important, out of thousands of concerns with profits enhanced, directly or indirectly, by the accident of war.

The best authorities agree that the earnings of 1917 will, provided unwise taxation does not hamper and constrict industry, exceed the figures of 1916.

It is plain that even a 40 per cent. tax levied on the excess that the earnings of 1917 show, say, over the average of 1914, 1915 and 1916, or a smaller rate on the excess over the average of the five years, would still leave most of these concerns with profits that would never have been dreamed of but for war-stimulated activity. The tax takes only a part of their war surplus and abundance.

A great war, more particularly the greatest of wars, inevitably separates industries into two groups, one stricken, the other enriched, and often vastly enriched, by the cataclysm.

Which should stand the cost of the war?

It is obvious that only the second group can go far in defraying the cost. It is equally true, though not so obvious, that a serious danger to the success of the war lurks in any considerable addition to the burdens of the industries that have already suffered. In 1913 eminent economists could and did prove that a world war could not be fought for two years with the gigantic demands of modern war financing. They showed that the stored-up capital of the world was not sufficient to stand the strain, and they were right.

But a greater conflict than they premised has gone on for nearly three years, and may

NET INCOME OF LEADING INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS FOR FIVE YEARS

	1916	1915	1914	1913	1912
29 Steel, Munition and Machinery Concerns...	\$596,236,644	\$219,074,280	\$69,365,568	\$155,860,222	\$121,665,049
1 reporting only 4 years...	22,417,927	7,902,793	2,764,020	2,168,991	
1 " " 3 " "	3,165,020	1,078,352 (Def.)	25,068		
4 " " 2 " "	50,823,775	10,053,874			
3 " " 1 " "	7,103,144				
12 Copper, Zinc, etc., Mining Concerns.....	225,446,026	96,765,662	31,041,951	59,890,500	65,652,362
1 reporting only 4 years...	8,873,445	9,125,947	1,417,128	942,988	
1 " " 3 " "	4,674,467	3,489,965	1,547,276		
1 " " 2 " "	27,661,713	6,587,052			
5 Petroleum Concerns...	46,175,027	23,255,102	21,977,798	24,247,091	16,307,684
3 reporting only 4 years...	75,053,369	37,141,942	15,267,584	34,634,913	
2 " " 3 " "	9,517,851	2,080,407	589,029		
5 Automobile and Tire Companies	63,538,618	50,798,668	23,542,390	19,104,235	16,700,999
1 reporting only 4 years...	2,020,550	1,609,980	1,118,380	559,544	
1 " " 3 " "	5,426,636	2,303,314	1,505,467		
6 Chemical and Fertilizer Concerns	32,620,539	16,967,313	10,514,112	9,244,874	11,391,571
1 reporting only 3 years...	6,760,669	4,859,000	1,680,000		
13 Sugar, Leather, Wool, Rubber and Meat Cos.	116,696,484	68,515,673	47,811,898	35,838,506	44,072,894
1 reporting only 4 years...	1,467,757	240,322	495,890	710,464	
2 Shipping Concerns....	20,177,818	8,939,934	3,208,259	6,858,364	5,869,143
1 reporting only 2 years...	6,479,449	5,165,705			
2 Paper Manufacturers.	7,645,105	1,092,559	1,029,399	764,615	1,542,935
5 Miscellaneous.....	26,058,900	16,804,782	9,516,495	7,613,628	7,493,480
104 Totals	\$1,366,040,933	\$593,852,626	\$244,367,576	\$358,438,935	\$290,696,117

go on much longer; this is possible simply because the current productivity of the human race has been increased by greater efficiency and effort, largely by the efficiency of more highly socialized industry.

Great Britain and France and Germany and America are producing more iron and steel, more copper and zinc, more ships and shoes and oxygen and chlorine gas and alcohol than were called for in the charts of productive progress.

So much the more fatal is it for Americans to shut their eyes in laying taxes, and retard, here and there, instead of accelerating, productive powers.

This is the real danger, also, in pushing too high the surtax on large incomes. American industry is, in certain fields, the manufacture of motor cars for instance, very much extended indeed, with enormous operations being carried through with scarcely adequate capital. Imagine a mid-Western motor car maker who has built up a huge business in five years. He has an annual income of two million dollars, but is using nearly all of it, and bank loans to the limit as well, to finance a business that has been in existence too short a time for the accumulation of working capital sufficient for the large turnover. With every board of his financial argosy already creaking from the strain, im-

agine a sudden exaction of nearly half of his year's income. His personal credit at the banks cannot stand the squall; necessarily his business feels the force of the blow and with it the various industries supplying him with raw materials and special parts.

It is a transition period in industry and finance we are facing and it is of the highest importance that the curves of change should not be too abrupt. The income tax changes of the House Revenue Bill are far more abrupt than any seen in the history of this war's financing in Great Britain, France or Germany. Canada has no income tax at all.

That this objection to a sudden tax increase from 13 per cent. on the largest incomes to as high as 50 per cent. is not by any means merely theoretical, is strikingly shown by the shiver and halt in industry that came immediately on the passage of the House bill. It was only after the daily reports of the Senate Committee's resolute work in bringing reason and sanity into the bill that trade resumed its buoyant progress.

By going to the one righteous and expedient, tried and successful, source of war revenue, the excess business profits of war years, the task of making up a given sum of war revenue is so simplified and lightened that not only may the small, vexatious and sometimes destructive special taxes be largely

avoided, but even the second great necessary item, a robust increase in personal income rates, may be fixed with discernment and small harm to business.

It is not by any means only or chiefly the possessors of great incomes that are advocating less drastic rates for the personal tax. Academic economists like Professor Seligman are making a strong case for a range of surtaxes something like twice as large as the present schedule, instead of about four times as great—the increase prescribed in Mr. Kitchin's bill.

An objection has been offered to a heavy tax on excess profits that the Government already demands special prices, much lower than the market prices, from the copper companies, steel factories and other concerns which would be called on to pay very high excess profits taxes.

But very little consideration will show that if such special inside prices operate in the war period to reduce the profits of the companies, the next result will be to reduce very much more the excess of these companies' war profits over their average pre-war earnings, and thereby to reduce their taxes under this plan.

But why create friction and vexation by demanding special arbitrary inside prices for the United States or for other governments—prices very much lower than our citizens have to pay, and which are already tending to make private purchasers uneasy and resentful?

In the first place, such "inside" prices are useless, because the excess profits tax should take any necessary part of the earnings resulting from the high market prices created by the laws of supply and demand. In the second place, if the giving and acceptance of these arbitrary lower prices for the Government's needs operate to obstruct the one big, essential and sufficient process of boldly taking the money made out of the war as the first and largest part of the tax money to pay for the war—the Government has made a very poor bargain, gaining millions only to relinquish scores of millions.

It has also been pointed out that certain companies making large profits in previous years might still make large profits without being taxed; while other concerns that had been struggling along in the pre-war years have just happened to come into prosperity now and would have to pay a heavy tax.

It may be answered that if none of the

current swollen profits of war have come to the concerns of the first class it is not unjust that the nation should ask from their earnings no more than the present corporation income tax, together with the added receipts from the personal income tax which their large earnings would increase. As to concerns only now beginning to show profits: it is not easy to find any example of a business that has been operating unsuccessfully in pre-war years and has come into sudden prosperity in the present years without also finding the direct or indirect cause of the newly increased earnings in the feverish business activity induced by war conditions. Great Britain has special provision for such instances.

At this writing the Senate Finance Committee has discarded the House plan and substituted the correct principle for an excess profits tax—an enormous gain if the new plan is finally accepted, for the present war revenue bill is looked on as a basic structure, presumably to endure as a structure through the war and through any succeeding changes in rates.

Americans should demand that Congress retain this correct plan and that it should go far enough, within the limits of reason and safety, in taking the unearned increment of war for war expenses, to leave business at large active and free as possible from tax interferences with its necessary operations.

The formula for deciding on the exempted earnings may follow closely the British model, with special exemption of 8 or 10 per cent. on newly invested money—or a new formula may be prescribed using an average of all or any of the five past years; or the rates may be graduated according to the degree of war prosperity. It is not for the layman to decide on such details, nor are they of the largest importance except in making the tax levy equitable as between different individual concerns. For there are two variable factors, (1) the exempted normal profit and (2) the rate imposed; to raise a given sum of eight hundred to one thousand million dollars either the first may be lowered or the second may be increased.

But the successful conduct of the war, the rights of citizens and the safety of the country demand that in so far as the unprecedented military expenditures before us are to be defrayed from taxation, the basic and largest item of each levy must be a tax on the new business profits created by the war.

EXIT CONSTANTINE

BY T. LOTHROP STODDARD

THE forced abdication of King Constantine in favor of his second son, Prince Alexander, brings to a close an anomalous interlude which had lasted more than two years. Ever since Constantine refused the demands of the Entente Allies to send a Greek army to the Dardanelles in the spring of 1915 his deposition by the Entente Powers has been more or less on the cards. Thenceforth Greece was split into two factions, one supporting the King in his determination to keep out of the war, the other backing Greece's leading statesman, Eleutherios Venizelos, in his desire to range Hellas actively on the Entente side.

With the course of time, this split in the Greek nation has become steadily more pronounced. The quarrel has been envenomed by both foreign and domestic events. In the first place, both the Entente and the Central Powers have applied every species of pressure to bend Greece to their respective wills, and unhappy Hellas has been the battleground of rival foreign propagandas and clandestine intrigues. This in turn has reacted upon the course of home politics. As in all such cases, both domestic factions have been driven to more radical action, and what had at first been a mere dispute over foreign policy has become transformed into a fundamental constitutional issue solvable only by the complete overthrow of one or other of the contending parties.

Such revolutionary action was, in fact, attempted by ex-Premier Venizelos when he left Athens for Crete in the autumn of 1916

and there raised the standard of revolt against King Constantine. This attempt quickly failed, only the islands declaring themselves for Venizelos, while Continental Greece remained loyal to the King. Venizelos thereupon set up a revolutionary government at Salonica (occupied by an Allied army since the autumn of 1915), and with Entente assistance stamped out Royalist opposition in Greek Macedonia, thus adding that important province to his sphere of authority.

Emboldened by this partial success,

Venizelos and his Entente

backers attempted to drive home their victory by direct action at Athens

itself. As a result of an

economic

blockade

threatening

Greece with

starvation

and the still

sterner menace of

a naval demonstra-

tion off Piraeus, the

port of Athens, by the Allied fleet, King Constantine was compelled to allow Entente troops to enter Athens, while at the same time Venizelos' partisans in the capital prepared a coup d'état. However, the plan miscarried. The staunch loyalty of the Greek army and the fanatical devotion of the Athenian populace emboldened King Constantine to risk a counterstroke. On December 2, 1916, the Allied detachments in Athens were suddenly overwhelmed by immensely superior Royalist forces, while the Venizelists were summarily hunted down by infuriated Royalist mobs. The Allies virtually confessed their defeat by withdrawing their troops from Athens and attempting no reoccupation.

The new situation was, however, an obvious interlude which could not possibly long



Photo by American Press Association

THE ROYAL FAMILY OF GREECE

(In rear, from left to right: Prince Paul, the new King Alexander, Prince George, and Princess Helene. In front, left to right: the former Queen Sophia, King Constantine—now deposed—and Princess Irene)

endure. The Greek factions were further embittered, both sides persecuting the dissident minorities within their respective spheres to the full extent of their power. This widening of the breach between the Greek factions was reflected in their attitudes toward the rival groups of European belligerents. The Venizelists clung more resolutely than ever to the Entente, while the Royalists, despite formal protestations of neutrality, really threw in their lot with the Central Powers.

WHY DID THE ALLIES STAY THEIR HANDS?

That the Entente Allies refrained so long from a decisive attempt to remove these open enemies from their path is due to two causes: the strategic situation in the Balkans, and diplomatic dissensions between the Governments of the Allies themselves.

The Balkan military situation certainly did not favor drastic action. At the time of the December crisis King Constantine controlled some 50,000 loyal troops which could easily be expanded to fully 100,000. Also, the fanatical temper of the Greek peasantry made it reasonably certain that an Allied occupation of Continental Greece would have to face not only the resistance of the Greek regular army but also much ugly guerilla fighting. This meant that considerable forces would be required, and that in turn meant large drafts upon the only big body of Allied troops in the Balkans—the Salonica army. But no such drafts could be spared, for just to the east and north of Salonica lay heavy masses of Turkish and Bulgarian soldiery ready to pounce upon a weakened Salonica line. And such an assault, if successful, would take the Allied army between two fires and lead to a terrible disaster.

THE FOOD BLOCKADE

The Allies were therefore obliged to fall back upon a gradual sapping of the Royalist power. One effective weapon they still possessed—the economic blockade. Continental Greece is predominantly a sterile, mountainous country, unable to feed its own population. Only one province—Thessaly—produces any appreciable quantity of cereals, and her wheat fields are insufficient to provide bread for all the hungry Hellenic mouths. Even before the crisis of December, 1916, the Allies had on more than one occasion temporarily shut off Greece's foreign food supply, and with the beginning of

1917 this economic blockade became permanent, thus threatening Greece with down-right starvation.

The astonishing fortitude with which the Greek people bore their sufferings taught the Allies not to be too inexecutable lest they drive the Greeks to some furious stroke of despair, but they made skilful use of their advantage by offering partial and temporary relaxations of the blockade in return for Royalist concessions such as the concentration (and practical internment) of most of the Greek army in the Peloponnesus, the surrender of Greek war material, etc. Thus King Constantine's military power was gradually undermined, the threat against the rear of the Allies' Salonica army was removed, and the way cleared for drastic action at an opportune moment.

CONFLICTING AIMS

Such action would probably have been ventured before now if the Entente Powers had been united in their attitude towards Greece. But, as a matter of fact, they were very far from being so united. Until very recently the Allied Governments were divided respecting Greece into two sharply divergent camps so evenly balanced that positive action was impossible. On the one side stood England and France; on the other, Russia and Italy.

The Anglo-French aims were clear enough. What they wanted was a strong Greece closely bound to themselves, thus establishing a most useful collaborator in their plans of Mediterranean ascendancy and a precious defender of their Levantine interests. That was what Venizelos, the devoted friend of England and France, so unreservedly offered them. To be sure, while thoroughly agreed as to the end, they were not quite agreed upon the means. France inclined toward a summary expulsion of the whole Greek royal family and the establishment of a Greek Republic under Venizelos' Presidency. England, not over-enthusiastic about republics, especially in Tory circles, favored what has just occurred—the deposition of King Constantine and the transference of the crown to his younger son Alexander under a practical Venizelist regency. This meant that England and France were for forcible measures against King Constantine at the earliest possible moment.

But in this they were not followed by either Russia or Italy. Neither of these

powers desired an enlarged Greece under Anglo-French tutelage. Italy was particularly opposed to the scheme. In fact, what Italy desired was Greece's practical destruction. For years past, Italy's growing aspirations in the Near East had everywhere encountered nascent Greek imperialism as a formidable rival. The Italian occupation of Rhodes and the Egean archipelago of the Dodekanese during the Italo-Turkish war of 1911 had been virtually a gage of battle flung down at the feet of Hellenism, for these islands, though politically Turkish territory, were thoroughly Greek in blood and longed ardently for reunion with the Hellenic homeland. Furthermore, these islands were obviously mere stepping-stones to an Italian occupation of southwest Asia Minor with its commercial heart, the great city of Smyrna—territories which Greeks passionately claimed as vital portions of the Hellenic race-heritage.

Under these circumstances it is not strange that Italians had witnessed with frank pleasure both Hellenism's domestic schism and the estrangement between Greece and her traditional Anglo-French protectors which had begun with the Dardanelles fiasco in the spring of 1915. Thenceforth Italy had consistently frowned upon Venizelos and covertly smiled upon Constantine—the game being to keep Greece out of the war and then settle the Balkan and Levantine problems without regard to Greek interests or susceptibilities. The result would be a diminished, hopeless Greece, unable further to contest the waxing power of a triumphant Italy.

RUSSIA'S INTERESTS

The attitude of Russia was slightly more complex. The chief bone of contention between Greece and Russia was Constantinople. Both nations ardently desired its possession—Russia as her indispensable outlet from the Black Sea; Greece as the traditional capital of Hellenism, the vital keystone to the "Great Idea," a revived Byzantine Empire. It was thus in Russia's interest to see Greece alienated from her Anglo-French friends and thereby unable to set up claims which might conflict with Russia's far-flung plans of dominion in Asia Minor and the Balkans. Besides, the Imperial Russian Government tended to favor King Constantine

owing to the close dynastic connection between the House of Romanoff and the Danish royal family from which Constantine sprang.

The first sign of a breaking of this diplomatic deadlock in Entente councils was the Russian revolution. The dynastic factor in Russia's favor to King Constantine disappeared with the Romanoffs' fall. The territorial factor, however, still persisted, for the Russian provisional government, headed by Paul Miliukoff, was as insistent upon Constantinople as the Czarist government had been. But the recent fall of Miliukoff and the imperialistic Liberals before the Social Revolutionary groups of Kerensky and others, did away with this factor as well, for the new masters of Russia formally disclaimed insistence upon Constantinople and Near Eastern dominion. That left Italy alone in opposition to drastic action against King Constantine, and France and England have evidently lost no time in making the most of this golden opportunity.

CONSTANTINE'S SUBMISSION

This also does much to explain Constantine's apparently complete backdown to the Entente ultimatum with no attempt at resistance or procrastination. He seems to have realized that his foes were at last free to push matters to extremities, and since his own military power had been gradually sapped until only the empty shell remained, he apparently bowed gracefully to the inevitable.

Nevertheless, the task of the future governors of Greece will be no light one. King Constantine has managed to retain the love of the vast majority of his subjects in continental Greece. His summary expulsion by Entente bayonets will now make him a martyr, and will as inevitably kindle a fanatical hatred of the coming (presumably) Venizelist régime—brought to Athens "in the Allies' baggage." Should Venizelos himself return to take up the reins of power it will be difficult to protect him against attempts upon his life. Precisely how the tangled course of Greek internal politics will run is a matter of high uncertainty. What is certain is that the prospects of unhappy Greece at this moment are dark and full of trouble.

LORD NORTHCLIFFE AS BRITISH AGENT

BY ALLAN DAWSON

ON June 12, "somewhere in the United States," a big steamer had scarcely fastened to her pier when a stocky, smooth-faced Englishman projected himself down the gangplank with more speed than is associated with distinguished English visitors. His footwork was excellent as he raced for a motor, with a queue of vainly interrogating reporters in his wake. His habiliments gave no clue, save possibly a red-checked tie, to character. A man of fifty-two years, he looked ten years younger, despite a neck-stoop—head thrust forward, to use a phrase of Will Irwin, as if hurrying on his body. Eyes were restless and eager, the glance suggesting general curiosity and irritability at everyone's slowness.

It was Northcliffe, variously described as savior and pest of Great Britain, but allowed to be, for the present, one of the two most influential men in the British Empire. He had arrived to head the British War Mission in this country. He was not to displace the British Ambassador, but would look after shipments of supplies and the like. Nor was he envoy extraordinary to the American people, for he declared he would be too busy to accept social or speaking engagements.

Northcliffe, a title name, for he was born Harmsworth in a suburb of Dublin, has created much stir in the thirty years of his crowded adult life—starting without help at seventeen years, a rich newspaper proprietor at thirty, and an international figure at forty. In old days Warwicks were masters of a hundred baronies. This one's power is lodged in the ownership of about 250 publications. He has harvested them in bunches since the day when, a young man of twenty-three years, he picked up his first, whose circulation he pushed in ways shocking to staid British journalism. Because of the multiplicity of his proprietorships and the way he plays Ishmael, he has been likened to a well-known American who similarly combines a passion for controlling printers' ink and for destructive criticism when his advice is not taken. Salisbury, who assumed

that a newspaper should be a docile party organ, once remarked of the *London Mail*, the favorite ewe lamb of the Northcliffe flock, that it was "edited by office-boys for office-boys." Now he is the "Ha'penny Field Marshal," but his consequence has been admitted since he annexed that part of the British constitution that is known as the *Times*—floating about aimlessly because its seventy-nine owners could not agree how it should be run.

Since the war he has scalped Churchill, Grey, and Asquith, and his hold on the forelock of Kitchener was loosened only by Kitchener's tragic death. As it was, Northcliffe, after the solemn interment at Westminster Abbey, dug up the Earl's remains and gibbeted them because the Gallipoli expedition did not turn out well. England would not be England if everywhere in it this profaner of sanctities had respect, but everywhere he is able to inspire fear. With notches on his machine gun of publicity, showing two ministries toppled, it is almost necessary to amend the old formula of King, Lords, and Commons into King, Lords, Commons, and Northcliffe.

In ante-bellum days Northcliffe was the chief screamer for the Boer war, a fanatical opponent of Irish Home Rule, combated the idea that Great Britain could trust France if a channel tunnel were dug (how she wishes now she had it!), was a predictor of the war with Germany and a demander of preparation and more preparation, an unsparing critic of any understanding with Russia, and an advocate of the Chamberlain proposal that the British Empire should become a tight affair, buying, except for a few items, only from itself. He attacked the social program of Lloyd George, his war against poverty and the privileges of the House of Peers, with extreme intensity. Those were the days when Lloyd George was mobbed in Birmingham, Chamberlain's home. A member of Parliament, meeting Chamberlain, said to him: "So your people almost managed to kill Lloyd George the

other night." "What is everybody's business is nobody's business," responded Brummagem Joe. Then there was the man who jumped from the pier at Brighton to rescue a drowning person, and the gallant rescuer, describing his experience, said: "I got hold of his collar just as he was going down. Having turned him over to see it wasn't Lloyd George, I then easily floated him to the pier."

The ante-bellum political features of Northcliffe were thus those of an imperialistic Tory of the rough-riding Cecil Rhodes type. As a practical man, not for him were dreams of improving the race, no gleaming visions of a perfected world, relieved of its ills and its sons dwelling in harmonious prosperity. He has been not averse to painting on the map of the world as large a part as possible with the colors of a flaming British red. Early in the war, complaining of the insufficiency of the German blockade, he urged searchings of our vessels that would not have contributed to our entry into the war as an ally of Great Britain. While our public was being educated into the belief that the British blockade was violating neutral rights, he held they were too meticulously respected.

But Northcliffe, although wrong about a score of points of policy and strategy, was right about Germany, about conscription, about the need of shells and more shells, about the necessity of centralizing power, about waking up England and shaking her out of the complacent faith that the British Empire was immortal and would be taken care of without the need of Englishmen individually worrying. Nevertheless, in view of the well-known stiff preference of America for Liberal rather than for Tory England, for Chatham and Gladstone, rather than for North and Disraeli, it is surprising some distinguished Liberal was not chosen to interpret England to America. Somewhere must be a willingness to transfer Northcliffe's energy overseas or a belief that his practical abilities are very great. His disparagers whisper that three thousand miles of water is a fairly good barrier against the business of directing the war from a Fleet Street editorial office.

Whether the bed-fellowship will persist is the subject of interested speculation in Great Britain. The Welsh Prime Minister is believed, if a correct picture of the man has been projected, to be a passionate, deep-feeling, aspiring democratic idealist. He is for this war for the same set of reasons that



Photo by American Press Association

BARON NORTHCLIFFE OF ISLE OF THANET
(Alfred Harmsworth, the famous London newspaper proprietor, was made a Baron in 1904)

he opposed the Boer war. Elements of obvious incongruity are thus present when he is yoked with Chamberlain's most conspicuous fugelman. It is improbable Lloyd George has changed. Northcliffe may have changed through the educative effects of the war, as have many others, but seldom do men alter essentially when past the half-century mark in years. The basis of the partnership is perhaps Northcliffe's passion to get things done, his patriotism, and his admiration for the volcanic energy of Lloyd George, coupled with his belief that a dictatorship is necessary and that no man except Lloyd George, with his radical record, would have been accepted by the British masses.

That Northcliffe will be a personal success in this country may be taken for granted. His qualities are of the compelling kind. He is frank and informal, has a downright explicitness and a fury to achieve results

without flummery and red tape that we like to flatter ourselves is American. If he had happened to be born on this side he doubtless would have been a captain of industry able to get along with the unions. Restless, peripatetic (this is his seventeenth visit to our shores), he goes at his tasks in his shirt-sleeves—reaches a conclusion and then thinks up reasons afterwards. He has gone far in his tempestuous way and may go further. With what is behind him and with what may be before him he piques curiosity. Free and easy in demeanor, of big heart in all that relates to private life, he will be a welcome guest.

Northcliffe's great executive abilities will be of service not only to his country but to ours, as he occupies himself with buying \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 worth of supplies a month. No man, if he gives opportunity, will be more consulted by our department heads as they struggle with strange tasks. He knows what Great Britain's mistakes were, and no false national pride restrains him from naming them. Both as official representative of Great Britain and as non-official counsellor to our Government, it may be that Northcliffe's fame as owner of newspapers will be eclipsed by that of organizer of victory.

ANDRÉ TARDIEU

THE career of the French High Commissioner to the United States has not been of a sort that one would expect to see paralleled in this country. The diplomatic calling appeals to few of our youth as it appealed to young Tardieu twenty years ago, just after his graduation from college. On taking an examination, he was admitted to the foreign service and sent to Berlin as Under Secretary of the French Embassy there. From Berlin he was transferred to Constantinople, but tiring of official life he joined the staff of the *Figaro* and later that of *Le Temps*. After many years of editorial writing, foreseeing the impending European clash, M. Tardieu campaigned aggressively for the three-years' military service bill. Early in 1914 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies.

On the outbreak of the war, in August, 1914, Tardieu organized for the War Office the first foreign press service, and then joined the staff of General Foch. After the battle of the Yser he was called to General Headquarters, to establish the Bureau of Information, but soon asked to be sent to the front, and while commanding a company of foot chasseurs (the famous "Blue Devils") was seriously wounded. Meanwhile he had acquired an astounding mass of information about the condition and needs of the army, and this was placed at the service of the government through a series of reports which he made as a member of the Army Commission.

M. Tardieu is peculiarly fitted, by reason of his intimate knowledge of his country's

wants, to serve efficiently as Commissioner to the United States. Moreover, he is already acquainted with American business and social life, having traveled here extensively in years past, and is described as remarkably sympathetic with American ideals and ways of looking at things.



ANDRÉ TARDIEU, FRENCH HIGH COMMISSIONER

GENERAL PERSHING

THE first American commander to lead troops in war on European soil, it is natural that General John J. Pershing should have "taken Paris by storm" last month, in the words of the newspaper correspondents. If some other American general had been charged with this highly important service, the people of France might have received him with equal enthusiasm, but it is certain that for the time being the traditions of American democracy, of American valor, as the French know them, are all embodied in Pershing. In Paris his six feet of soldierly presence means more than most of us can easily conceive, for to the French mind that well-knit figure typifies the might and the vigor of the elder Republic across the water to whose founding Lafayette gave the ardor of his youth.

At any rate, we at home know that when the Washington Administration sent "Jack" Pershing to head the American military contingent in France it selected for that responsible task a man who represents the very best that this generation has to offer as the product of our training for the soldier's profession. On the Mexican border, as successor to General Funston, he commanded the largest bodies of troops that have been assembled in this country since the disbanding of the Civil War armies. His difficult service in the Philippines was a test of his resourcefulness in the field, under hard conditions and far removed from his base. His leadership of the Mexican expedition last year was perhaps a still more trying experience—partly because he was less independent in command. Yet he obeyed orders and retained the respect of superiors and subordinates alike.

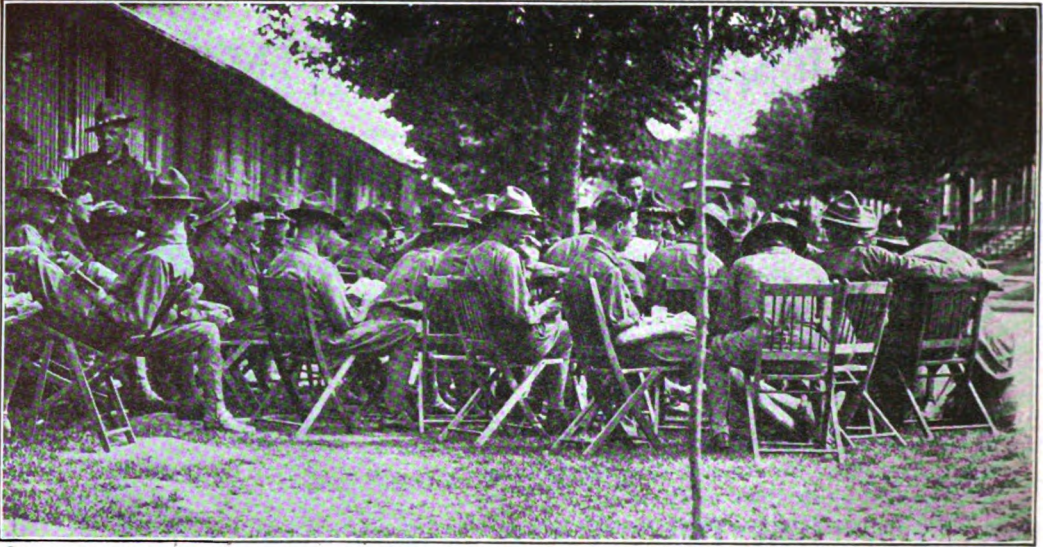
General Pershing was graduated from West Point thirty-one years ago and at once began active service in the Southwest. Since that time he has seen as much field duty as was possible for an American officer during three decades when the United States remained at peace, with the exception of the brief unpleasantness with Spain in 1898. In subjugating the hostile Moros, every soldierly quality was brought into play and in addition there were administrative tasks that required the soundest of judgment and the firmest of wills.

The General is of Alsatian descent and was born in Missouri.



© Harris & Ewing

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING



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STUDENT OFFICERS AT FORT MYER, GATHERED ABOUT THEIR INSTRUCTOR

MAKING OFFICERS FOR OUR NEW ARMY

BY WILLIAM MENKEL

THERE has never been much question about the ability of Uncle Sam to raise a million men for war purposes, either by the volunteer method or by conscription. The chief anxiety has been to secure officers to train the million after they had been raised. The Regular Army needs all its own officers, and, when recruited to its recently authorized strength, will need more. The National Guard is in the same position. Apart from the comparatively few officers in the Reserve Corps, there were practically no officers available to take charge of the proposed new draft army that will have more than half a million men at the start.

With the declaration of war and the decision to conscript a large fighting force, the War Department immediately set about (under Section 54 of the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916), to secure the necessary officers. The plan adopted was a modification, suited to war conditions, of the Federal Training Camps for Civilians, which had become popular throughout the country as the Plattsburg Idea, and had attained a high degree of success. The principle of these camps was a short period of intensive

military training for men physically and mentally fit.

Accordingly sixteen officers' training camps were projected last April, and the lists thrown open for applications. In spite of rigid requirements as to health, mental equipment, and experience, more than the desired number of men were easily obtained.

These camps were open to Reserve officers of the line and engineers, members of the Officers' Reserve Corps Training Unit, duly authorized members of the National Guard, graduates of military schools, and civilians with or without military experience, provided they were college graduates or otherwise educated, and had clearly demonstrated their ability in business or other activities. Also they were required to be men of good moral character and sound physical condition.

The only obligations were that the candidates must enlist for a period of three months and agree to accept such appointment in the Officers' Reserve Corps of the United States Army as the Secretary of War should tender to them at the close of the training period. Generally considered, the Government provisions for the camp attendants were

liberal. Transportation, uniforms, books, subsistence, and equipment were furnished, and in addition each man is allowed \$100 a month pay. Those who had already been commissioned in the Officers' Reserve Corps received the regular pay of their rank.

The sixteen camps were located at Plattsburg Barracks (N. Y.), Madison Barracks (Sackett's Harbor, N. Y.), Fort Niagara (N. Y.), Fort Myer (Virginia), Fort Oglethorpe (Georgia), Fort McPherson (Georgia), Fort Benjamin Harrison (Indiana), Fort Sheridan (Illinois), Fort Logan H. Roots (Arkansas), Fort Snelling (Minnesota), Fort Riley (Kansas), Leon Springs (Texas), and the Presidio of San Francisco.

With the exception of the "double" camps, like that of Plattsburg, which accommodates over 5,000 men, each camp was organized as one provisional training regiment, with a maximum attendance of twenty-five hundred men. The object of each regiment was to train officers for one full division of troops and one additional cavalry regiment. From the total of 40,000 men in training it was planned to select ten thousand to officer the first army increment of 500,000 men which Congress was expected to authorize, with commissions for many more for service elsewhere, or in the Reserve Corps.

Over seventy-five per cent. of the officer material attending the camps is extremely good. The ages of the men run from 21 years to 45. College graduates, professional men and men of large business affairs predominate. Many have left lucrative posi-



© International Film Service

PRACTISING RIFLE SIGHTING AT THE FORT SHERIDAN CAMP, ILLINOIS

tions or made other personal sacrifices to attend the camps.

The course of training, while in a measure similar to that of previous training camps, lasts three months instead of one, and includes more subjects than could be packed into a month's course. Also the working hours are longer and the discipline more severe. This was, of course, natural. The former camps were held while we were still at peace. They partook somewhat of the nature of propaganda, and no obligation went with attendance. The training was excellent and the experience valuable, but when the camp was over the men were through and went back to civil life. Now we are at war, and these camps are for actual war purposes. The men attending them are on the first lap of the road to France. Officers are to be made under high pressure, to command men who will engage in actual fighting. When their too brief time of training is up, they will almost immediately take charge of the raw troops that will be ready for them by that time and will try to pass on to them a good part of the training they have received.

It is by no means considered that the men will be finished officers when the camps close. But they will have been given a good start. They can be expected to go ahead afterward by themselves. With their own previous equipment and this added three months' intensive training, they will be able to keep well in advance of the men they are to teach,

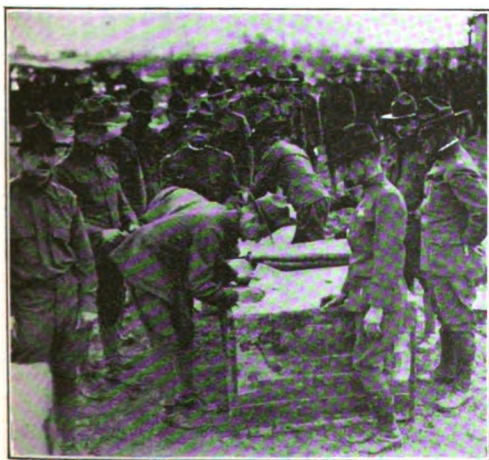


Photo by Paul Thompson

DRAWING EQUIPMENT AT FORT BENJAMIN HARRISON, INDIANA



MODERN BAYONET DRILL IS RECEIVING EMPHASIS
(Students at the Fort Myer Camp)

learning and re-learning as they go along.

The period of training in these camps began on May 15 and will end on August 11. It is divided into two terms. During the first term of one month all attendants were put through a uniform course of instruction in infantry work and the duties common to officers of all arms. On the completion of this period, the men were separated according to the various branches they had chosen, and then began their special training for two months in those particular branches. Infantrymen, who continued on in that line of work, have remained generally at the original camps. But engineers, artillerymen and aviation students have been detached and concentrated in other camps given over wholly to their particular branch.

The camp day, lasting from reveille at 5:45 a. m. to taps at 9:45 p. m., is based on a ten-hour schedule of actual work—five in the morning, three in the afternoon, and a two-hour study period at night. This night studying is not done individually as the men may please, lying in bunks or any other convenient place and subject to all sorts of interruptions. They are marched off by companies to their classrooms immediately after supper, and sit down in a body for a solid period of two hours in silent study. In addition to the field work, there is a conference

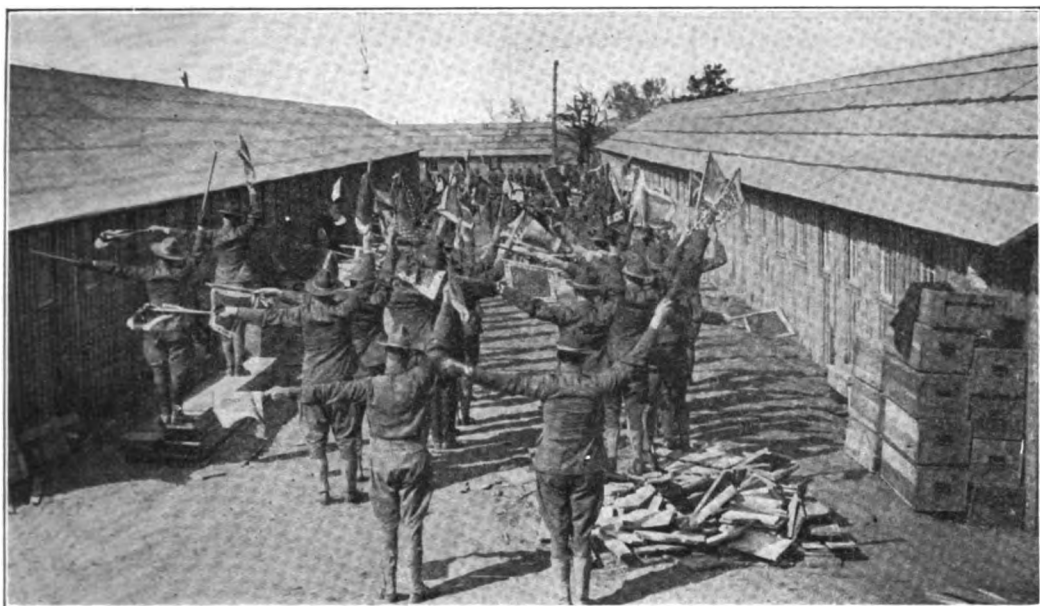
period of an hour and a half each morning and afternoon at which the candidates for commissions are quizzed by their instructors on the lessons studied the evening before. While there are short rests during the day, the only free time of any length is Saturday afternoon and Sunday, with the possibility of Saturday afternoons being filled with "catching up" work later on.

The first month's infantry course consisted of the usual drill in close and open order, manual of arms, musketry training, physical drill, semaphore and flag signaling, and bayonet and saber drill. In addition to the books covering these subjects, the men also studied the "Manual of Court-Martial," "Small Problems for Infantry" and "Manual of Interior Guard Duty." The care of equipment, organization of the regiment, and other branches of the military art were taken up in the morning and evening conferences. In the second period of training, all the phases of actual warfare in Europe will be realistically taken up. Conditions of trench warfare will be accurately reproduced, the men taking their turns in dugouts and on firing lines, and learning all about grenade and gas attacks, both offensive and defensive, barbed-wire entanglements, machine-gun work, night attacks and trench raids, to the accompaniment of star shells, and all the other paraphernalia of modern warfare, with a three-day period of war maneuvers to finish up.

The courses are designed to develop the men as instructors, managers and leaders. They are subjected to the same drills and individual training that they will be called on



A CLASS SESSION IN MUSKETRY AT THE PRESIDIO
CAMP, SAN FRANCISCO



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SIGNALING BY SEMAPHORE AND FLAGS IS AN IMPORTANT FEATURE OF THE TRAINING
(Practising signalling at Plattsburg. The picture shows the wooden barracks in which the men live)

to give as officers, and must submit to the same discipline and rigid attention to detail that they will have to exact in turn from those under them. They are living the same mode of life that their future subordinates will have to live, with added instruction in the proper method of supplying, messing, administering, and disciplining organizations, and caring for the welfare and comfort of their men. Leadership is being developed by giving every man by turns an opportunity to command various company units in field work.

The camps are a kind of hot-house West Point, minus the academic work and its theoretical training—and plus some very practical up-to-date war lessons. The training is not too arduous. Neither is it easy. It cannot well be under the circumstances. The men have a lot to learn in an all too brief time. So it is a fairly steady grind, with no time for loafing, and everything going with vim and snap. But the men are standing up well under it. The selective process by which they were originally chosen resulted in securing material able to absorb rapidly an intensive course of this kind.

The instruction contemplates a thorough grounding in the fundamental work of the soldier,—the necessary general knowledge which will help the new officers to meet special situations as they arise. This is a highly

important point. It was overlooked in training some of the English and Canadian forces who were drilled exclusively in certain special phases of the new warfare. And when conditions changed these men were at a loss to meet them. Nevertheless, while profiting by the mistakes of our allies, we are also benefiting by their advice and instructions. The experience of foreign armies during the past three years is being freely drawn upon for lessons of the latest developments in modern warfare. Thoroughness and precision are being emphasized.

Lack of equipment has handicapped the work to a certain extent, and there is a decided shortage of officer instructors. At a certain school in Canada 300 men are supplied with a teaching staff of 30 officers—one instructor to each ten men. At the double camp at Plattsburg there are 55 officer instructors (not counting the medical staff) to over 5500 men—one to every 100.

Camp officials have, however, expressed themselves as well satisfied with the progress made. More than 60 per cent. of the men will probably earn commissions. Even this would indicate some severe weeding out. The process of elimination has, in fact, been going on ever since the camps opened. In addition to the physical examination on acceptance of the candidate's application, a further physical test was applied at the camps, resulting

in many rejections. Other men have dropped out for business or personal reasons. Some, recognizing their own unfitness as the work progressed, have voluntarily discontinued the course. A few have been dismissed for the good of the service. Those who are not successful in securing commissions in the drafted forces or in the Regular Army may be invited to attend a later camp for further training. Examinations and the result of day-by-day observation on the part of officers will largely determine the fitness of the men to receive commissions.

Failure to be chosen for a commission will not necessarily reflect on the individual candidate. All men are not cut out to be military officers. Temperament, the ability to handle men, and the talent to impart instruction—prime requisites in a good officer—are not possessed by all. But every man is being given an absolutely fair show and equal treatment. Individual students have freely acknowledged that if they fail it will be due to their own fault.

The men are working hard and submitting cheerfully to rigid discipline. The strictest supervision is being constantly maintained over their conduct both inside and outside the camps. Provost officers and assistants are utilized for this purpose. Gross violations of discipline mean prompt discharge from the camp, while all the little things that show carelessness or imperfections in habits or character are carefully set down and will score against the candidate in the final judgment. During the first month rank was not observed as between the men in training, many of whom had already received their commissions as lieutenants, captains and majors in the Reserve Corps; but after this period these men had to be duly saluted by the uncommissioned privates.

Health and moral conditions are being well guarded in and about these officers' training camps. The War Department has made

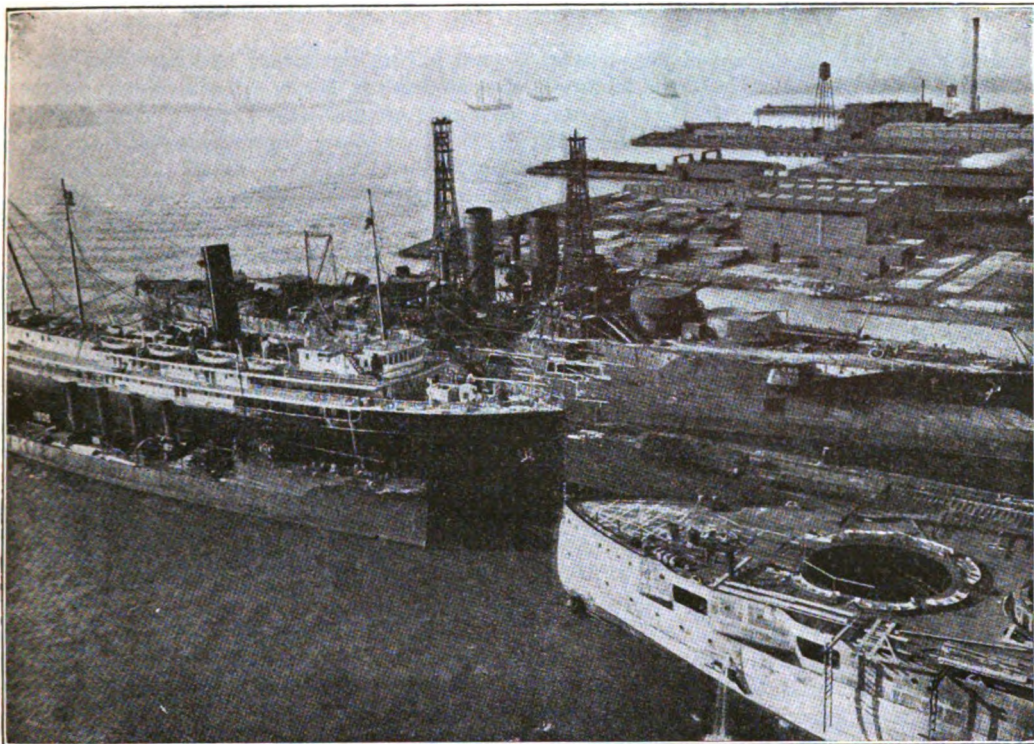
strict regulations to this end, and the camp authorities are carrying out instructions to the letter. Two regulations have a direct bearing along these lines. The first is that the men are required to wear their uniforms in public all the time. The second regulation forbids any man in uniform from entering a drinking-place or a house of prostitution. In New York State also a new law was secured prohibiting the sale of liquor within a quarter of a mile of any army reservation, and many rum shops promptly went by the board.

It may be said for the men that they are not anxious to break the regulations. Of excellent character to begin with, the majority of them could doubtless get along very well without restrictions on their conduct. Housed by companies in rough wooden shacks, eating plain food, with physical work out of doors most of the day, and regular hours, the men are living clean and healthy lives. They realize the task looming up before them, and are seriously intent on making good. The Y. M. C. A. as usual is standing by at the camps in various useful ways. It assists materially in the oversight of recreation, supplies personal conveniences, and conducts religious services. Church attendance—at the big double camp at Plattsburg, for example—is exceptionally good. An average of a thousand men appear at the morning and evening services at this camp, while hundreds of others go to the various churches in the city.

Altogether it is an interesting experiment for us to make our army officers in this way. It is revolutionary, this method of selecting officers in time of war by the competitive process instead of by personal or political influence. The democracy of it is appropriate to the democratic character of our conscript army. A second series of camps, with fewer men, has already been planned for the period from August 27 to November 26.



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BATTLESHIPS AND MERCHANTMEN AT THE YARDS OF THE NEW YORK SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION, CAMDEN, N. J.—SHOWING THE VARIETY OF WORK BEING DONE AT ONE BIG SHIPYARD.

AMERICAN SHIPBUILDING— A REAL RENAISSANCE

BY WINTHROP L. MARVIN

FROM a pigmy to a giant in two years is the war record of American shipbuilding. On July 1, 1914, just before this great combat began, only forty-one steel merchant steamships of a total of 143,000 tons were under construction in American shipyards, and about one-third of these vessels were in yards of the Great Lakes, from which the largest of them could not be transferred to the ocean. There had come a halt in the increase of the navy—Germany had been allowed to pass ahead of the United States. The builders of Europe were operating at a maximum. American maritime courage and enterprise were at the very lowest ebb since the Civil War. The ship-owners and builders of this country had seen every successive measure for the strengthening of their industry defeated, though by very scant majorities, through the

indifference of a part of the agricultural Middle West and South and the adroit and formidable opposition of the great State-aided steamship combinations of Europe. There were alien propagandas in this country before the Department of Justice began its sensational disclosures in the war autumn of 1914.

President Wilson had come into office with eloquent emphasis of the national importance of American ships and American seamen, but the early months of his Administration had unfortunately been signalized by the introduction into Congress of measures proposing the entrance into our coastwise commerce of foreign ships maintained, many of them, by subsidies, or operated by Chinese or Lascar crews. That is to say, the prospect was, three years ago, that the free, unrestricted, but hopelessly one-sided, com-

petition which had already given nine-tenths of our overseas carrying trade to the bountified or cheap-wage vessels of other nations would soon be applied with inevitably the same result to the home carrying trade between Baltimore and Boston, or New York and New Orleans, or Philadelphia and San Francisco. It is not strange, therefore, that in those months of 1913 and early 1914, when all our national industries were in a state of arrested development, American shipbuilding and navigation were as if stricken with paralysis.

NO CHANGE AT FIRST

Nor did the outbreak of the war in Europe work any large immediate change. So long as the conflict seemed only a matter of weeks or months, even the complete loss from our trade routes of the German merchant ships, which, after Britain's, had been our principal ocean carriers, brought no urgent demand for new American freight ships, which would require the most of a year to build. But when men visioned more accurately the real duration and heart-breaking tenseness of the gigantic struggle, the wisest and boldest of them saw that for America the prime need was ships, and as, after Britain and Germany, the United States had the greatest ocean-shipbuilding equipment, American builders who had been wont to be suppliants for casual orders from coast owners and the Government now found themselves overwhelmed with business from their own country and from foreign lands.

It should be understood that Britain before the war was constructing not only all the ships for her own immense merchant marine but a great part of the new tonnage for all other maritime nations except Germany, France, and the United States. Thus, according to Lloyd's Register, British yards in 1913 produced no less than 1,932,000 tons of shipping made up of vessels of 100 tons gross or over, out of 2,901,000 tons launched in the same period in the whole world. In that same year Germany produced 465,000 tons and France 176,000 tons. No other nation launched as much as 100,000 tons, except Holland, credited with 104,000 tons, and the United States, credited with 276,000 tons—Lloyd's figures for this country, however, are not full and complete.

Other maritime powers of importance, like Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Italy, and Japan, were chiefly dependent on British builders for their merchant craft

—not having the means to secure the requisite amount at home—and instantly on the outbreak of the war English, Scotch, and Irish yards were "commandeered" for the naval construction and repair work of their government. This does not mean that all merchant work was incontinently abandoned, but it was deferred and made subordinate to the imperative Admiralty demands, with the result that in the first full war year, 1915, the total merchant output of British yards was only 650,000 tons, or one-third of the normal production of 1913.

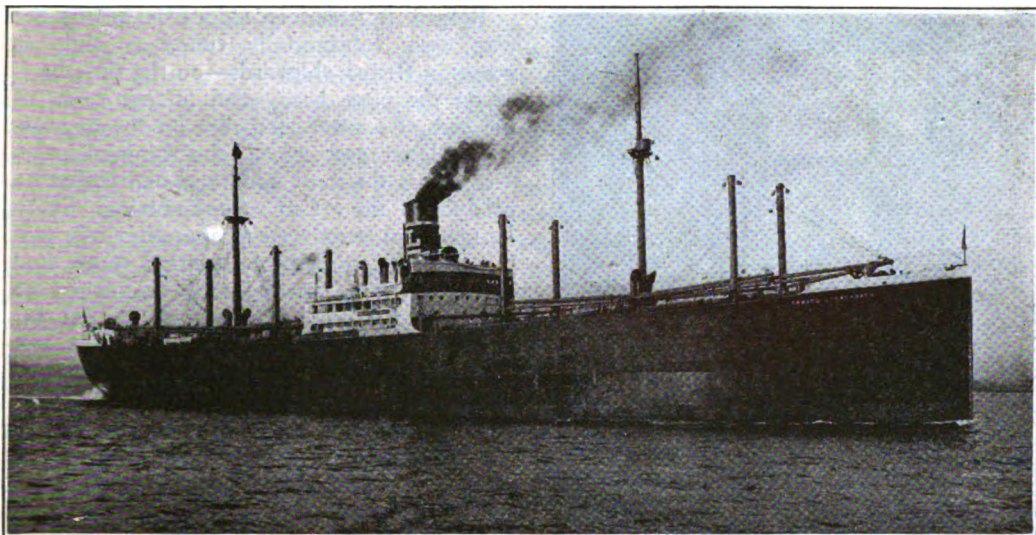
NEUTRAL EUROPE TURNING TO AMERICA

Not only was the natural annual increase of ocean tonnage of British origin so heavily lessened, but from the first day of the war there began that sharp, sensational wasting of Allied ships by German roving cruisers and submarines—and at first one-third, then more and more, and probably one-half of British merchant vessels, which in 1913 made up a round 20,000,000 tons, or one-half of the total carrying tonnage of the world, were chartered or requisitioned for the King's service as food or munitions ships, patrol ships, fuel ships, transports, and general naval auxiliaries. This process, added to the arrest of German and Austrian tonnage, left a mighty vacuum in the ocean-carrying resources of the world. To fill this vacuum which so gravely threatened international commerce, Scandinavian, Dutch, and other neutral shipowners sought British yards in vain—in their time of stress they would not build for foreigners—and Germany could not and France could not. So Scandinavian and other owners who wished new ships, turned, because they had to turn, for the first time in sixty years, to the shipyards of America.

OUR SHIPYARDS IN FIRST PLACE

These neutral merchants found American yards already filling up with new fleets for the shipping houses of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, Galveston, San Francisco, Portland, and Puget Sound. Not only were coast plants being driven to the utmost, but Great Lake yards were being utilized—for ships for ocean service up to 260 feet in length and of a capacity of 3000 to 4000 tons can be floated out of the lakes through the Welland Canal to the St. Lawrence River and the Atlantic.

Between home demand and foreign de-



THE NEW OCEAN FREIGHTER "EDWARD LUCKENBACH"
(Built for the Luckenbach Steamship Company by the Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation)

mand, American yards on coast and lake from January to June, 1916, inclusive, completed a total tonnage of 240,000 as compared with 238,000 tons launched in the same months from all the yards of the United Kingdom. Thus, in the great war, and because of the war, the United States had stepped into its rightful position as the foremost shipbuilding nation of the world.

Figures thus far cited relate only to merchant tonnage. The American naval appropriation bill reported on June 30, 1916, provided for ten battleships, six battle cruisers, ten scout cruisers, and other warships and auxiliaries numbering in all 157, of a total of 855,000 tons displacement, at an estimated cost of \$588,000,000, of which sixty-six of 382,000 tons were to be begun as soon as practicable and the remainder before July 1, 1919. Most of these warships will necessarily be constructed in the commercial shipyards of the United States, the chief of which are much more completely equipped and extensive than the government navy-yard establishments. On June 30, 1914, there were building in Great Britain ninety warships of a total of 592,000 tons displacement of which seventy-six of 458,000 tons were building in commercial yards.

The magnitude of the present shipbuilding undertakings in America is well set forth in the current report of Mr. Eugene T. Chamberlain, United States Commissioner of Navigation, that "the steel ships already ordered or building in American shipyards at

this writing and those to be built or begun in less than three years will cost about \$800,000,000, the largest outlay for shipbuilding, it is quite safe to say, ever provided for at one period in the history of any country."

SHIP STEEL CHEAPER HERE

"Why," it may be asked, "did not all these American and foreign orders come to American shipyards before?" This question is pertinent; it should be answered. That the present extraordinary activity in American merchant shipbuilding represents "war business" and war conditions is frankly acknowledged by American builders. Before the war, American steel shipyards had relatively few orders, except for naval vessels or vessels designed for the coastwise trade, to which foreign-built craft were not admitted. Foreign owners did not come here for their ocean ships, and American owners operating in the overseas trade often purchased their fleets abroad—more than \$100,000,000 of American capital was said to be invested in shipping under foreign registry.

The main cause for all this was succinctly stated by the Merchant Marine Commission in its report in 1904-1905—that it cost on the average about 40 per cent. more to build an ocean ship in this country than it did in Europe. This was not due to any difference in the cost of steel materials, for ship-plates and shapes were obtainable at a lower price, as a general rule, in this country than else-

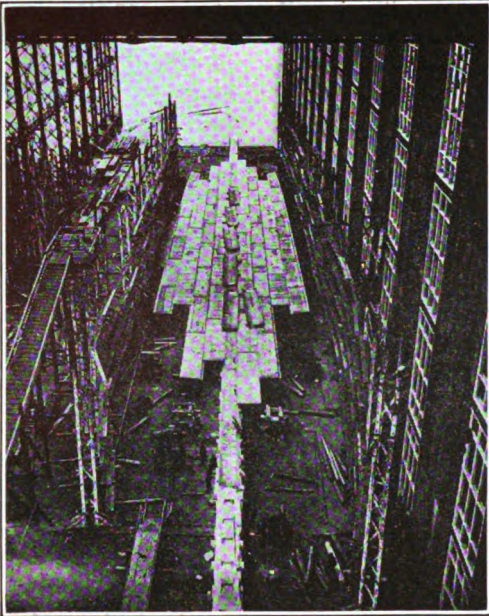


Photo by Paul Thompson

LAYING THE KEEL OF A STANDARDIZED STEEL SHIP

where. All materials for ships for foreign service have been non-dutiable for many years, and the Panama Canal Act of 1912 provided for the free admission of such materials for the construction even of vessels in the coastwise trade.

Regularly the Bureau of Navigation reports the comparative price of steel ship-plates free on board at Pittsburgh in this country and at Middlesborough in England. Since 1910 in every month the American price has been substantially lower than the British price. For August, 1914, the first month of the war, when shipbuilding was so inactive here and so active in the United Kingdom, ship-plates were selling at \$26.66 a ton in Pittsburgh and at \$34.08 a ton at Middlesborough. Yet, a 5000 dead-weight ton steamship costing \$40 a ton in a British yard at that time would have cost \$60 a ton in America—or \$200,000 in the one case and \$300,000 in the other.

WHY AMERICAN SHIPS HAD COST MORE

This difference was due, not to the cost of materials, but to (1) the cost of labor and (2) the greater experience and, therefore, the greater facility of the British yard, which, working constantly on vessels for the vast British merchant marine and for foreign marines, was able to standardize its product and achieve the economy of a full and regular volume of production.

Wages in American shipyards before the war were substantially twice as high as wages in British shipyards—on the time basis or on the piece basis—and 50 per cent. of the cost of a completed ship on the average is the labor cost within the shipyard gates—a ship is the most ambitious and elaborate product of the art of manufacturing. With British yards employed to approximately full capacity on familiar standardized types, and American yards spasmodically employed to part capacity on anything that offered between a battleship and a tug, it was not surprising, it was simply inevitable, that the cost of the product of the British yard should be so uniformly far below the cost of the product of the American yard that there could be no real commercial competition between them.

FULL CAPACITY FOR THE FIRST TIME

But the great war has wrought a change of vast economic significance—not by equalizing American and British shipyard wages, for wages have risen in both countries and the difference still is wide—not by changing still further the relative cost of steel materials, for materials have risen sharply in both countries (ship-plates selling in August, 1916, at \$66.91 a ton at Pittsburgh and at \$69.35 at Middlesborough)—but by giving American steel shipyards for the first time

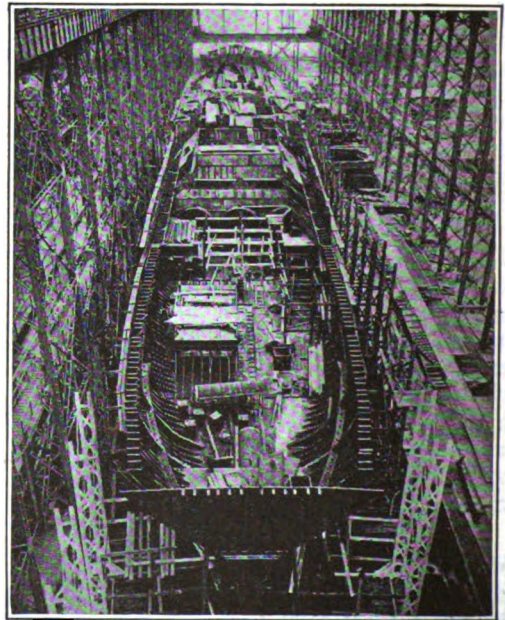


Photo by Paul Thompson

THE BOILERS IN PLACE ON A BIG TANKER

(To the right, the keel of another vessel is being laid)

in their history a chance to work to full capacity on selected, standardized types of ships and thus to secure experience, facility, and the economy of large production. It is not probable that even now American ship cost is as low as British ship cost—but it is undoubtedly a great deal nearer than ever before.

British technical authorities before the war credited the best American yards with more modern mechanical plants and more practical and effective organization. In the long run, the better-paid American employees with equal experience should be the better workers. In recent years owners who have bought and operated both American-built and foreign-built steel ships have often testified that, though the American vessels cost more, they were worth more—not only in the excellence of their mechanical finish but in design, equipment, and durability—requiring notably fewer and less expensive repairs. That the Yankee has a genius for metal-working as well as for wood-working the world sufficiently knows.

Yet it would be rash to conclude that when the war ends the world will continue to come to America for its ocean tonnage and find New England, New York, the Delaware, and the Chesapeake cheaper markets than the Clyde, the Tyne, and the Wear. The truth is that nobody can know now with any certainty just what comparative economic conditions will be in the warring lands when the strife at arms is over. It is a fair assumption, however, that both capital and labor in the United States will have made diligent use of the opportunity and that no difference of 40 per cent. or anything like it will separate American and British ship costs. America will certainly be a real competitor again.

THE HIGHER COST OF SHIP OPERATION

But relative cost of ship construction is by no means the only factor in the problem of the merchant marine. There is also the relative cost of operation—the cost of maintenance. Here, also, in the years before the war the advantage was heavily against the American flag in international commerce. On the Pacific Ocean it was an extreme case of a \$40-a-month American seaman against an \$8- or \$10-a-month Chinese or Japanese—and the American Oriental trans-Pacific lines could live only by the employment of Asiatic labor. On the Atlantic the odds were less and yet substantial.

This higher cost of maintenance is not, as has so frequently and hastily been said, a matter of "antiquated" or too rigid navigation laws and regulations. Until this war, all ships of American registry were required to have American officers, but unless they were fast mail ships under contract with the Government they were not required to carry American crews—not a man below the rank of officer in charge of a watch need be an American citizen. Yet, because of the fact that an American vessel, not by compulsion of law, but by habit and convenience, usually fitted out and began its voyage at an American port, economic law, not statutory law, demanded that when it shipped its crew it should pay a wage comparable with the wages paid on shore in the "hinterland" of the port, and comparable with the standards of life there prevailing.



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PUTTING UP THE STEEL FRAMEWORK OF AN OIL TANK STEAMSHIP

A British machinist or weaver who, emigrating, comes down the gangplank and goes to work in an American machine shop or factory does not accept the pay rate of his native land, but claims and receives the wage of the workers around him here. So it is with the Scandinavian sailor or the Greek or Spanish fireman—he demands the wages of the port and country. This wage difference is so important that several years ago the International Mercantile Marine Company, operating, as is well known, many British, a few American, and a few Belgian steamers, placed three American-built ships,

the *Finland*, *Kroonland*, and *Samland*, beneath the Belgian flag to avail itself of the appreciable economy sure to follow on the change of colors. Not until the completion of the Panama Canal gave an opportunity for profitable coastwise service were the *Finland* and *Kroonland* returned to the American flag—and the *Samland* still retains an alien registry.

Even Britain, titular mistress of the seas, with her world-girdling trade, her helpful consular service, her dominance of marine underwriting, and her generously subsidized imperial mail lines to all quarters of the globe, has steadily felt the pinch of competition of powers with wages and standards of living beneath her own. The Germans,

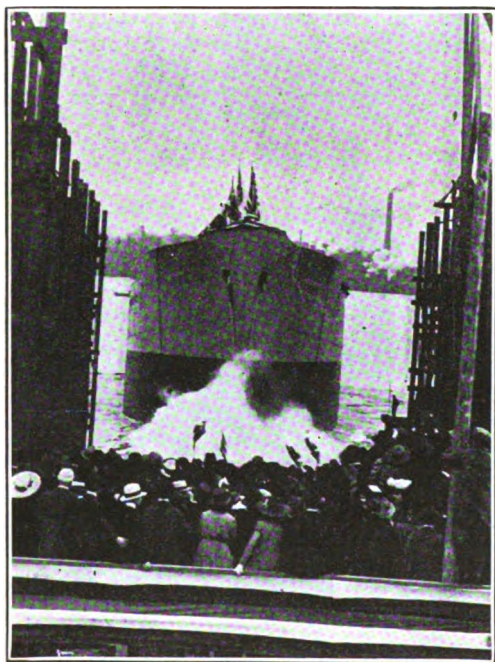
was the chief beneficiary of the change. If "Der Tag" had been deferred some years more, it is conceivable that the German merchant fleet of ships and sailors, on a lower wage scale, would have exceeded the British fleet, and the Imperial navy would naturally have been strong in proportion—with momentous consequences to the free nations of the world.

It is the British Admiral Jellicoe who, speaking the other day to his countrymen, paid the British merchant marine the most impressive tribute in its history. "The task of keeping the large number of our navy ships working in all ports of the world, of supplying them with fuel, munitions, etc.," he said, "can only be recognized by those in possession of all the facts. This work involves a great effort on the part of the mercantile marine. Without our mercantile marine the navy—and, indeed, the nation—could not exist."

These words of the British Admiral have their weighty lesson also for America, for it is true, too, for us that without a great mercantile marine the navy, that must be our first line of defense in any war, cannot exist. It is more than a commercial question—it is a vital question of national security and independence—that the present expansion in our shipyards and the splendid quickening of our whole maritime life should not end with the war which is their occasion. The very fate of the present conflict hangs, in the words of the distinguished British envoy, Mr. Balfour, upon America's ability to supply, to save the Allied cause, "ships and more ships, and yet more ships!" He and his people are appealing now to what an earlier generation of Britons knew well—the incomparable American genius for the sea, its life and its adventure. In war and in peace among the most glorious chapters of American history are those which portray the achievements of our race upon the ocean. Is this shipbuilding revival a brief spurt of activity or a true and lasting renaissance?

WAR-GROWTH OF OUR OVERSEAS TONNAGE

On June 30, 1914, the United States, nominally because of its immense coast and lake trade the second maritime power in the world, had only 1,076,000 tons of shipping registered for foreign trade out of a total merchant tonnage of 7,928,000. These 1,076,000 tons of registered American shipping, in 1914, sufficed to convey only 9.7



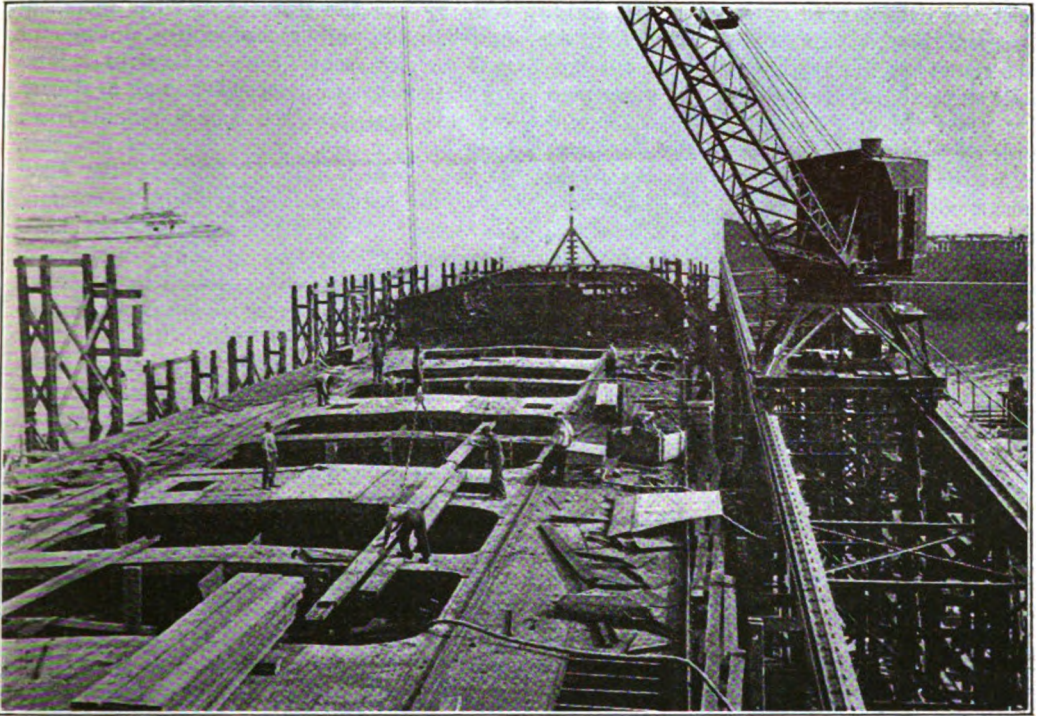
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LAUNCHING THE STEEL SHIP "SCANDINAVIC"
(Built by the Standard Shipbuilding Corporation)

the Scandinavians, the Italians, the Greeks, the Japanese, can all "man out" ships more cheaply than the Britons, though one-third of the crews of the British merchant marine of late years have been Chinese or Lascars.

OUR VITAL NEED OF AN OCEAN FLEET

In 1870 the British proportion of entries and clearances at British ports was 70 per cent. In 1914 it had ominously declined to 56 per cent.—and the German merchant flag



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LAYING THE GIRDERS ON THE DECK OF AN OIL TANKER

per cent. of the value of our imports and exports. On June 30, 1915, American tonnage registered for foreign trade had nearly doubled, to 1,871,000 tons carrying 14.3 per cent. of our imports and exports. This notable increase in a single year was due to two principal causes—first the admission of 143 foreign-built but American-owned vessels of a total of 513,000 tons to American registry, and second the transfer of about 300,000 tons of American coastwise vessels to overseas routes.

There had not been time to construct many new ships and equip them for distant voyages. After another year, on June 30, 1916, our tonnage registered for foreign trade had increased still further, to 2,191,000 tons, carrying 16.3 per cent. of our imports and exports. In this fiscal year 1916 only twenty-six foreign-built vessels of a total tonnage of 69,000 had been admitted to American registry; while 160 American vessels of a total tonnage of 102,000 had been transferred to foreign registry. In this year whatever gain had been achieved in our overseas fleet manifestly represented new American construction. American shipyards were at work in earnest.

THE "FREE SHIP" EXPERIMENT

By the Panama Canal Act approved on August 24, 1912, the historic American policy of reserving to American-built ships the right to fly the American flag in our waters had been in part abandoned. That Act opened to American registry for the foreign trade alone American-owned but foreign-built ships not more than five years old capable of carrying dry and perishable cargoes. But for nearly two years, or until the outbreak of the European war, this law stood on the statute books absolutely barren of results. Not one of the hundreds of foreign-built ships owned by American firms or corporations and operated for purposes of convenience or economy under foreign flags applied for registry under these provisions. Manifestly, the "free ship" policy long advocated by opponents of subsidy or other forms of national encouragement, and ardently favored by European steamship interests, had wholly failed to meet the test of experience, just as was predicted by American shipping men.

But in the early weeks of the war, on the recommendation of President Wilson, to

meet the urgent need of ships of any kind, Congress passed, on August 18, 1914, an Act removing the requirement that foreign-built ships admitted should be not more than five years old and exempting these foreign-built ships in the discretion of the President from the obligation to employ American officers and to comply with our inspection, survey and measurement laws. This was a war measure; it virtually preferred foreign-built to American-built vessels in the enforcement of the laws of the United States. The war had put a sudden and valuable premium upon the flag of the most powerful of then neutral carriers, and a very large fleet of vessels built abroad but American-owned immediately sought the protection of the Stars and Stripes.

"FREE SHIPS" BREAK DOWN

But two circumstances put a sudden end to the free working of this "free ship" expedient. One was the immediate demand of foreign officers and crews for the American rate of wages. On nine steamers of the United States Steel Corporation this amounted to an increase in the cost of operation from \$12,478 a month to \$17,537 a month, or about 40 per cent. W. R. Grace & Company, of New York, stated that wages and food on a steamship under the British flag amounted to \$1991 a month, and under the American flag to \$2773 a month. The steamship *Brindilla* of the Standard Oil Company under the German flag had a wage bill of \$936 a month, which advanced under the American flag to \$1763 a month.

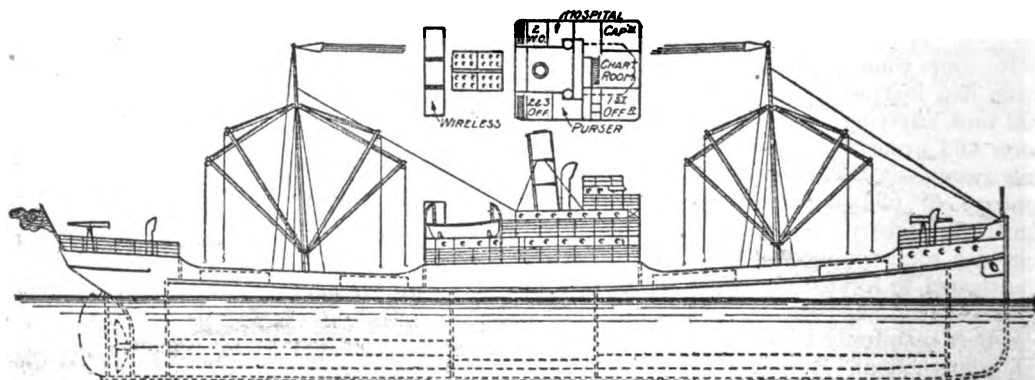
To prevent any further working of the "free ship" plan and to conserve existing tonnage, the British Government, followed by nearly all the other maritime nations, for-

bade by law the transfer of their merchant craft to any other nationality during the war or for some time afterward. This legislation was of direct advantage to American shipyards, for American merchants could now procure new vessels nowhere else than in the United States. But, on the other hand, the fact that vessels could be operated more cheaply under foreign flags than under American colors, and in some cases could receive foreign subsidies denied to American ships, produced an increasing sale of American ships to foreign owners.

In this way the former Pacific Mail liners *Korea* and *Siberia*, long familiar on the route from San Francisco to the Orient, deprived of their Chinese sailors, firemen and stewards by the La Follette seamen's law, passed over to the Japanese, who will take no American cargo until their own needs are filled. According to the Bureau of Navigation, between July 1, 1914, and February 28, 1917, ships transferred to the American flag from foreign flags numbered 204, of a total of 664,000 tons, and ships transferred from the American flag to foreign flags numbered 405, of a total of 351,000 tons.

PROFITABLE UNDER ANY FLAG

There is, of course, no need of, or call for, subsidies, subventions or special aids of any kind for American ships in the abnormal conditions now prevailing. American shipowners can pay the high wages of the war emergency and make profits out of the extraordinarily high rates of ocean freight. They cannot, however, make as high profits as foreign shipowners with lower costs of maintenance—which explains the transfer of so much tonnage from American to foreign registry in the past two years. To this same cause is due the striking new develop-



DESIGN OF THE WOODEN TYPE OF STEAMSHIP PLANNED BY THE UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD.



A NEW BOSTON OVERSEAS FREIGHTER
(Built by the New York Shipbuilding Corporation)

ment of foreign orders in American shipyards. A few weeks ago it was declared that no less than 750,000 tons of steel steamships building in this country was the property of foreign owners, chiefly British or Scandinavian—and it is understood that much of the tonnage nominally owned on Scandinavian account was actually paid for by money furnished by the British Government. Under any flag these new ships would be a lucrative investment. There are stories of vessels paid for by the earnings of one round voyage, and the present attractiveness of maritime investments can be conjectured from the sale recently reported for \$2,700,000 of an American-built freight steamer which cost \$630,000 when new four years ago.

MORE THAN 2,000,000 TONS

From American shipowners and from foreign shipowners the orders now being or about to be fulfilled in American shipyards call for a total of 537 steel vessels with a total tonnage of 2,039,000 and 167 wooden vessels with a total tonnage of 214,700. This is the formal report sent to the Senate on June 3 last by Secretary Redfield of the Department of Commerce. Because of the desire of the Navy Department, no further particulars as to the composition of this immense new fleet can be officially disclosed from Washington. But *Marine Engineering*, of New York, as the result of an unofficial and thorough canvass, announces totals in substantial agreement with those of Secretary Redfield, to the effect that 723 vessels of a total tonnage of 2,245,000 are now under construction. Of these, 319 of a total tonnage of 1,539,000 are classified as cargo steamships or motorships, seventy-seven of a total tonnage of 365,000 are tank ships

for oil, etc., ten of a total tonnage of 55,000 are combined passenger and cargo steamers, and 118 of a total tonnage of 159,000 are wooden craft or auxiliaries—the other 199 vessels of a total tonnage of about 128,000 being barges, tugs, or harbor craft. Of the entire new construction, 52.5 per cent. is on the Atlantic or Gulf coast, 33.2 per cent. on the Pacific, and 14.3 per cent. on the Great Lakes.

Analysis quickly shows that this is a powerful and valuable fleet, more than 90 per cent. of all the ships in hand in coast yards being of a distinctive deep sea type, while 75 per cent. even of the new ships on the Northern lakes are fit for ocean carrying.

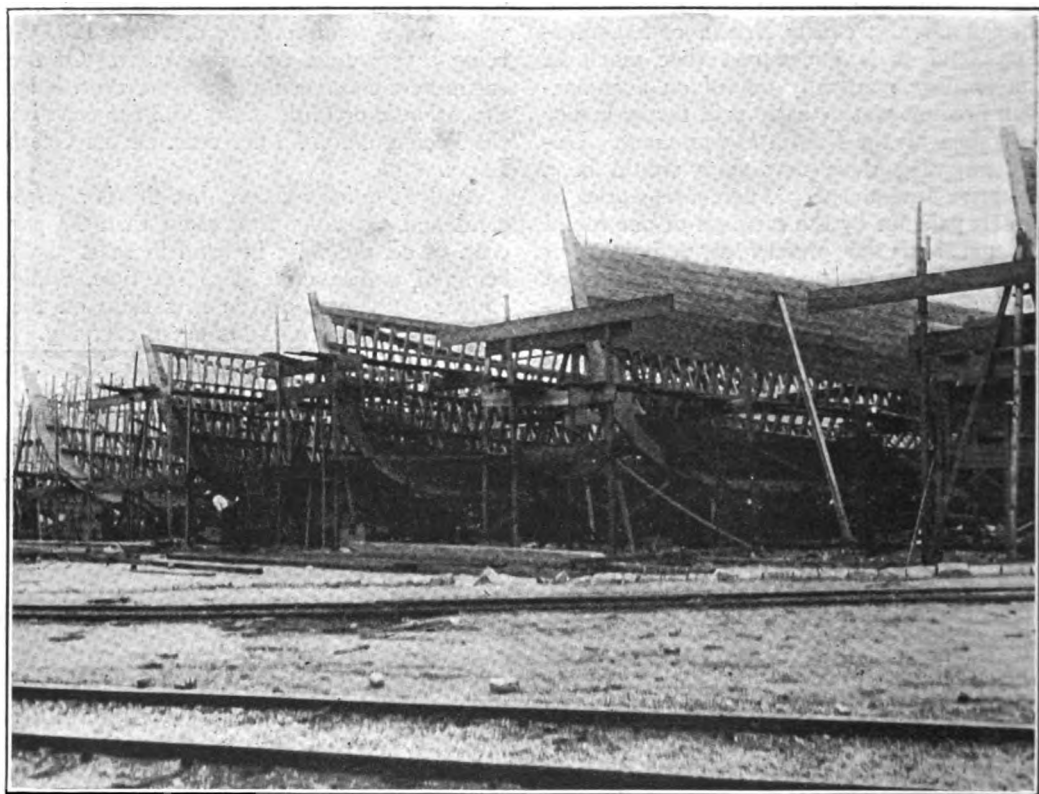
THREE MILLION TONS MORE

Now comes forward the United States Government, through the Emergency Fleet Corporation headed by Major-General Goethals, as the greatest prospective shipowner in the world. With an appropriation of \$750,000,000 from Congress and more promised, General Goethals will build 3,000,000 tons of ocean carriers in addition to what American and foreign owners are now constructing in the private yards of the United States. Only a few of the Emergency Fleet Corporation contracts have yet been awarded, and work on these vessels has not yet begun or is in its preparatory stages. Part of these government ships are of steel, part are of wood, part are of composite construction—that is, with metal frames and wooden planking. Of the controversy between the steel-ship men and the wooden-ship men, only this need be said—that all the steel ships which America can build and all the wooden ships in addition will be imperatively needed to save the Allies and win the war.

Of the new United States Shipping Board with its great powers and responsibilities the country rightfully expects substantial results, though the sound sense of the American people does not wish to see the Government permanently engaged in the ocean shipping business in time of peace. This, in fact, is not contemplated or permitted in the letter of the law. The new government-built fleet will be leased or sold to practical ship-owners as rapidly as possible, and can be most efficiently operated in the control of private initiative and capital. But in this extraordinary emergency Uncle Sam has put his strong shoulders to the wheel, and he will not consent to seeing his money lost and his work undone when the emergency has ended. West and South have been

wakened by the war to the national need of American ships and seamen in times of war and peace. Western and Southern boys by the thousands are afloat in the navy and the merchant service, and many thousands more will be there before the war has ended.

We have become again a seafaring people—and a seafaring people the New Englanders and the coast folk of the North Atlantic have never ceased to be. No living man can now forecast the exact provisions of the national legislation that will be demanded to keep our shipyards full and our fleet active and prosperous when peace has been reestablished. But assuredly the nation whose ships and sailors must now make that peace possible will never again permit its flag to be driven from the ocean.



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A ROW OF NEW HULLS IN ONE OF THE BUSY SHIPYARDS OF THE UNITED STATES

THE VITALIZATION OF CITY SCHOOLS

THE STORY OF A SCHOOL TEACHER WITH VISION AND OF SCHOOLS THAT SERVE THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF THE CHILD

THESE are days of many theories and experiments in matters of education. Many books, moreover, have appeared on ways to serve the immigrant and Americanize him and his children. It is an excellent and a helpful thing to find among these a book that is at once a sympathetic and informing study of the conditions of education in a great city and also an illuminating volume of suggestions as to the best means of Americanizing the alien and "Americanizing America." This book, entitled "A Schoolmaster of the Great City," is the result of years of close observation and careful experiment with our educational system by Mr. Angelo Patri, now principal of School No. 45 in the Borough of the Bronx, New York. Mr. Patri came to this country as a child of five from the mountain district near Naples. In his book he has told the story of the first school where he held a principalship, No. 4, in the Bronx, overlooking Crotona Park. Through his simple, modest narrative, which describes his struggle to get ideals into the actual working plan of the school is revealed much that is new of the alien's view of America and his feeling for our educational system.

Before the Montessori method of kindergarten and primary work, which frees the child had come to this country, and before Gary, Indiana, had put the Wirt School Plan into practical operation, Mr. Patri successfully fought his critics and superiors, interested himself in the community, surrounded himself with efficient teachers and experimented with educational methods, until he had created a school that served the immediate needs of the children and was in fact, not in theory, a communal center.

Patri's book has been compared to Jacob Riis's portrayal of the lives of the common people in "How the Other Half Lives." Like Riis, he sees the flaws of our social and educational systems more clearly because of his foreign birth. Against the immigrant's dream of what America is, and means, he



MR. ANGELO PATRI AND MADAME MONTESSORI

contrasts the America of the past, and, so far as the average school and general social conditions go, of the present. His work has been done in New York, but his experiments are of interest in all American cities because of the steadily flowing tides of immigration that bring alien children and alien parents continually to our doors to be shaped into the enduring asset of American citizenship.

Patri went through the New York public schools a solitary, sickly child who needed to work and play and move about, but instead sat endless hours and progressed—as he puts it—"because he could remember words." He saw mutual distrust in the schools based on mutual misunderstanding between teacher and child. He continually felt the great social gulf between the American children and the foreign-born. The curriculum was taught, nothing more. There seemed no desire on the part of the teachers to enter in-



BOYS CONSTRUCTING THE GREENHOUSE AND TOOL HOUSE
AT SCHOOL "NUMBER FORTY-FIVE"

to his life or assist in solving his problems. As he passed from lower to higher grades he felt himself slipping away from his parents, undervaluing them, and cherishing a kind of shame because they did not look or talk like Americans.

Afer graduating from the City College, he began to teach in the public schools and, with conditions reversed—himself as the superior where once he had been the subordinate—he found the educational routine still more unbearable, the discipline illogical, the children suffering in various ways under an inflexible system and the parents—especially those who were foreigners—out of touch with the school and the teachers. For six years he worked patiently on problems of educational reform in School No. 4. Reform came because of the pressure of public opinion, largely the result of a Parents' Association and an active communal interest in the school. He saw the school increase in numbers from slightly over 2000 children to nearly 4000. He watched over the neighborhood that at first seemed likely to develop into a slum quarter and helped to fight the evils that are bound to appear in a district with cheap tenements, cheap theaters and saloons, where the population changes rapidly owing to the flow of immigration toward open spaces and low rents. One of the important efforts which he made was the fight against the building of a State Armory in Crotona Park. He was successful and the park was saved for the children.

He brought into the school curriculum

gardening, music, dramatics, cookery, sculpture, and music, arranged out-of-door classes for anemic children, special classes for special needs, special teachers for defectives, social-settlement work with clubs and classes in music at the settlement house, obtained children's departments at the dispensary and a provision for a kindly woman who as "school visitor" investigated and adjusted the friction between the school and the home. The school became a living organism, a healthy, life-giving stimulus to the community.

While the practical good was being accomplished, his theory of education was taking form. Discipline troubled him. In Dewey's essay on "Ethical Principles," he found that conduct was the key to discipline in the school. "Conduct meant individual freedom and not blind adherence to formulated dogma. The knowledge gained had to be used immediately and the worth of the knowledge judged by its fitness for the im-



FOUR BOY FARMERS OF SCHOOL NO. 45

mediate needs of the child."

The great fallacy in child education was the "training-for-the-future" idea. Finally, in large measure, he made the school in his community bridge the gulf between classes and increase solidarity and brotherhood. School No. 4 was on the way to combine academic education and trade education with social education, and make our pretense of equal opportunity for all a reality. And over the work of teachers, pupils, and parents was the spirit of human friendliness and the realization at last that trophies and scholarship meant little and that helpful work meant much, and that every fact of education must build a foundation for good citizenship.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE GARY PLAN

In 1915, Mr. Patri was one of the principals chosen by Superintendent McAndrew to visit Gary and study the Wirt system of education, with the end in view of introducing the system into twelve schools in the Bronx. The Wirt plan has been interpreted by Mr. McAndrew as "instruction and practice with real things." "The American people are free, but American children are not," was Madame Montessori's comment on our schools. The Wirt method aims to free the child. Time is given to work, science, music, sculpture, pottery, gardening, cookery, sewing, etc. It follows Rousseau's precept: "Do not save time, but lose it," and like Pestalozzi and Froebel, translates

theory into actual work in the schools, with particular stress upon work in the elementary grades. Mr. Wirt believed in giving children their own ways of "thinking, seeing and feeling," and that if the social side of a school is properly developed, that the pedagogical side will look after itself.

Mr. Patri was



SCHOOL CHILDREN OF "NUMBER FOUR" IN CROTONA PARK
OPPOSITE THE SCHOOL BUILDING

given the principalship of School No. 45, in the Bronx, and he has made it into a model Gary school—one that is a real community center. Education in the "Three Rs" and different trades progresses with entire harmony. Beside the school building a large new brick structure for shops is in course of erection. Opposite the school are the gardens with carefully weeded plots of vegetables, enclosed by a border of flowering shrubs and plants. In the garden is a practical greenhouse built by the boys of the school. Beyond the garden is a spacious playground filled from morning until night with divisions of happy children. The school proposes, if necessary funds can be obtained, to build a Greek theater in the playground and enclose the plot in a wall decorated with bits of sculpture made by the children and their parents. Some of the modeling done in the school is remarkable. "The Stranger," a gorilla, looking intently at a captured man, a crouching rat, and a rhinoceros are far from suggesting copying, and exceed in true artistic value much of the work done in pretentious art schools.

THE CLEAVAGE BETWEEN PARENTS AND TEACHERS

Mr. Patri says that the children run the school and the teachers help them. The door to the principal's room is always open. Every pupil in the school and each and every member of the community has access to the principal. Mothers with babes in arms pour out their wishes in fluid Italian, small boys and girls wait their turn, group after group enter, take their turn and leave; yet there is no confusion and little noise.



CARMEN CERELLI, ONE
OF THE BOY POETS OF
SCHOOL NO. 45



A BOY SCULPTOR

(It took Ernest Pizzarelli six weeks to make a gorilla in the basement studio of School No. 45. Then he made the piece of statuary shown in the picture which he calls "The Stranger." It shows the figure of a pygmy man in the grasp of a huge gorilla)

The child who learns a new language and different habits from the neatly dressed teacher and goes back to a home where the parents do not speak English and cling to slovenly ways of living, soon tends to drift away from parental love and the family feeling unless corrective influences are brought to bear in the school. The children of foreign peasants and artisans are shown in the new schools how much better their parents can do certain kinds of work than the smart teacher. Antonio's father can raise more vegetables on a plot than the school gardener. Victor's father, who makes the replicas of classical sculpture, can do better than the teacher at modeling. Aida's mother can make more beautiful lace and embroider better than the sewing teacher.

This comparison to the advantage of the parents teaches the child their worth, engenders respect and encourages the child to help the parent to the things the school can bring him needful for his adult development. There is no single type in America so forlorn as the foreign parent deserted by the children who have been educated in the pub-

lic schools in such a way as to make them ashamed of their family. And I believe that statistics show that a large percentage of our younger criminals in States prisons are recruited from the children of foreigners who have drifted away from home influence and parental love and guidance.

CHANGED CONDITIONS THAT CONFRONT ALIEN LABOR

A pathetic bit of composition from one of Mr. Patri's school magazines, "The Planting," reveals the change in social atmosphere that chills the spirit of the immigrant:

In Italy I used to go out and see the farmers planting. They were happy as they were singing their beautiful songs. For they were plant-

ing seeds to grow flowers to get ready for the new spring-time. And when the sun set and work was done, home they went, tired and happy. Now in America there is no happiness. Only work and work and work.

ROBERT SCHIANO, A
SCHOOL POET

An echo of the joyousness of labor instinctive in the Latin temperament is found in a book of poems, one of a series bronzed, illus-

trated, printed, and bound by the children of School Number Forty-five:

The street cleaner
A happy man is he;
He sings a song
All day long;
He knows he must sweep,
So he does with all his heart.

And as a bit of spring fantasy there are these lovely lines, written by a little girl named Aida Farrella:

I love the lilacs,
Their leaves are like hearts.
When I go near the lilac bush,
They bow to me
And I bow to them.

Here are some lines to "Our Street," by Master Robert Schiano:

"The girls skate up and down the street
The boys play ball and scream,
While the magnolia tree is budding,
He spreads his branches far apart,
'Tis a wonderful sight
Our street, with the boys, the girls and the
magnolia tree."

Mr. Patri favors teaching the fundamental principles of life, a basic soul-satisfying structure for the higher education, to the very young, lest our ethics become a mere matter of words. He believes that the Wirt system, working together with the high efficiency of the schools as social centers, will keep alive the child spirit in adults and show them how to get the greatest force in the world, parental love, into the nation in order to break down the inhibitions of habit, bring about instant reforms and remake the world upon the solid basis of brotherhood. "My ideal," he writes, "is that of a nation primarily interested in children."

WHAT THE SCHOOL MUST ASK

The school must constantly ask "What is the effect of my program on the soul growth of the children. What can I do to keep in touch with ideas that are vigorous and young. What can I do to keep sane, human, far-seeing. How can I respect the child's prolonged infancy and keep him from facing the struggle of the labor market until he is mentally and physically fit. How can I translate efficiency, goodness, will-training, citizenship, parental duty into child happiness?"

The schools must be made rich and alive, the teachers trained differently, the parents encouraged to become units in the school organization. Book-training and life-training must go hand in hand. There must be



THE OUT-OF-DOOR CLASS FOR ANEMIC CHILDREN AT SCHOOL NO. 4

constant interchange of effort between the school and the community. Bring the community to the school and then give the work of the school to the community.

The race needs a principle of growth and the child is the one factor that in itself keeps changing, growing. We develop national characteristics in accord with our adherence to a common ideal. We must, therefore, surrender ourselves for the common good and the common good to which we should surrender is epitomized in the child idea. . . . I have been part of many movements to Americanize the foreigner. The child is the only one who can carry the message of democracy. No matter who the people are, they need the school as a humanizing force, so that they may feel the common interest, revive their visions, see the fulfilment of their dreams in the terms of their children, so that they may be young once more. Americanize the foreigner, nay, through the child let us fulfil our destiny and Americanize America. . . . I look a thousand years ahead and I see not men, ships, inventions, buildings, poems, but children, shouting happy children.

Mr. Wirt has commended "A Schoolmaster of the Great City"¹ as a vivid picture of the difficult problem of actually doing in the school what we all know should be done there. John Martin, chairman of the Committee on Vocational Schools and Industrial Training, writes:

Were I an educational czar, I should issue an edict that every city teacher must read this book three times during her vacation. If its spirit could take possession of every school, a revolution would be effected more fundamental than the glorious Russian revolution.



A CORNER OF THE MILLINERY CLASS AT SCHOOL NUMBER FORTY-FIVE

¹ A Schoolmaster of The Great City. By Angelo Patri. Macmillan. 221 pp. \$1.25.

NEW YORK'S EDUCATION LAW REVISED

BY A. EMERSON PALMER

THE new education law for the State of New York, which was signed by Governor Whitman on June 8, is of more than local interest. It is a State-wide act, applicable to all cities large and small. While those interested in education differ widely in their opinions regarding some of its features, its enactment marks a distinct step—and probably a long step—in advance. The plan of codifying the numerous laws relating to public education placed upon the statute books from time to time during nearly a century (the earliest of the acts repealed dates from 1829) has been in high favor in the State Department of Education for several years, and a number of attempts were made to secure a general education law for the cities of the State before the one which lately proved successful. The Governor advocated such a measure in his annual message last January.

The new law is in consonance with the State Constitution, which imposes upon the Legislature the duty of providing for "the maintenance and support of a system of free common schools, wherein all the children of the State may be educated." To a certain extent the principle of home rule is embodied in the law, since existing methods of constituting boards of education are retained. In New York the members are appointed by the mayor; in Buffalo by the mayor, subject to confirmation by the council; in some cities they are chosen at the general or a municipal election; in others at a special election held for the purpose. In cities hereafter created they will be selected at annual school elections in May. The number of members is fixed at not less than three and not more than nine. In New York the number is to be seven—a radical reduction from the present board of forty-six, which has been in existence since 1902. This change is to take place on January 2, next, the appointments being made by the mayor who will be elected in November.

No attempt has been made to establish hard and fast rules placing all cities on the

same basis irrespective of size. Some provisions of the new law relate to "a city having a population of one million or more" (New York); others to "a city having a population of 400,000 or more and less than a million" (Buffalo); others to "each city having a population of less than one million"; still others to "a city of the second class" (having between 50,000 and 175,000).

Perhaps the greatest interest attaches to the changes provided for in the school administration of New York City. Evidences of this interest are already apparent in the requests received from other large cities for copies of the new law. The metropolis has at last fallen in line with the movement in favor of small school boards, of which there have been many illustrations in recent years. Apart from the reduction of the membership of the Board of Education from forty-six to seven, the outstanding change is the enlargement of the duties of the superintendent of schools (the word "city" has been stricken from his title, after having been in use since 1851). He is made the "chief executive officer" of the board and the educational system, and has "supervision and direction" not only of the associate and district superintendents, directors, supervisors, principals, and the teaching staff in general, but also of the secretary, the auditor, the officers having charge of buildings and supplies, and all clerks, stenographers, janitors, cleaners, and office boys. While obviously workable in smaller cities, the applicability of this plan to the biggest city in the country is open to doubt. Educational administration, strictly speaking, is the appropriate field of work for a school superintendent; he ought not to be burdened with the details of business.

The practical working of the new law will be observed with close and country-wide attention. A feature of it that deserves special mention, as respects New York City, is the provision for partial financial independence which is assured by increasing the three-mill tax to four and nine-tenths mills in the annual tax budget.



Photograph by E. S. Jones

IN THE HEART OF THE WHITE MOUNTAINS

(The trail from Mount Washington follows the sky line over Monroe and Franklin and descends through the long spruce forest over Mount Clinton to the Crawford House in the foreground)

MOUNTAIN TRAILS IN NEW ENGLAND

BY PHILIP W. AYRES

(Forester of the Society for Protection of New Hampshire Forests)

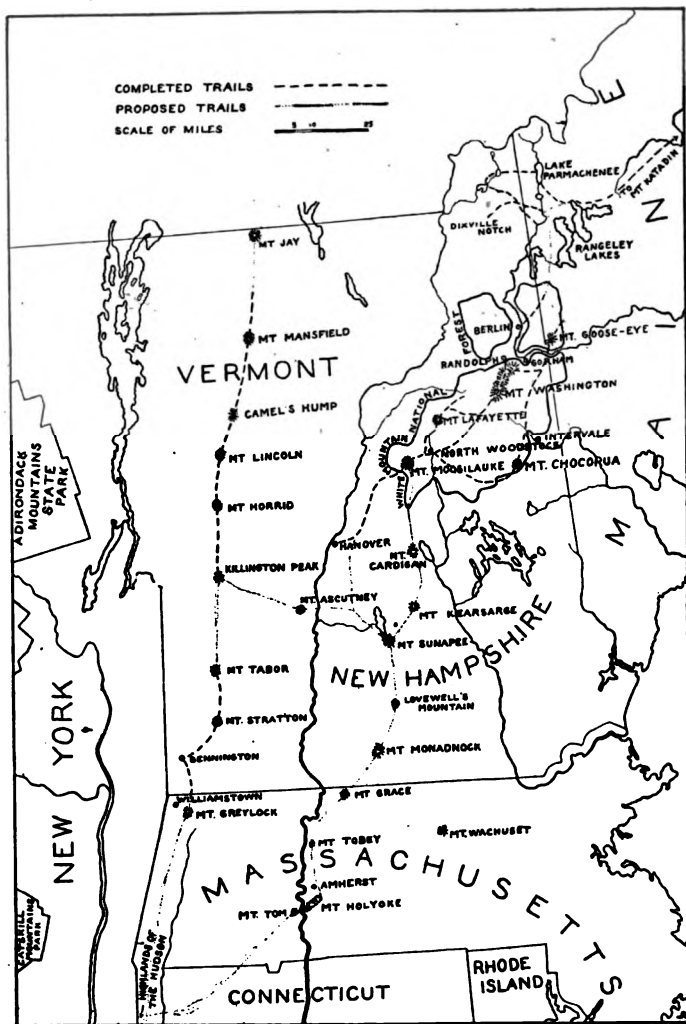


CAIRN ON THE SUMMIT
OF MOUNT MADISON

MANY excellent trails make the White Mountains accessible. During twenty years the Appalachian Mountain Club has spent thousands of dollars in building well-marked trails of easy grade to the most interesting places. A dozen other organizations, children and grandchildren of the Ap-

palachian Club, are now extending the trails from different centers.

The Green Mountain Club is doing similar work in Vermont. It has planned a long trail from one end of the State to the other, over Mt. Killington, Camel's Hump and Mansfield, and has already completed about one-third of it. The Dartmouth Outing Club has constructed many miles of trails extending from Hanover over Mt. Moosilauke to the White Mountains, and has equipped them with a series of shelter cabins. This vigorous Dartmouth group, officered by students, has recently received an endowment for good work done of \$20,000. The Williams College Mountain Club



NEW ENGLAND MOUNTAIN TRAILS

is at work in the northern Berkshires and will join the Mt. Graylock trails to the long trail of the Green Mountain Club. It is hoped that the Amherst Club will connect Mt. Holyoke, through the beautiful country northward, over Mt. Lincoln and Mt. Grace, to the proposed long trail in New Hampshire that will lead over Monadnock and Sunapee to the White Mountains. There is opportunity for other colleges to lend a hand.

The villages of North Woodstock, Intervale, and Gorham, in the White Mountains, have vigorous improvement associations devoted to trail-making. Each cares for long stretches of local trails, building some new trail every year. The Chocorua Mountain Club is another vigorous trail-maker.

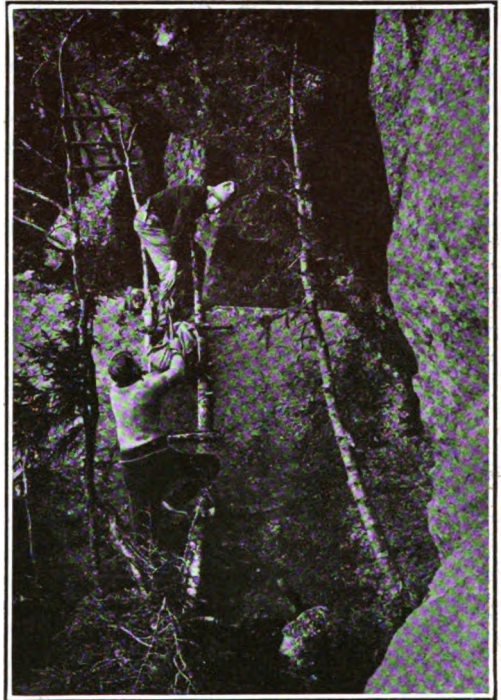
These groups have all been federated recently into a New England Trail Conference that has an ambitious program. It seeks to bring all of the New England trails into one system, connecting them by means of trunk lines—no trunks allowed, only knapsacks. Already one may take a fifty-mile tramp through the Green Mountains or through the White Mountains without leaving the trail, but the two are not connected. The Appalachian Club and the Randolph Mountain Club have extended their trails to the interesting Grafton Notch in Maine, and to Mt. Goose-Eye, but they end there. Charming trails have been constructed in the neighborhood of Dixville Notch and the Diamond Ponds, located forty miles north of the White Mountains. They extend across the great unbroken wilderness of forest, stream, and mountain to Lake Umbagog, in Maine, but these trails also are not connected with any others.

The Trail Conference includes trail-makers from all of the clubs that have been mentioned, and a few others, teachers, lawyers, business-men, and foresters, whose summer vacations have been employed, sometimes for years in succession, in opening up for the use of all the people the interesting parts of the mountains in New England which otherwise could be enjoyed only by the hardy few. The Conference has developed a far-reaching plan to connect the Interstate Palisades Park and the highlands of the Hudson with trails in the Berkshires in western Massachusetts, and these with the long trail in Vermont and the trails of the Dartmouth Outing Club to the White Mountains, thence by the new trails into Maine, and in time even on to Katahdin. For a part of the way an alternate route is proposed over Mt. Holyoke in the Connecticut Valley and over the long, high backbone of

New Hampshire mountains between the Connecticut and Merrimac valleys, over Monadnock and Sunapee, to the Franconia Range in the White Mountains.

In these days of hard oil finish, when the weary pedestrian is honked hither and thither in fear of his life, let him take courage, for soon he may start from New York with a light heart and a lighter pack, with Katahdin for his goal. He may go north up the Hudson, over Storm King, across to the Berkshires, over Graylock, and northward over the Green Mountains, enjoying the incomparable views from Camel's Hump, and the high nose of Mansfield, on over the high ranges of the White Mountains, through the Grafton Notch, and through the wonderful forest and lake country of Maine to the headwaters of the Penobscot on Katahdin; and thence by river boat and ocean steamer back to New York, without so much as a smell of gasoline. Those views from Camel's Hump and Mansfield are really superb. On a clear day one may easily discern the Adirondacks on one side and the White Mountains on the other.

The plans of the Trail Conference for extending and maintaining trails in the National Forest in the White Mountains have the cordial approval and coöperation of the forest officers in charge. The White Mountain National Forest now comprises 360,000 acres, or 638 square miles. This is about one-third of what it is hoped the Government will take, in order effectively to control stream flow in this mother region of New England rivers. The Government foresters will maintain two through trails over the National Forest, each about fifty miles in length, one over the skyline of the Franconia peaks and the Twin Mountains to the Presidential Range, and the other from Mt. Moosilauke over the Tamworth and Carter-Moriah Ranges. The greater part of these trails have been constructed by the Appalachian Club and others. Already one may make nearly the whole of this hundred-mile circuit, including most of the high peaks in all the White Mountain ranges. The Appalachian Club proposes to establish convenient shelters, three of which have been constructed. Each is located at an elevation of nearly 5000 feet, or almost a mile above the sea. They are substantial camps, built of stone or wood, and provided with clean blankets, and abundant and wholesome food at moderate prices. One need carry no more than a light change



© Photograph by Guy L. Shorey

CLIMBING OUT OF THE GREAT GULF BY THE SIX HUSBANDS TRAIL

of clothing in his knapsack, by which the joy of mountain climbing is much enhanced. The Appalachian Club maintains also twenty or more open bark or log shelters to which any one may go, taking food and blankets.

For the benefit of those who have not visited these trails in the White Mountains, as well as for those who have done so, let us make a brief trip over one of them, the skyline trail on the Presidential Range. Starting from the little railroad station called Appalachia, in Randolph, New Hampshire, at an elevation of 1200 feet, one ascends in an easy half-day tramp along the Valley Way to the Madison Spring Huts. This Valley Way is a trail that climbs the mountain beside the Snyder Brook from its mouth to its source in the Madison Spring. The brook has a thousand little falls that gurgle in the ear long after the scene has changed. The trail leads to the huts, where Appalachian hospitality awaits you. They are placed in a little valley between the summits of Mt. Madison and Mt. Adams, two of the highest mountains in New Hampshire.

If you make the short climb up the cone of Madison to see the sun rise, you will be

more than repaid as the morning light touches one after another of the multitude of hills below. From the huts the main trail climbs over Mt. Adams, with its several rocky promontories, Sam Adams, John Quincy Adams, John Quincy Junior, and all the rest of the Adamses, stretching away down through history. Farther on one swings around the edge of the Great Gulf, which is a deep, tumultuous valley full of primeval forest—National Forest, which like the Cologne Cathedral, is too magnificent to belong to any individual; thence the path leads around the summit of Jefferson and over Mt. Clay to the summit of Washington. Here a comfortable mountain hotel provides a counter lunch, substantial and at moderate prices, and a clean bed with real sheets; or one may prefer to go a mile farther to the new hut of the Appalachian Club, situated on Mt. Washington at the Lake of the Clouds. Have you ever slept a mile up in the sky, after a day's tramp over the mountains? If so, you will remember John Muir, and realize that here "cares drop off like Autumn leaves." Thence the trail descends by another half day's easy journey around the rocky summits of Monroe, Franklin, and

Mt. Pleasant, down through the long spruce woods on Mt. Clinton to the Crawford House.

There are in the mountains long valley trails, up the brooks to their sources and down others, crossing from watershed to watershed. There is the wonderful trail on the skyline over the Franconias, Liberty, Lincoln, and Lafayette. The trail over the Carter-Moriah Range is not less interesting.

As a part of the system of New England trails, it is hoped that the people all along the line will like to connect up. Let the Amherst men and the people in Dublin in the neighborhood of Monadnock, and those at Sunapee, connect their trails, so that the little used but rarely beautiful Pumpelly trail, extending for two miles on the skyline of Monadnock, may be more often traversed; and that one may go, perhaps, over the historic Lovewell's Mountain, to which it is said that John Lovewell carried on his back a bushel of potatoes one hundred and fifty miles from Portsmouth in order to start the crop; then to that gem of lakes near the summit of Mt. Sunapee, Lake Solitude, from which one may see the distant White Mountains on the horizon, and thence—and thence—



Photograph by Guy L. Shorey

THE APPALACHIAN CLUB SHELTER CAMP BEFORE AN OPEN-AIR FIRE-PLACE IN THE GREAT GULF.

(These trail-side camps are free to trampers)

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

LABOR HOURS AND OUTPUT IN WAR-TIME

AMONG various war measures proposed during the past few weeks, there have been suggestions that legal safeguards for the protection and welfare of industrial workers should be suspended in order that work upon Government contracts for ships and munitions might be hastened. The Council of National Defense has urged that the governors of States be vested with authority to suspend or modify legal restrictions at the recommendation of the Council.

In the first year of the war England went through a similar experience. It was thought necessary that the labor day should be greatly lengthened and even that women and children should be employed at night. This movement went so far that seven-day work became the rule. Restrictions that had been in force for a century were thrown to the winds. These conditions went on for a year until the strain of overwork had all but exhausted the workers, and symptoms of unrest appeared.

In a summary of the English experience, contributed to the *Survey* (New York) by Miss Henriette R. Walter, of the Sage Foundation, it is clearly brought out that what finally brought the British Government to its senses was not so much the exhaustion of the laborers as the fact that this abuse and waste of human strength totally failed to produce the desired results. The munition plants, which had been privately owned and operated, fell far short in output, and even after the government itself took over the control there was the same complaint. In September, 1915, a committee on the health of munition workers was ordered by Lloyd George, then Minister of Munitions. This committee was created "not with any idea of sentimentalizing over the hardship of the workers, but for the very practical purpose of finding out how the maximum

output could be secured and maintained over a long period."

After much study of the subject the committee decided that a weekly day of rest must be restored. It was found absolutely essential that the workers should have some opportunity to recuperate after the accumulated fatigue of a seventy- or eighty-hour week. One large firm found that when, after running its plant seven days a week over a considerable period, the Sunday holiday was restored without any change in the daily schedule, the men worked a greater number of hours in the six days than they had in seven because of a consequent falling off in the amount of "broken time." Sunday work has now been almost entirely abolished, except for occasional repair work.

The committee then looked into the question of overtime. It studied the exact relation between the volume of production and the period of work. The output of groups of workers, both men and women, engaged in light work and in heavy work was followed over periods of from four to six months, during which several changes in working hours were put into effect. For example: A reduction from 68.2 to 59.7 in the average weekly hours of work by a group of 100 women engaged in the heavy labor of turning fuse bodies resulted in a 23 per cent. increase in hourly output and a natural rise of 8 per cent. in total weekly output. Further decrease in hours to fifty-six a week and even less showed not only an equally large product but also a decided improvement in regularity of attendance by the women. This case is said to be typical of the findings of the investigators.

The committee gave certain maximum hours for different types of work and workers, beyond which output cannot be increased, but was emphatic in declaring that

even these were war maxima, involving too great a strain for any but the strongest to bear. For men on very heavy work the maximum hours should be no more than fifty-six; for men on moderately heavy work, sixty; for men on light work, seventy; for women on heavy work, fifty-six, and on light work about sixty. The eight-hour day has been established for women in all state-owned plants, and overtime has everywhere been decreased.

In the *Catholic World* (New York) for June, Dr. Frank O'Hara describes war experience with labor standards not only in England but in several of the other belligerent countries. From a report of a French official he quotes this remark: "Some surprise has been expressed that in a number of establishments Sunday is a day of rest and no night work is performed. Experience has prescribed certain regulations if the strength of workers is to be safeguarded, not only in view of a prolonged struggle, but as well for the economic needs of the country after the war." Dr. O'Hara con-

cludes from this that France, threatened with being "bled white" by the war, cannot afford to throw away her human resources needlessly. In the early days of the war the French Minister of Labor had suspended the prohibition of night work in industrial establishments, but the results were so unsatisfactory that the Under Secretary of State said: "The experience of war has demonstrated the technical, economical, physiological necessity of the labor laws enacted in time of peace. Under such conditions we find a better grade of manufacture and more intense production."

In Germany, as well as in England, it has been found that juvenile criminality has increased with the extensive employment of minors. In 1915 there were twice as many crimes committed by children in Berlin as in 1914. In England and Scotland the number of children and young persons charged with punishable offenses seems to have increased about 34 per cent. Such offenses increased 56 per cent in Manchester between 1914 and 1915.

WILL GERMANY REVOLT?

IT is not absolutely certain, but highly probable, in view of the historic character of the German nation, says Mr. J. Ellis Barker in the *Nineteenth Century*.

The theory sometimes put forward that the Germans are a servile race which has never revolted during the whole course of its history, and that they are, therefore, not fit for self-government, is one that is not borne out by history. By nature, history, and tradition the Germans are democrats. The character of most nations has remained curiously stable through the centuries, and the earliest and best description of the Germans, that of Tacitus, shows them to have been free democracies, presided over by elected kings. This aboriginal democratic spirit strongly asserted itself during the development of feudalism, and even at the beginning of the seventeenth century Germany was an assemblage of self-governed and democratic states.

The Thirty Years' War, which lasted from 1618 to 1648, and devastated all Germany, dealt a fearful blow to German democracy. The Emperor's power was destroyed; the individual princes strove for mastery, until ultimately, under the Great

Electors Frederick William and his Hohenzollern successors, Brandenburg-Prussia became the most autocratic state in the world, and in our own time acquired the hegemony of all Germany. But, although almost crushed and stamped out of existence, the ancient democratic spirit of the German people is probably not yet killed, and it is yet possible that Mr. Lloyd George's ironic utterance on April 12 may prove a correct forecast. "Prussia," he said, "is no democracy. The Kaiser promises that she will be a democracy—after the war. I think he is right."

Mr. Barker says:

Many who consider the possibility of a revolution in Germany imagine that it will be brought about by the huge Social Democratic Party. They are wrong. In Germany, where Parliament is powerless, a revolution cannot be made by a single party, however strong. It can be brought about only if the bulk of the nation, regardless of party, is determined to change the existing form of government and if the army is with it. A serious German defeat would give a fatal blow to the privileges of the ruling aristocracy and of the military caste and to the prosperity of the great industrial and commercial middle-class. Therefore it seems likely that in case of defeat the aristocracy, the army, and the liberal middle-class may turn against the Emperor.

THE FUTURE OF BRITISH FREE TRADE

UNDER the title, "L'effort Économique de l'Angleterre," M. L. Paul-Dubois, an eminent French economist, surveys in the *Revue des deux Mondes* the economic position of Great Britain, internal and external, as affected by the gigantic exertions and sacrifices called forth by the war. The concluding portion of the article, which deals with the status of Britain's traditional free-trade policy, as related to the question whether, after the war, London is to yield to New York the financial primacy of the world, is of special interest for Americans.

It is not only that the foreign credit of the United Kingdom has been maintained, and, consequently, its purchasing power, but alone among all the powers at war, England has succeeded in maintaining gold redemption at home. At a time when all the belligerent states were obliged to resort to a forced domestic currency, the Bank of England never ceased to redeem its bills in gold on demand. This, after more than two years of war, is a success which signally attests the financial power of the country as well as the firm mastery of its administrators.

And it is a thing to inspire our friends across the Channel with confidence in the future of the London market as the financial center of the world. Naturally, the war now going on will change many things. In face of a Europe enfeebled and in debt, will not the United States, recent initiator and future beneficiary of financial pan-Americanism, wrest from England her primacy of riches, her financial scepter? Already a discount-market is being established in New York; the federal law relating to banks has just been modified in its favor.

Does this mean that, the war being concluded, New York will supplant London, as London formerly supplanted Amsterdam, as far as the gold and credit market are concerned? Will the dollar dethrone the pound Sterling? Futile though it be to prophesy, one can not refrain from observing that the English are not defenseless in the conflict which is looming up between Wall Street and "the City." Finance follows commerce, and it is commercial supremacy—and we may add maritime and colonial—that the Americans will have to achieve before achieving financial supremacy. What constitutes the financial strength of England is not so much her wealth as the power of her commerce, of her marine, of her colonial empire, bearing in mind, besides, the two strongest points of her armament, free trade and "free gold." If she succeeds in maintaining gold redemption to the close of the war, though it be by paying enormous sums to foreign countries for herself and her allies, she will have attained, as Sir E. Holden says, "a financial triumph as important as a military victory," and she will be able to face without fear the competition in the financial field which the United States is preparing to engage in—provided she remains faithful to the economic tradition which has created her prosperity, the principle of free trade.

But will she remain faithful to it? That is the question which suggests itself to-day, and which interests non-English people almost as much as the English themselves. It is well known that the old cult of free trade, so popular across the Channel, so firmly anchored in the national spirit, has been attacked during the last fifteen years or so by a section of the Conservative party, under the impulse given by Joseph Chamberlain. They charged it with leaving British industry defenseless in face of the rapid development of German and American competition, and with injuring the export trade; they demanded, under the slogan of Tariff Reform, a moderate protection which would enable the manufacturers to fight against foreign competition, and the Government to negotiate customs treaties, and which, by favoring colonial commerce, would conduce to draw closer the links that bind the colonies to the mother-country, and strengthen the Imperial union. Although the protectionist principle had gained a rather notable place in public opinion, it is hard to believe that its triumph could have been regarded as near had it not found in the present war a cause for encouragement and, at the same time, powerful arguments in its favor.

The writer proceeds to show how the cause of protection was promoted, in specific ways, by the war sentiment that was abroad in England from the beginning:

It profited at the very start by the indignation provoked by the barbarism of the "Huns," by the perfidy of the German infiltration in England, by the fundamental dishonesty of German commerce, which, with its corruption, dumping, and disloyal competition, was but a forerunner of Teuton militarism. Was it not essential to defend one's self against the public scourge of Germanism? Was it not a right and a duty to boycott Germany? It profited, furthermore, by the agitation which was aroused when it was discovered that England was dependent for a number of products of prime necessity, and of those designed for war, upon German industry. Formerly, the words "Made in Germany" called forth a smile; would they not move one to tears now? Was it not requisite to maintain at any cost certain basic industries upon which the life itself of the country depended? It profited, finally, by the stir made by the Germans concerning their plan of a customs union of the Central Powers, by the menace to the Allies and the neutral nations implied in an economic bloc, powerful and hostile, ready to resume the commercial invasion of Europe. Was it not requisite to provide against the danger of *Mitteleuropa*? The equilibrium of the economic world is overthrown: does not a new situation require a new policy?

The strength of this protectionist pressure may be gauged in the light of certain striking facts—first of all, in the old citadel of Cobdenism, by what has been termed—though with exaggeration—the "Manchester Revolution." At the outset of 1916 the directors of the Chamber of Commerce, having proposed to the members of that body (in order to feel their way, it is said)

that a vote be taken upon a declaration of the principle of free trade, found that motion rejected by a great majority; upon which, having resigned their posts, they were replaced by a council favorable to protection against Germany. Then, on the 29th of February, it is a conference of the English Chambers of Commerce at London which concurs in the program of the neo-protectionists. That program soon gains the approval of a hundred and eight Chambers of Commerce, as well as that of the Imperial Council of Commerce.

The colonies, moreover, favored the movement. Australia, in particular, whose ultra-intervention tendencies are well known, sent to London, in the spring of 1916, her Premier, William Hughes, who conducted an impassioned protectionist campaign, showing what Teutonic enterprise had meant before the war in the great Australian Continent, how Germany had succeeded in monopolizing the trade in metals, and to what energetic measures the Government had to resort to break its grip: defend yourselves, he said to the English, let us defend ourselves against the common foe; let us organize an Imperial Union, so that after the war the word "Empire" will signify something more than it has hitherto done. An appeal issuing from the new Anglo-Saxon communities could not, of course, leave the British public unmoved. After the blood shed for the common cause by so many colonial volunteers, Canadians, South Africans, "Anzacs," on the battlefields of Europe, how could the mother-country, with her great debt of gratitude to her colonies, fail to feel it her duty to lend a sympathetic ear to their voice, and to reserve to them her greatest favors in the future economic regime? Such Imperialist sentiments and the popularity of the Australian Premier swelled the protectionist wave in England, and for a space one might have believed that it would sweep all before it.

Still the free-traders held their ground.

They maintained that the severe tests of war had justified their position. The fact that German monopolies had been permitted to gain a foothold on British soil was explained as the natural outcome of technical and scientific superiority on the part of Germany and of British inertia and adherence to routine methods.

They declared, moreover, that after the war economic laws would continue to rule and that freedom of trade would be more than ever essential to England's commercial supremacy. An economic war, on the other hand, might work greater harm to those who wage it than to those against whom it is directed. Destruction of Germany's commerce would destroy her ability to pay a just indemnity to the Entente Allies after the war.

As for a radical change in England's traditional tariff policy I confess that I cannot believe in it. That policy is too deeply rooted in the people's minds, it harmonizes too well with the general interests of the country to be easily overturned; and the road of protectionism is sown with too many obstacles for the nation to plunge into it rashly. In spite of the "Manchester Revolution," the "idol" of free-trade still holds its own. That recourse may be had to defensive commercial measures against Germany and Austria, to measures agreed upon with her allies, is probable and desirable, and consonant with the views proposed at the Paris Conference; but this does not mean that England, which was the great pioneer of economic as well as political freedom, will suddenly renounce principles which have constituted her strength: and the French—friends, allies, customers of England—French, could not wish her to do so.

AUSTRIAN SUBMARINES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

ACTIVITIES of the Austrian submarines in the Mediterranean have been responsible for considerable loss of Allied shipping, both naval and merchant. Recently the Italian Government has published a summary of the development of the Austrian submarine fleet which dates back to a time when the relations of Germany with Italy were still nominally on a friendly footing. The Italian Government was able to recover from several of the captured or sunk submarines log-books and other documents, and at the same time they have been able to salve and repair for incorporation in their own fleet various enemy submarines.

This report, which is abstracted in a recent issue of the *Engineer* (London), is a

document of unusual interest. At the outbreak of the war, there were but six Austrian submarines, all launched in 1908-1909, built either at the Pola Arsenal, at the Germania Yard, at Kiel, or at the Whitehead Works at Fiume. Six new submarines of 1000 tons displacement were under construction for the Austrian Government at the Germania Yard, Kiel, but none had been delivered prior to August, 1914. After the outbreak of the war, however, the *U-12* was torpedoed and sunk by an Italian submarine in August, 1915, and the *U-3*, an earlier boat, was sunk about the same time by the French destroyer, *Bisson*. It was about this time that the German Government was reported to be dispatching submarines of the

coastal type overland to Adriatic ports to be assembled and made ready for sea. That this was true has been demonstrated by the documents referred to in the report. When the Italians captured the *U C-12*, a German submarine mine-layer, the log-book was recovered and showed that this craft was a unit of the German Navy, manned by a purely German crew, and was actively engaged against Italy months before that country had declared war on Germany.

This submarine was one of a very large number built by Germany for the special purpose of laying mines. These crafts are comparatively small and were built rapidly, as was shown by the decidedly crude construction. The *U C-12* was of essentially similar type to the *U C-5* which was captured by a British destroyer in April, 1915. This type of vessel has a displacement of 190 tons on the surface and 200 tons when submerged. It is approximately 110 feet in length with a maximum diameter of ten feet. On the surface it is propelled by a four-cylinder, ninety horsepower Diesel engine, which drives the boat at a speed of six knots with an underwater velocity of but four knots. In front of the conning tower there is a demountable machine gun carried on a tripod, but no other armament, while in the fore part of the vessel there are six wells provided, each of which contains two submarine mines released by a control operated from the conning tower.

The *U C-12*, according to her log-book, was one of two mine-laying submarines which Germany placed at the disposal of Austria-Hungary for the war against Italy. She was launched in May, 1915, from the Weser Yard, Bremen, and on May 17 took on a cargo of mines at Kiel. After Italy had declared war on Austria, she was dismantled, divided into four sections, and carried overland with her crew and commander to Pola, where in four days she was reassembled and again took the water. On July 25 and August 15, the *U C-12* visited the neighborhood of an Italian naval base and there laid two barriers of mines, while in the following December she transported a cargo of rifles and munitions to the rebellious Arabs in Libya. The next activity of the *U C-12* was cruising off Durazzo and sowing mines in the roadstead. Soon after this in visiting an Italian naval base, which had been the object of her interest, she either fouled one of her own mines or blundered into a similar defense device, with the

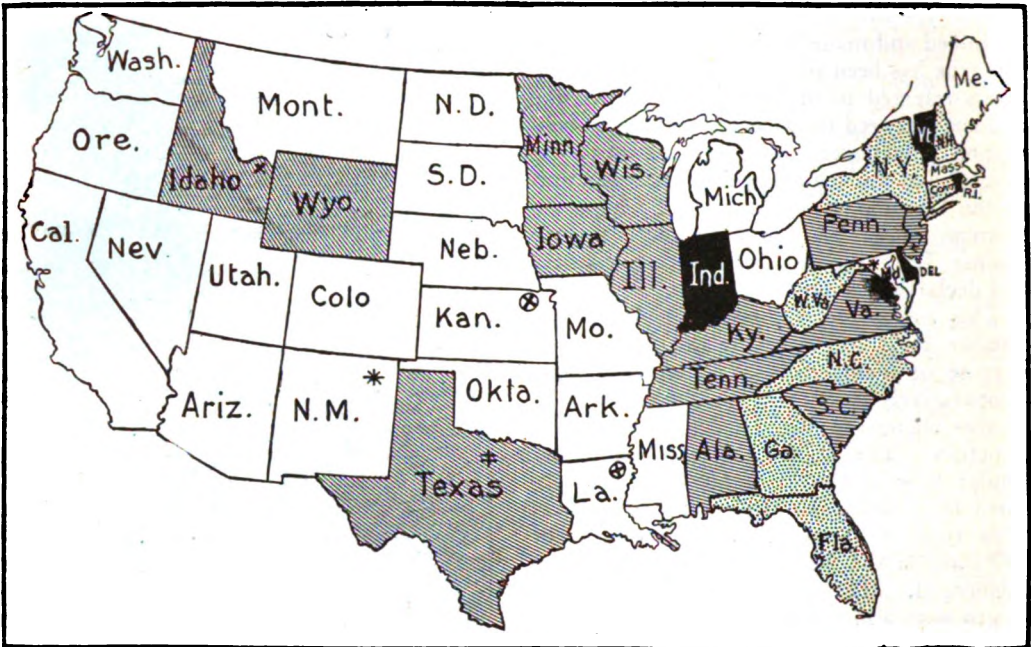


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THE GERMAN MINE-LAYING SUBMARINE "UC-5," OF PRACTICALLY THE SAME TYPE AS THE "UC-12," WHICH WAS PLACED AT AUSTRIA'S DISPOSAL AND LATER CAPTURED BY THE ITALIANS

result that there was an explosion which practically blew the submarine in two. The Italians immediately investigated the wreck by means of divers, finding the bodies of fourteen of the crew. The wreck then was duly raised, and notwithstanding that much of the submarine had to be rebuilt, the vessel was reconstructed and fitted for service with the Italian Navy.

The Italian naval engineers were also successful in salvaging another Austrian submarine, the *U-12*, and this also was placed in commission. This craft apparently was one of the large German-built, ocean-going submarines which were ordered for the Austrian Government and due for delivery in 1915. The activity of the submarines has been the striking feature of the Austrian naval operations in the Mediterranean, and whatever success the Teutons have achieved in maintaining the "blockade" has been due to their efforts. The Italian document referred to is of unusual interest to naval engineers as it confirms much of the previous suspicions regarding the construction and method of operation of these German craft and the method of their transfer from Germany to the Mediterranean.



MAP SHOWING THE PRESENT STATUS OF INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL IN THE UNITED STATES

- X** An I. R. amendment was adopted by the voters of Idaho in 1912, but was not self-executing.
- *** New Mexico and Maryland have the Statewide Referendum only.
- ⊗** Kansas and Louisiana have the Statewide Recall only.
- ≠** Many Texas cities have adopted the I. R. or R. under the Home Rule.
- 22 States having constitutional provisions for the Statewide I. R. or R. and provisions for the municipal I. R. or R. in Constitution or general laws or in both.
- ▨** 15 States having general laws for the municipal I. R. or R.
- ▤** 7 States having only special laws for the municipal I. R. or R.
- 4 States having no laws or constitutional provisions whatever for the I. R. or R.

WHAT ABOUT THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL?

IN 1911 President Wilson (then Governor of New Jersey) said at Kansas City:

If we felt that we had genuine representative government in our State legislatures, no one would propose the initiative and referendum in America. They are being proposed now as a means of bringing our representatives back to the consciousness that what they are bound in duty, and in mere policy to do is to represent the sovereign people whom they profess to serve, and not the private interests which creep into their councils by way of machine orders and committee conferences. It must be remembered by every candid man who discusses these matters that we are contrasting the operation of the initiative and referendum, not with the representative government which we have in theory, but with the actual state of affairs.

Since that address was made constitutional and legislative changes in many States have materially advanced these reforms. Efforts

are now under way to embody them in other State Constitutions and also to improve provisions already enacted which have been shown to be defective.

In the magazine *Equity*, of Philadelphia, Mr. Edwin S. Potter states that in ten States steps have been taken toward the holding of constitutional conventions. That of Massachusetts is now in session, and many of the delegates to the convention have been committed to a provision for the Initiative and Referendum.

A similar movement is assuming great strength in Indiana, where a constitutional convention has been called to meet next January. These "tools of democracy" are favored by large and effective organizations in North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, New Hampshire, in all of which constitutional conventions are now on foot.

WAR CHANGES IN THE MAP OF EUROPE

IN the July number of the *Metropolitan Magazine* (New York), ex-President Roosevelt outlines certain of the changes in national boundaries which he believes must be made at the conclusion of peace in the interest of justice and freedom. The principle underlying the peace he defines as "the right of each people to govern itself and to control its own destinies in so far as such control does not conflict with the just rights of others."

In some regions Colonel Roosevelt finds that the geographical or military, the political and the racial, linguistic, or religious lines of division coincide, so that it is easy to mark the limits which should rightly obtain between separate self-governing peoples. In other regions these lines criss-cross in such intricate fashion that it is difficult and in some cases impossible to provide remedies for the wrongs of the past without in the present causing fresh wrongs. Thus, there are places where Italians are intermingled with Slavs, or Catholic Croats with orthodox Serbs, or Poles with Germans in such a way that no possible settlement can be satisfactory to everybody. All that can be done, then, according to Colonel Roosevelt, is to keep before our eyes as the ideal the principle of securing to the various peoples the right of self-government conditional upon their exercising that right with justice to others and in such manner as to entitle them to a place on a footing of equality in the commonwealth of nations without regard to their size or strength, but with full regard to their conduct. "Self-control is a necessity in order justly to avoid imposed control."

Colonel Roosevelt has in mind the following territorial changes:

- (1) Belgium must be restored and amply indemnified.
- (2) Luxemburg should be joined to France or Belgium.
- (3) France must have back Alsace and Lorraine, but as there is a natural mountainous military frontier in eastern Alsace, France might consider whether it would be well to make this her boundary line if the Alsatians show their desire to remain with Germany. But Colonel Roosevelt thinks that France herself should decide this matter.
- (4) Italy should have Italia Irredenta, including Trieste, bordering with Switzerland and Germany in the north, but with full provision for Austria's commercial access to the Mediterranean.

(5) The Czech and his close kinsmen outside of Bohemia should form a new commonwealth.

(6) The Southern Slavs should be made into a greater Serbia.

(7) Effort must be made to leave the mass of the Magyars together and the mass of the Rumans together as independent nations.

(8) A democratic Russia should be entitled to and would not abuse the possession of Constantinople. A democratic Russia could safely be trusted to stand as the sponsor of an autonomous Finland, an autonomous Poland and an autonomous Armenia.

(9) Lithuania should also have her just claims considered.

(10) The Danes of North Schleswig should be given the right to vote whether or not they wish again to become part of Denmark.

(11) Ireland must remain part of the British Empire, but surely the time has come to give her Home Rule within the Empire, on a basis of resolute justice.

England and Japan must keep the colonies they have conquered.

It will be noted that Colonel Roosevelt's plan would leave Germany and German Austria substantially with their German population "as free as their neighbors and treated as the equals of their neighbors." Colonel Roosevelt expresses the hope that when the peace negotiations come the United States will earnestly strive for such a result. While he feels that it is imperative to strike hard at the "tyrannous militarism of Prussianized Germany" and to provide against its menace to peace and international right, Colonel Roosevelt wishes to see the German people revive the Germany of a century ago and become again a "leader among nations which are freed from all necessity of regarding it with horror and hatred and dread."

While maintaining that we wish nothing for ourselves in either territory or indemnity, Colonel Roosevelt holds that we should insist on a formal recognition of the Monroe Doctrine, for he believes that this would "mark a long stride forward in international peace and fair dealing."

In its essence the Monroe Doctrine is a declaration that hereafter there is to be no territorial aggrandizement by European powers on American soil at the expense of American nations. South of the equator there are growing civilized states capable of enforcing this doctrine themselves, and there we should join in enforcing it only at their request. But north of the equator our interests are such that we must be the guarantor. This should be specifically acknowledged in the treaty of peace.

RUSSIA'S GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

FEW men not of Russian birth are better qualified to speak with authority of Russian affairs than Dr. E. J. Dillon, who was a student at the University of St. Petersburg in 1881 when the Czar Alexander II was assassinated, later became a university professor, and has always been in constant and intimate touch both with court circles and with the men who in a day overthrew the Czardom. Whatever he has to say, therefore, on the recent revolution is worthy of the closest attention, and we welcome an article from his pen in the current number of the *Fortnightly Review*.

Dr. Dillon sees in the Russian revolution something far deeper than and different from a noble people's resolve to get rid of a pro-German court clique in order to carry on the war with the whole strength of the nation:

It is my personal conviction that the motive that supplied the Russian upheaval with its driving power emanated from a less altruistic source than a desire to end the war by a decisive victory. A glance at the chronological order of events will make it clear that, however much the conduct of the campaign may be benefited by the overthrow of the old government, it was not primarily for the purpose of defeating the Teuton that it was overthrown. Marshalled and concentrated before hostilities broke out, the revolutionary forces were even then deemed potent enough to uproot the social and political system, lock, stock, and barrel, and the signal for releasing them was about to be given when the Kaiser's antics drew them off to the field of battle.

The war, in fact, was not the cause of, but actually retarded the revolution, to which it was given precedence. The recent political stroke is the outcome of many forces which have been operative, at first intermittently, and then steadily, since the days of Alexander I; to ascribe it to the blunders or the misdeeds of Nicholas II is to confound the occasion with the cause, the victims with the actors. Nicholas, by his weakness and instability, doubtless hastened his downfall, but Dr. Dillon has no doubt that it was inevitable. The writer gives a character sketch of the late Czar which throws a flood of light on his tragedy:

Nicholas II, a man of great personal charm, considerable intelligence, and retentive memory, followed in the footsteps of his father as a dwarf might follow a giant who was fording a river and up to the shoulders in water. His main qualifications for the throne were personal graces, ornamental accomplishments, and vaguely good intentions. But he was deficient in will-power, wholly devoid of a sense of the fitness of things, and incapable of fully grasping the law of caus-

ality. Hence he floundered about in a bog of incongruities, undoing to-day what he had half done yesterday. Of his father one knew exactly what to expect and how he would behave in a given set of circumstances. Not so with Nicholas II, whose language, ever refined, was no trustworthy index to his thought. He seldom trusted any public man, and he constantly mistrusted himself. Courage failed him to tell a Minister that his services were no longer required, yet he was quite capable of drawing up a tremendous indictment against him once out of sight.

And over against these defects there were few set-offs. Of qualifications for leadership Nicholas II showed no trace. He was neither bold, resourceful, suasive, nor even plausible. No act of his own could fairly be termed statesmanlike. His opinions were often at variance with the grounds alleged in support of them, and his methods were sometimes obviously calculated to defeat their avowed objects. Most men have enough common sense to hearken to reason when it would be folly to do otherwise, but Nicholas II was an exception. In discharging his public functions expedients usurped the place of a policy and means were confounded with ends.

The question now is, what use will Russia make of her new-found liberty? Dr. Dillon is frankly doubtful. The provisional government is embarked on a struggle against the uncompromising Socialists, of whom there are very many among the workmen and in the army. Russia's greatest danger comes from a lack of moderating influences.

In another article in the same number Mr. E. H. Wilcox, who also writes with personal knowledge of Russia, expresses the view that on the whole Russia's will to win will be strengthened rather than weakened by the overthrow of the old *régime*; but he adds the salutary warning that will does not necessarily co-ordinate power, and says that the late government left things in such an appalling state of muddle that it will need all the wisdom and energy of the provisional government to restore the situation:

Food and fuel are to-day the two urgent needs on which Russia's power to continue the war indefinitely mainly depends. Under the old government these two needs went steadily from bad to worse till disaster seemed imminent. The new government has taken over a task of supreme difficulty, but in spite of the temporary hitches inherent in every transfer of authority, there are good reasons to suppose that it will deal with the emergency more vigorously and more efficiently than the men whom it has displaced. Things had in any case come to such a pass in Russia that a radical change of system seemed to be the only possible remedy.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND DEMOCRACY

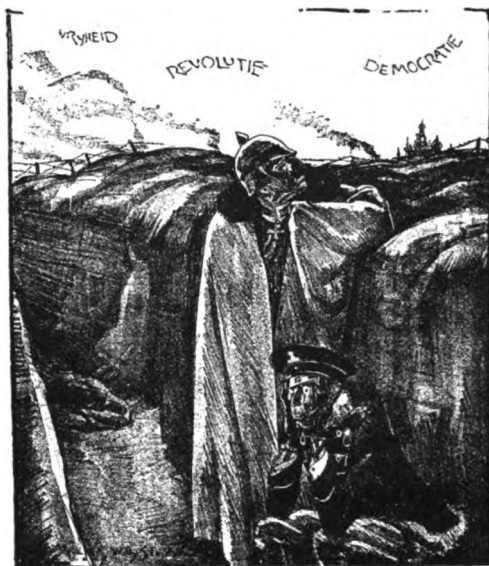
IN an article contributed to the *Revue de Paris*, Auguste Gauvain makes a thoughtful survey of the antecedents and the prospective significance of the Russian revolution, and its connection with our own country's entry into the great war:

The war launched in 1914 will effect as profound changes in the political transformation of the world as did the French Revolution of 1789. But it will act in an inverse sense. The outcome of a humanitarian ideal, the great movement towards the conquest of the rights of man at the close of the 18th century struck the rock of Imperialism, foundering finally in the Holy Alliance. The conflagration of to-day, kindled by Imperialist greed, will be extinguished by torrents of blood shed in the cause of humanity. The scheme of universal domination conceived by William II will culminate in the triumph of the independence of nations. Autocratic rule, which the originators of the conflict intended to strengthen among their own people and to spread around them, will disappear and leave the field clear for democracy. Up to the beginning of this year one might have doubted it, because forces little understood clashed against each other in disturbed regions. Since the Russian revolution and American intervention, the doubt is dispelled.

Turning to the relations between Russia and Germany, M. Gauvain thus characterizes the policy of the Kaiser and his predecessors:

From the time of their common war against Napoleonic France up to the Congress of Berlin, Germany and Russia leaned upon each other. Prussian absolutism and autocratic czardom supported each other mutually, fraternally. Up to the day when William II, infatuated with himself and trusting solely to his own genius, dismissed Bismarck, in order to govern according to the principle "Germany, it is I," it was a tenet of the Prussian kings not to clash with Russia under any circumstances. Even after the treachery of William I in 1878, that principle was respected. Bismarck felt himself able to maintain at the same time the new alliance with Austria-Hungary and the age-long friendship with Russia. He counted upon having time enough to prove to the Czar that he had done him no wrong in removing him from Constantinople and that the future of the Muscovite Empire really lay in Asia. As has happened to many another great man, he lacked the time. However, in that particular field of ideas, William II remained his disciple.

In his own way, which was as wavering as Bismarck's was consistent, the Kaiser lost no opportunity to induce the Czar to turn towards Asia. Only, unlike the Chancellor, he knew not how to choose the proper occasions. He believed he had succeeded in 1904 by launching the bureaucracy and the "fire-eaters" against Japan. But in the



LIGHT FROM RUSSIA

WILHELM (to little Wilhelm): "That light, my son, will do our house more harm than all the Russian artillery!"

From *De Nieuwe Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)

end the test turned against him. If Russia emerged impoverished and diminished after two years of exhausting warfare in the Far East, her military reverses aroused the revolutionary movement which has just culminated, after numerous vicissitudes in the overthrow of Czardom, in March, 1917.

That the Russian revolution of 1905 is not to be ascribed solely to the Japanese war, M. Gauvain, of course, fully recognizes; it was the outcome of a deep-seated and long-continued struggle, in which the forces of middle-class liberalism, as well as those of the rural and urban proletariat, were arrayed against the crushing weight of Czardom and bureaucracy. But it was the Japanese war that brought on the great explosion of 1905; and from that time on, up to the outbreak of the present war, Russia was cleft by profound dissensions. But on the outbreak of the war division ceased.

The developments leading to the revolution which deposed the Czar are familiar to all Americans; of its prospective influence on the course of the war, M. Gauvain takes a favorable view:

As was inevitable after such an upheaval, a certain confusion prevails in the minds of the

people and in the administration. The false brothers at home and the foes abroad will take advantage of it by trying to ruin, with a view to their own special benefit, the fruitful work which is in progress. There are many risks. Nothing great is achieved without risks, and the Russian revolution is a very great thing. It resounds from one end of the world to the other. The question that arises for us, in the midst of war, is to ascertain whether it will retard or accelerate our victory. It will accelerate it. The worst that can be said on that subject is that it will permit proposals of conciliation which it was forbidden to contemplate under Nicholas II.

One must look beyond the daily events and into the heart of things. If it be true that the maintenance of the Czar's power, operating normally, would have been preferable for the proper conduct of military operations to the close of the war, it is still more true that the maintenance of the authority of Nicholas II, as it was exercised, formed the gravest danger for his allies. They, in spite of their uneasiness, took good care not to provoke a change involving incalculable consequences. But the event once accomplished, with a minimum of disorders and bloodshed, they have reason to rejoice.

In conclusion, M. Gauvain comments upon the relation between Russia's revolution and the espousal by our country of the cause of the Allies:

The part played by moral forces appears here in its plenitude. It has often been ridiculed by politicians who maintained that with shrewdness and *savoir-faire* one can accomplish anything. Shrewdness and *savoir-faire* are two valuable qualities, when the first does not degenerate into artifice, and the second into sharp practise. But

they are only instruments. To practise politics worthy of the name there must be a basic substance. Some prefer to depend upon material, others upon moral power. The latter, unfortunately, does not suffice; the wars waged by Prussia since 1864 have adequately proved that. But neither does the first suffice; that is proved by the war of to-day.

In the long run the moral forces get the upper hand. They have an imperishable vitality. Austria-Germany will eventually succumb under the general reprobation. One by one the neutral states are uniting against her. It might have been said of the first ones that declared themselves that they sought special advantages. That cannot be said of the United States nor of the other American republics. The great Republic of North America throws a tremendous weight into the scale without claiming anything for herself. She fights for ideas which she considers the motive forces of the whole civilized world. She made a public decision two weeks after the Russian revolution. She had probably decided before, but the events at Petrograd gave President Wilson a chance to rouse the people *en masse*, and transform an intervention which might have been doled out in dribblets into an enthusiastic enterprise launched full tilt.

True to his doctrines, Mr. Wilson has constituted himself the champion of democracy and of the right of nations to act for themselves. He is fortunate in being finally able to make his deeds accord with his words. Without looking backward, he is advancing to-day towards the realization of his political ideal with an energy as great as the prudence he exercised before in treading the path of negotiation. The Russian revolution has dispelled his last scruples. It has liberated his conscience. And that is not the least of the benefits it has accomplished.

"THE GRANDMOTHER OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION"

WHEN those tombs of the living, the prisons of Siberia, gave up their victims, at the sound of the trumpets of the Revolution, no more striking figure issued from their grim portals than that of Catherine Brechkovskaia, the "Grandmother of the Revolution." A sympathetic sketch of this remarkable woman, who was, like Tolstoi, enamored of justice, righteousness, and freedom, is contributed to the May number of *La Revue* (Paris) by Vera Starkoff. From this article we take the following excerpts:

There is a corner of the earth where Liberty has arisen crowned with an aurora of clemency. The penalty of death is abolished. Jailers have comprehended the vanity of chastisements. Bolts are being drawn. Catherine Brechkovskaia is carried in triumph. There is something greater than genius, and that is individual character.

In a dungeon of distant Siberia this woman of seventy braved the escort of gendarmes foisted upon her by an all powerful enemy. The Russian Government held her under lock and key, and to be the surer that she did not escape ordered that every day she should be placed in her sealed cell.

The writer tells us that she has a manner of distinction and betrays the noble origin which she had repudiated at the age of twenty-six, in order to obey the call of her indignant and revolted pity. Her husband belonged to the Liberal party, which had inspired the imperial manifesto of Alexander II liberating the serfs. Unfortunately the new-found freedom was accompanied by bitter poverty, accentuated by taxation.

She felt she owed a debt to the moujik whom her own class had systematically despoiled and

cynically befooled by selling a semblance of liberty the better to enslave them. Remorse commanded her to go to the aid of the victims. And since her husband did not share this view she left him, sacrificing even her maternal love to what she believed to be her first duty. She renounced all her privileges, and, clad like a peasant, she went from village to village, living the rude life of the moujiks, teaching them to read and write and enlightening them to their true interests.

The reward for this self-sacrifice was her arrest and deportation to Siberia in 1878. Here her ardor was undiminished. It is said she fed hundreds of poor wretches with the products of the garden she cultivated herself. She advised the cultivation of vegetables to make the convicts self-supporting and the idea met with great success. She interested her correspondents in the miserable poverty of the deported convicts and it was to her efforts that the formation of relief committees was due. She was particularly devoted to the children.

She believed with Tolstoi that the first duty of man was the struggle with nature to preserve his own life and that of others. She bore this hard Siberian life for twenty-two years with marvelous energy. Finally the heaped up horrors under which the exiles suffered, cold, hunger, and the dreadful malady known as "hunger typhus," impelled her to seek escape in order to make known to the civilized world the monstrous afflictions carefully concealed by the Russian Government. In particular there was lack of medical attention, even of sanitary measures. The sick lay side by side with the dead in the same barracks, known as the "pest house." Hoping that universal pity would end this barbarism she endeavored to flee that she might make it known.

During her long career of a spiritual valor bordering on the miraculous she made two attempts at escape. The first was in 1880. She fled with five comrades in exile. They traversed virgin forests and the immense "taiga," where one sinks to his knees in mud. One night wolves made a circle around them. . . . Fired doubtless by the imperious desire to save her comrades she lit a bon-fire suddenly. The wolves fled, but the *gendarmes* who were prowling in the neighborhood recovered their prey. . . . She was condemned to suffer forty strokes of the knout. But at that time she government had scruples against flogging a woman—a gallantry it lost a few years later. A pretense of heart-disease was made in order to spare her. She protested. She wished to accept nothing from her adversaries. She claimed the right to partake the penalty of her comrades. One of these died during the execution.



MADAME CATHERINE BRECHKOVSKAIA

After twenty-two years of exile, Madame Brechkovskaia was released and permitted to return to Russia, but she soon became active in the organization of the revolutionary Socialist party, made propagandist speeches in the villages, was arrested anew at Simbissk and taken to Petrograd to be immured in the fortress of Peter and Paul.

When the police tried to make her talk she invariably responded: "While I was at liberty I did my work without you; now you have only to do your duty without me." Her loyalty impressed even her jailers. When her profession was inquired at the trial she replied that she was a revolutionary propagandist. She refused an advocate, saying: "What is the use? I have not changed and neither has justice." . . . In 1907 she knew for the third time deportation and a Siberian jail. The cruelty of the penitentiary régime had attained an excess heretofore unknown. "Receptions" were organized for the "newcomers." An oath of fidelity to the orthodox church and repudiation of the socialist faith was demanded. When the "criminal" proved recalcitrant . . . he was tortured. . . .

Again this noble woman took up the work of comforting and relieving the sufferings of the bodies and souls of the victims of exile. She became the "Grandmother of the Revolution," and even had the energy in 1913 to attempt escape at the age of seventy. She was recaptured and the government determined to send her into the polar desert at Nijnekolymsk, more horrible, it is said, than Dostoevsky's "House of the Dead." But it was such political harshness that undoubtedly contributed to the downfall of Czarism.

ASPHYXIATING GAS IN THE TRENCHES



Photographs by Jacques Boyer, Paris.

BELL USED FOR SIGNALLING THE ARRIVAL OF ASPHYXIATING GASES OVER THE FIRST-LINE TRENCHES OF THE FRENCH

EVER since April 22, 1915, the Germans have used against the military forces of the Allies in violation of all international law various asphyxiating or noxious gases. The most formidable of the gases so employed by the Germans is chlorine, but bromine is also used as are formaldehyde, nitrous vapors, sulphurous anhydride, nitrogen peroxide, and carbon monoxide. These gases are produced by means of fires in front of the German trenches in which is burnt either sulphur for producing sulphurous anhydride or trioxymethylene, a solid body which volatilizes on heating, releasing the gas formaldehyde. The method most employed by the Germans, however, is to send forth dense clouds of chlorine from steel reservoirs containing the liquefied gas. These cylinders are connected to a vertical metal pipe about six feet in height with an elbow carrying a horizontal jet turned toward the

enemy and projecting slightly above the level of the surrounding ground. At the preparatory signal the soldiers in the trench engaged in this special service put on respiratory masks, and an operator at each jet turns a regulating cock permitting the chlorine to escape from the nozzle in a cloud into the atmosphere.

As chlorine gas is two and a half times heavier than air, it not only advances but spreads over the surrounding terrain, and after sinking it remains in contact with the ground. Compressed bromine is also contained along with the chlorine in the cylinders, as both combine in all proportions, the bromine having a very disagreeable odor and in ordinary atmosphere a dense brownish-red vapor.

With satisfactory atmospheric conditions, the asphyxiating gases can exert their injurious effects up to about a mile and a quarter from their source, and on the western battle front the odor of the gases has been detected slightly over three miles behind the first lines. If atmosphere containing a proportion of 1/1000 of chlorine gas is inhaled by the soldiers not equipped with protective apparatus, the effects of the fumes are likely to be deadly. The men who breathe even a very small amount of the concentrated gas experience at first an intense pricking in the nasal passages and also in the throat and shed tears as their eyelids swell. They are racked by an incessant cough and there is an abundant expectoration, which usually is accompanied by considerable loss of blood. Most of those affected who do not succumb at once to the gases recover after ten days' treatment in the hospital, but when the poisoning is more intense there may result bronchial-pneumonia, pneumonia, and sometimes pulmonary gangrenes sufficient to cause death.

The French have, however, reduced to a minimum the injurious effects of the gases. At frequent intervals along the first-line trenches they have placed sirens, whose sound carries for well over a mile. As soon as a suspected cloud rises from the German trenches, the alarm is given and the French *poilus* immediately don their respiratory masks and spectacles of mica or glass enclosed in rubber. Bombardiers, who are

equipped with a protective breathing apparatus, then throw in the advancing path of the noxious vapors small grenades charged with black powder, whose explosions serve both to dissipate the cloud by breaking its continuity and to release potassium sulphide, which reacts on the chlorine or bromine chemically and serves to diminish injurious effects.

At the first gas attacks the British Army devised crude masks of cotton and gauze held over the nose and mouth by two strings, and these were supplied by generous friends in five days to the almost incredible amount of a half million, after which various other devices much more adequate and more effective were developed for all the allied armies. One of these considerably used consists of an impermeable veil having a transparent window through which the soldier could see and an opening for breathing covered with a pad of very thick muslin. When the asphyxiating cloud was seen approaching, the soldier would put on this strange headpiece after pouring upon a cushion of dry muslin at the mouthpiece an anti-asphyxiating solution of ammonia or hyposulphite of soda, contained in a tin tube always with him. The mask is held by an elastic and fastened to the coat collar. Only respirable air can pass through the cushion, as the chlorine and bromine gases are intercepted and retained by the solution. The pad of muslin must be changed after using, but it can be employed again after it has been regenerated by washing in boiling water and kept a long time in a large quantity of cold water. This process has been systematized.



A GERMAN MASK

The most practical type of gas hood, which resembles somewhat the respiratory mask just described, is a sort of sack with a horizontal slit at the level of the eyes and which is put on over the cap or steel helmet. The open part of the hood falls to the shoulders and can be made tight around the neck by buttoning the jacket or coat.

Before it is used this mask is dipped into a solution of hyposulphite of soda to which has been added carbonate of soda and a little glycerine to prevent the material drying. These hoods hinder neither moving or breathing, and the various reactions take place over the entire surface. They are usually carried rolled like a turban around the cap or helmet

until needed, and have proved an effective device against the irrespirable vapors sent across from the German lines.

A writer referring, in a recent issue of *Chambers' Journal*, to the use of liquid fire and asphyxiating gas by the Germans speaks of the various methods that were used to offset the dangers of the poisonous gases employed by the Germans. According to this authority, the present helmet, as used by the British army, is a perfect defense against gas.

Wearing it, a man may walk about in the thickest gas-cloud unharmed (I have done so), though the formaldehyde generated inside the helmet does cause rather an unpleasant feeling in the throat. This is quite harmless, but it has caused many a man to imagine he was gassed when really he ailed nothing. I could tell a few laughable stories to illustrate this.

The men being in possession of helmets which protect them from the physical effects of a gas-cloud, it is necessary to instil in them confidence in their helmets, in order to rob the gas-cloud of its moral effect. For this purpose anti-gas schools were started—divisional ones, to which relays of men were and are sent from the various battalions in the division; and army-schools for the training of non-commissioned officers. In these schools lectures dealing with anti-gas methods are given each day in the morning session. In the afternoon the men (wearing their gas-helmets) are placed in a specially built room in which are fixed a number of gas-cylinders. The gas is turned on; the room is filled with a thick fog. So the men learn that a helmet gives them adequate protection; and after that, for them a gas-cloud has no terrors. The men have confidence in their masks, and consequently there is no fear of their morale being shaken by such an attack.

The admirable training of the troops in anti-gas methods has minimized the effect.



THE LATER FRENCH MODEL OF MASK FOR PROTECTION AGAINST ASPHYXIATING GASES

DON JOSÉ ECHEGARAY, ENGINEER, STATESMAN AND DRAMATIST

THE death of Echegaray on the 14th of last September at the ripe age of eighty-three, closed the career of a man with the unique record of distinction as a statesman, as a man of letters, and as an authority on mathematical physics. Born in Madrid on April 4, 1833, he was barely twenty-five when he was called to the chair of mathematics in the School of Roads and Bridges of that city, and despite his manifold and successful activities in other lines he found time to write various technical works, including "Problems of Analytic Geometry," "Treatise on Physics and the Unity of Material Forces," and "Modern Theories in Physics." He remained, moreover, professor of mathematical physics in the Central University of Madrid until the time of his death.

His bias towards politics manifested itself very early and he was elected to the Cortes in 1869. Here he had opportunity to display his talents both as a statesman and as a brilliant orator. His speech in favor of religious freedom was instrumental in procuring for him the portfolio of Public Works and Commerce in the cabinet. Under Amadeus of Savoy he was made Minister of Public Works and of Finance in 1872, but was obliged to abandon this post when the Republic was proclaimed in April, 1873, and retired to Paris. He was very promptly recalled, however, following the coup d'etat which restored the Bourbons to power and again became Minister of Finance. He profited by this position to confer upon the Bank of Spain a monopoly in the issue of banknotes. It was at about this time that he renounced politics and began to seek expression as a dramatist, although he held office again for a short while in 1903.

It was as a dramatist that he gained his greatest fame both at home and in foreign lands. He was made a member of the Royal Spanish Academy in 1882, and in 1905 he gained the coveted Nobel prize for literature. On this occasion Alphonso XIII dubbed him a chevalier of the Fleece of

Gold, and there was a great public demonstration in his honor at Madrid.

Despite the immense popularity of certain of his dramas and melodramas, critics of dramatic literature found much in them of which to complain. His first work, published under the pseudonym of Jorge Hayesecca, was found to be violent, exaggeratedly passionate, and even incoherent, and "The Wife of the Avenger," appearing the same year, 1874, had only a *succes d'estime* despite the beauty of its verse and its force of character and action.

It was with the huge romantic melodrama "With Sword in Hand" that he first made complete conquest of the general public, rousing everywhere what one disgruntled critic termed "an unworthy enthusiasm." Miguel de Toro Gisbert, writing in *Larousse Mensuel* (Paris), says of this work:



DON JOSÉ ECHEGARAY

One finds puerile things in it, indeed, but also scenes worthy the pen of a master. The verses of Echegaray, sonorous, proud, full of images, recalling at every step those of Calderon, seem now ridiculous and now sublime. They are beautiful or absurd, according to the particular critic. One of these characterizes the work as exhibiting an "exalted idealism in the midst of the scenes thrown on the wall by a magic lantern." The same disputes took place over nearly all his works: "Madness or Holiness" (1877), "The Impossible Vow" (1877), "In the Bosom of Death" (1879), "The Shoreless Sea" (1879).

The plays best known outside Spain are "Marianne," a very enthralling study of a modern, high-strung, intellectual woman of advanced ideas—a type said to be practically unknown in Spain, by the way; "The Son of Don Juan," a powerful but depressing study of the consequences of the sins of the fathers, directly inspired by Ibsen's "Ghosts," and "El Gran Galeoto," which was produced in New York a few years ago by Mr. William Faversham under the title "The World and His Wife." This is a powerful and tragic study in psychology and is the author's most famous play, having been translated into seven languages. It has been

called worthy of Shakespeare by some authorities and termed a "minstre-drama" by others. It is the story of a young man and a young woman united in a friendship as innocent as delightful who are the victims of unjustified suspicions by their friends and neighbors, "the world and his wife," which finally drive them into a culpable amour. Of this De Toro Gisbert says:

Other critics have observed with justice that the thesis of the drama is false, that the characters are barely sketched in, and move like automata, and that the author has treated his subject like an algebraic formula—a fault natural enough, by the way, in a mathematician.

Echegaray was exceedingly prolific, sometimes turning out no less than three plays a year. He also translated into excellent Spanish three dramas of the great Catalanian writer Angel Guimera: "Marie Rose," "Sea and Sky," and "Lowlands." Gisbert says

in the concluding paragraphs of his article:

Despite a certain tendency to naturalism in "How It Begins and How It Ends," particularly, there are scenes which are crudely naturalistic—the theater of Echegaray is strictly romantic, and closely resembles that of Victor Hugo, and above all of Calderon, and it is perhaps herein that we may find the secret of his prodigious success. The great critic Clarin likens the enthusiasm of the Spanish for heroic drama to their passion for bull-fighting, and Yxart remarks that there is nothing more profoundly national throughout the peninsula. . . .

Echegaray will remain in the history of Spanish letters as the gifted continuer in an epoch of transition—even of decadence, perhaps—of the great tradition of the golden age of the nation. And if a part of his productions, too ornate, like that of all the great Spanish dramaturges, falls into a just oblivion, it must be recognized that every time such pieces as "El Gran Galeoto," "Madness or Holiness," and "With Sword in Hand" are revived, the Spanish public, the same throughout the centuries, . . . is taken captive by these verses, so beautiful, though frequently a trifle hollow.

THEODULE RIBOT, THE FAMOUS PSYCHOPATHOLOGIST

IT is a curious fact that while the names of French artists are better known in this country than those of their German contemporaries, the case is quite reversed when we come to men of science. This is probably not due so much to any inherent superiority as a class on the one hand or the other, as to the circumstance that it is a tradition with our young art students to seek the Latin Quarter so famed in romance and in song, in opera and in short story, while our young men wishing to pursue science have, especially of late years, turned in widening streams to the hospitable doors of Teutonic universities.

These may be the underlying reasons why the name of the eminent French psychopathologist, Theodule Ribot, who is but recently dead at an advanced age, is comparatively unfamiliar to America, while that of Freud, with his sensational theories as to psychoanalysis and his frequently fantastic applications thereof, is on every tongue.

Born in Brittany in 1839, Ribot was educated at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* and at an early age evinced the able mind which brought him such wide recognition throughout Europe and so many honors in his native land, where he was Chevalier of the Legion of Honor and Member of the Institute, be-

sides belonging to various learned bodies and being for many years professor at the Sorbonne and the *Collège de France*.

As early as 1889 the character of the Professor of Philosophy, in Paul Bourget's famous novel, "The Disciple," was supposed to be modeled partly from Ribot and partly from Taine, though at that time the work of the former had been chiefly critical, as in the early books, "English Psychology" and "German Psychology." The nature and importance of his own contributions to the new science of experimental psychology, based on physiological experiment, which was beginning to take the place of metaphysics, is well set forth in a brief but admirable sketch in *La Revue* (Paris), from which the following passages are taken:

Despite appearances this declared adversary of all speculation exercised an influence no less profound in the paths of learning from which he turned aside than in those whereon he entered, so that the philosophers, in truth, are no less indebted to him than are the experimenters and the clinicians pursuing the study in hospitals and asylums of that psychopathology of which he was the initiator. . . .

Ribot was still a provincial professor when he undertook to make known in France the work of English and German psychologists. In these two books he showed himself to be a scrupulously careful historian and an exact critic. He mere-

ly profited by the opportunity, in his prefaces, to define and complete the criticism of introspection which had been outlined by Auguste Comte. He demonstrated the necessity of substituting for an entirely individual, subjective, and descriptive psychology, an objective, general, and explanatory psychology, which should be not merely that of "man, adult, white, and civilized," but should comprise that of the infant, of the animal, of all mankind. Generations of students have learned by heart these formulas now so popular, but then so new and bold. Few novelists have drawn such handsome royalties as this luminous and vivid living psychologist.

Already, under the influence of that type of mind which can perceive only the mechanical aspect of things and of beings, the German psychologists, intoxicated with precision, were stumbling amid the chimeras of psycho-physics. This is why Ribot remained more sensitive to the vivifying influence of the English . . . and why his first researches were in the direction indicated by Herbert Spencer and by Alexander Bain. Ribot, as his first offering to contemporary work, brought across the English Channel the psychophysiologic method, and himself undertook the most brilliant application of it.

It was with his celebrated theory of attention that Ribot first made this method triumph. Attention had, in fact, always been regarded from within by means of consciousness; it remained incomprehensible and inexplicable; it was regarded only as a sort of "pure act" of mind, of mysterious origin.

Under Ribot's method of studying the function of attention, on the contrary, it gained both in simplicity and in interest. He regarded it from without, *i.e.*, in the somatic manifestations which accompany it. Thus regarded it was easy to see that it operates by what may be termed the mechanism of motion, *i.e.*, that it acts always by means of muscles and upon muscles, principally in the form of an arrest of motion. In Ribot's own lucid and brilliant exposition:

Compare an audience which is bored with an audience that is held captive, an eager student with a dunce, an animal lying in wait for its prey with an animal at play. The corporal attitude of attention is not the same as that of distraction. In the ordinary state, in fact, the senses, open to the world, continue to provide every passing sensation, and these sensations, in their turn, multiply images and memories, stirring the memory as a stone stirs deep waters. The consciousness is like a cinematograph, a perpetual fluttering of butterflies, a wheel incessantly turning.

In the state of attention, on the contrary, the senses are shut, the memory closed, the mind fixed; the cinematograph is stopped, the wheel no longer turns, the butterflies are at rest. We have attained a state of "mono-idealism." The whole attitude of the attentive person is the *ensemble* of these arrested movements, of muscular inhibition. It denotes a state of convergence of the organism and of concentration of labor, for the concentration of the consciousness and

that of the movements, the diffusion of ideas and that of the movements are on a par.

Ribot classed these physical concomitants of attention in three groups: as vaso-motor, respiratory, and motor or expressive phenomena. In its genesis he made a distinction between spontaneous and voluntary attention. The former, dependent upon affective conditions, desire, satisfaction, discontent, jealousy, etc., is the only form found in the animal and the infant. Voluntary attention, on the other hand, is obtained artificially, by the association of a natural desire with a not immediately related object; thus the child, before loving work for its own sake, works to be rewarded.

The author of the present sketch, Gaston Rageot, observes that here we have psychology plunging into life, and continues:

Thus, in this same work, whose reception was marvelous, there appears the very principle of Ribot's thought, of his curiosity, of his influence. It is life, integral, complete, perceived in the *ensemble* of its conditions, soul and body, within and without, tendency and movement, emotion and act, heart and face; observed, too, in all the phases of its development, in the infant, in the animal, in the invalid, from its mysterious dawn to its more mysterious decline—it is life that was the sole passion of this *savant*.

And it seemed as if he bore the attractive symbol of it in his own person. Every one has seen him, walking along the Rue des Ecoles, arriving at the Collège de France, or, going every day to get his daily mail at the *Librairie Alcan* and receive the visitors of the *Revue Philosophique*. Little, lean, active, with a lively eye, a smile of great subtlety he was goodness of heart itself, and intellectual grace. Nothing interested him so much as the company of his kind, and his primary psychological method was the practice of an exquisite sociability. He acquired the secret of hearts first by friendliness. Thus the almost universal authority of this little man was developed day by day throughout the whole of his beautiful and harmonious existence. . . . Thus he could grow old without fear of time or fashion.

The vital principle of this French pathologist's views may be expressed as the omnipresence of the motor element in the genesis and the mechanism of all psycho-physiologic phenomena. Rageot says:

His last book, just finished, is still faithful to the study of movements in the life of consciousness. To live is to desire, to desire is to act, and to act by means of muscles and upon muscles. Tendency and movement are thus the basis of our whole existence. . . .

For more than thirty-five years Ribot edited the *Revue Philosophique*, which he had founded. He was a voluminous author.

ITALY AND ASIA MINOR

A NOTE of confidence in the ultimate success of the Allies' cause animates an article by Senator Leopoldo Franchetti in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). The writer, far from confining the Italy of the future within the narrow bounds of the Adriatic, gives forcible expression to her rights as a Mediterranean power in the widest sense. He does not regard as premature a free discussion of Italy's legitimate claims, especially as the ministries of some other powers of the Entente have displayed little hesitation in reference to the future status of territories not yet occupied.

He holds that in addition to the acquisition of the unredeemed Italian region held by Austria, and the establishment of Italy's predominance in the Adriatic, as well as the territorial enlargement of her possessions in eastern and northern Africa, Italy should be acceded Asia Minor, with the exception of a zone along the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora, and along the Dardanelles, this falling properly to Russia. Italy's special title to the possession of Asia Minor is based, in Senator Franchetti's opinion, upon the vital importance to her of the Mediterranean.

The occupation, by the other civilized nations, of all the non-European coasts of the Mediterranean, and their respective hinterlands, with the exception of the unfruitful Tripoli, would exclude from these regions the Italian activities that have already manifested themselves there. Up to the beginning of the war Italian manufacturers, merchants, contractors, and laborers had contributed largely to the economic development of Asia Minor, within the limits imposed by the Turks. In the other Mediterranean regions, already occupied by other civilized nations, Italian activity has also been marked, but here the Italians are destined to be absorbed, sooner or later, by the dominant nationality.

The writer finds that what Italy imperatively needs is a free field for the expansion of her economic energies and, besides this, for the colonization of her emigrants, who would find in Asia Minor a region fully adapted to the unfolding of their natural aptitudes for the production of wealth—aptitudes that have so far been exploited with scant compensation by foreign nations.

It is necessary to insist upon the prime importance of the emigration factor for

Italy. So far the hundreds of thousands of Italians who have left their native land each year have not found any corner of the earth where they could live under the Italian flag; for the colonies now in Italy's possession have not proved themselves to be fitted for European immigrants. The attempt to stifle the expansion of Italy, to prevent her from developing outside the confines of the home country, as do the other civilized nations, the resources of her exuberant energies and of her increasing population, would be tantamount to condemning her to see these energies dissipated for the profit of other nations, or to have them exhaust themselves in internal class conflicts.

The writer notes that after the victory shall have been won, not only France, England, and Italy would be Mediterranean powers, but Russia also, because of her possession of the Dardanelles. Of course, this view is based upon the policy of the old régime, which seems to have been discarded by the new Russian government. Under these conditions, not only Russia and England, but France also would be Adriatic powers in the Near East, since France, as is understood, would receive Syria. Hence no one of these powers could occupy the Mediterranean coast of Asia Minor or a notable part of the interior without acquiring thereby an unacceptable preponderance over the others. Italy alone, since she has no other possessions in Asia, could hold Asia Minor without disturbing the equilibrium; indeed, this would rather serve to establish and maintain it. Italy will never be strong enough in the Mediterranean or in the Near East to acquire an undue predominance in these regions.

As to the native peoples of Asia Minor, the independence of their different nationalities is excluded by the actual state of things. The various races, the various nations, the various religions, are inextricably interwoven.

To ensure the well-being and prosperity of these peoples there is needed a power superior to them in civilization, which shall make justice reign among them and shall maintain the public peace. The unflinching fidelity with which the native troops of Erythrea fought for Italy against Menelik of Abyssinia shows that Italy possesses the art of gaining the affection and the confidence of her native subjects.

AN ITALIAN'S ADVICE TO ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS

NO other foreign land is so vitally interested in the new restrictive law regarding emigration to the United States as is Italy, for the stream of Italian emigration has not only been an outlet for a surplus population that would not find profitable occupation at home, but has also provided a notable addition to the annual revenue of the country from the large sums remitted by the expatriated Italian workers. Hence it is recognized in Italy as most important to forestall as far as may be any check to the renewal of emigration after the war that might result from the new law.

This question is very impartially examined by Dr. G. B. Nicola in the *Rivista Internazionale*. The main grounds for the law against the admission of illiterates are acknowledged to be that the illiterate immigrant will be satisfied with low wages; that he is easily imposed upon and prone to seek revenge in crimes of violence, and that he is necessarily held aloof from the influences of the American educational system. Dr. Nicola finds that before protesting against this law and seeing in it a proof of hatred toward the Italians, it should be carefully weighed, and if its provisions are found reasonable it should be cordially accepted.

He rejects as a wholly childish expedient the proposal of certain Italian journals that the tide of emigration should be diverted to Asia Minor, as though the Italian laborers were tourists in search of pleasurable emotions, who could vary their journeys at will, and were not invincibly bound by a tissue of complex interests, of family relations and social requirements, not to be disturbed.

The strongest current of Italian emigration has set toward the United States. In the quinquennial period 1909-1913 the annual average was 278,000, representing 41 per cent. of the total number of Italians who went to foreign lands, and 68 per cent. of those who crossed the sea. In the year 1913 as many as 377,000 went to America.

The writer believes that the military service of Italians born after 1900 will hardly be needed in the war, and he finds that the proper education of this new generation, even apart from serving to overcome the obstacles to immigration interposed by the United States, would render those who remained in Italy more productive.

Naturally the education given to prospective emigrants should not stop at the ability to read thirty words, as demanded by the American law. It should embrace a minimum of knowledge regarding the State and national constitutions and the geographic divisions of the United States, as well as a familiarity with the standards of weight and measurement. Scarcely less essential would be an elementary knowledge of Italian conditions, so that when questioned as to these by an American, the Italian would be able to give intelligent answers.

In conclusion Dr. Nicola gives some useful hints to those of his fellow-countrymen who intend to establish themselves in the United States. They are urged to keep in mind the notable differences between the customs and ways of thinking of the two countries. Of this he says:

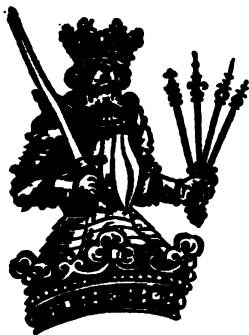
If, for example, two boys coming out of school begin to pummel each other and a friend of one of them runs up to help him, this will be looked upon as cowardly; the two boys ought to be left to fight it out with each other; but two against one, when all are of about the same strength, is not to be allowed, is not to be thought of for a moment, is almost inhuman in American eyes.

Another principle is the so-called eleventh commandment: "Mind your own business!" This is a national attitude foreign to the Latin temperament of to-day, a lively and expansive temperament, ready to give aid, but also sometimes, in spite of all good intentions, animated by an importunate curiosity that may give offense.

At first sight it might seem that this should be especially applicable to Englishmen and Germans and that the American is almost anarchical. But this is altogether untrue. Take your stand at the corner of Broadway and Wall Street, or at any other center of intense traffic, and remark how at a single sign of the policeman's "magic wand" hundreds of vehicles are instantly arrested in their course, and this without the slightest thought of remonstrance. We are accustomed to call America the land of liberty, meaning that kind of liberty that borders on license. This is all wrong. Liberty among equals is indeed perfect, but all must submit to authority. The President of the United States exercises an executive power more autocratic, one might almost say more absolute, than does the King of Italy with his ministers. Lastly, in America, with but few exceptions, all are religious. There is full freedom in the choice of this or that confession, but national custom and trend of thought require the profession of some religion, demand that some form of worship, however simple, shall be practised. The open conflict with the primary principles of the Christian religion, so frequent in Latin countries, is entirely inadmissible.

THE NEW BOOKS

RUSSIA—BEFORE AND AFTER



DURING the past three months publishers have made unusual exertions to meet the American demand for informing books about modern Russia. In our May number we mentioned, with brief comment, two important works in this field—Kornilov's "Modern Russian History" and Stephen Graham's "Russia in 1916"—

which had come from the press since the outbreak of the revolution in March. The list of new offerings has grown steadily and we now have a shelf-full of volumes written and published for the purpose of acquainting the American reading public with the facts that are most essential to a clear understanding of the motives and forces that are energizing the Russian national movement.

By all odds the most journalistic and vivid of these presentations is "The Russian Revolution,"¹ by Isaac Don Levine, a young Russian writer who is now on the staff of the *New York Tribune* and has contributed articles on Russia to this *Review* (April and June, 1917). Mr. Levine's knowledge of the revolutionary movement, its personnel and ideals, gives his work an element of intelligence that has been lacking in much of the recently published comment on the revolution and its causes. His first chapter is entitled "A Century of Struggle for Freedom" and one-third of the entire volume is devoted to a survey of the forces that were gradually mobilized in Russia for the culminating "drive" of last March. Then Mr. Levine proceeds to tell what actually happened and how far the aims of the revolutionary leaders have been realized. His terse and graphic narrative of Petrograd's days of transition from absolutism to modern democracy can hardly be surpassed.

The machinery of the Russian autocracy and the methods by which it was able to keep to the last its strangle hold on the civic and economic life of the people are described in detail by William English Walling in "Russia's Message,"² a book written ten years ago, after the author had passed the greater part of two years in close contact with Russian government officials, as well as with the leaders of revolutionary organizations after the temporary failure of their uprising in 1905. The living conditions of Russia's 100,000,-

000 peasants—the factor of prime importance in the situation—are clearly set forth by Mr. Walling in this volume, which is published at a popular price.

Another help and stimulating study of this adolescent among the nations, as Russia has been called, is "The Russians: an Interpretation,"³ by Richardson Wright, an American newspaper correspondent. "What Russia has been makes her what she is to-day. We cannot understand the Russia to come until we understand what she has been." So Mr. Wright undertakes to interpret for American readers the Russian's music, art, literature, business life—in short, his national ideals as they have been slowly evolved in the process of the years. The book opens up to us some of the possibilities of this virile and half-developed people.

The viewpoint of the Russian educated class is nowhere so clearly presented as in "The Shield,"⁴ a volume published in Russia by the Society for the Study of Jewish Life (in which no Jews are allowed membership) and now offered in an English translation. "The Shield" is significant in that fifteen men of letters, publicists, and scientists unite in demanding the abrogation of Jewish disabilities in Russia. Besides making clear the attitude of Russia's real leaders on this vitally important question, the book reveals in a striking way the Russian spirit of race sympathy and tolerance. A foreword is supplied by William English Walling.

It is quite another Russia—the Russia of the Romanoffs—of which we catch glimpses in Madame Olga Novikoff's "Russian Memories."⁵ More than forty years ago Madame Novikoff began her persistent campaign to bring Russia and Great Britain together. Lord Beaconsfield called her "the M. P. for Russia in England"; Gladstone helped her untiring efforts; William T. Stead was early enlisted in her cause. It has been given to few women to serve so effectively in promoting international amity. But the "Holy Russia" of Madame Novikoff seems almost as remote from the Russia of Miliukoff and Kerensky as the England of George III and Lord North from the Britain of Lloyd George.

"Russia Then and Now, 1892-1917,"⁶ reminds us of the relief efforts that were put forth in this country for the victims of the Russian famine of 1891-92. The author, Mr. Francis B. Reeves, supervised the delivery and distribution of a cargo

¹The Russian Revolution. By Isaac Don Levine. Harpers. 280 pp. \$1.

²Russia's Message. By William English Walling. Alfred A. Knopf. 245 pp. \$1.50.

³The Russians: An Interpretation. By Richardson Wright. Stokes. 288 pp. \$1.50.

⁴The Shield. Edited by Gorky, Andreyev, Sologub. Alfred A. Knopf. 209 pp. \$1.25.

⁵Russian Memories. By Madame Olga Novikoff. Dutton. 310 pp. \$3.50.

⁶Russia Then and Now—1892-1917. By Frances B. Reeves. Putnam. 186 pp. \$1.50.

of supplies sent by the city of Philadelphia at that time of suffering. He pictures the country and people as he saw them.

Constance Garnett's translation of three stories by Fyodor Dostoevsky will assist readers unfamiliar with the Russian temperament to a better understanding of recent events in Russia. The title story, "The Eternal Husband," is a version of the triangle theme varied with the introduction of phases of abnormal psychology and with a twisting humor thoroughly Russian. "The Double" is a kind of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde tale with the same obvious moral. In the last story, one of the best of those translated into English, "The Gentle Spirit," one sees Life playing the pawnbroker to all men, regarding their comings and goings with assuredness of their end,

continually reminding them that the heroism of their youth which they would exchange for treasure is not worth a farthing. Dostoevsky discerns that the true maturity of the soul is manifest in youth, while the body is plastic and the mind free from worldly sophistication.

"The New Convert," a play of the Russian Revolution, in four acts, by Sergei Stepniak, shows us the forces working for the freedom of Russia. Stepniak was a member of the Tchaikofsky group, of which many members have either been executed or died in prisons or in exile. Prince Kropotkin states in the introduction that he was one of the pioneers who decided to "go to the people." He was accidentally killed in the prime of his powers on a London railroad crossing. The translation is by Thomas B. Eyges.

REPRESENTATIVE FICTION

ERNEST POOLE'S first novel, "The Harbor," pictured contrasting types of our newer Americans in the ferment of their own spiritual and mental unrest. The novel pleased the radicals because it was revolutionary, the conservatives because it was genuinely constructive. Mr. Poole's second novel, "His Family" is as essentially American as the first, but his canvas has been narrowed. It lacks in the epical breadth of "The Harbor," which conveyed the impression of great tides of life incoming and outgoing. Roger Gale is an old-fashioned New Yorker, a man who came to the metropolis when it was still a city of houses, separate homes, quiet streets with rustling trees, with people on the door-steps upon warm summer evenings, and groups of youngsters singing as they came trooping by in the dark. His daughters typify the three principal types of woman-kind. Laura is a warm-hearted, worldly woman, careless of the finer things of life, living for the passing joys each day may bring. Edith is the mother-woman, perfect but prudish and narrow in her motherhood, for she fights her battles only for her own brood. Deborah is a school-teacher who mothers the children, large and small, in a community and fortunately does not miss her own happiness and the bearing of her own child. What are we all but children? Roger Gale says at the end: "What is humanity but a child? In the name of the dead, I salute the unborn." Mr. Poole has given us a fine, thoughtful story poignant with rebellion against the stupid brevity of human life and full of conviction that our personal happiness can be obtained only through building happiness for the whole human race.

The gifted teller of tales of India, F. W. Bain, has felt that he must offer excuse for another story of the "Moony Crested God and the Daughter of the Snow," when men are dying on the battlefields of Europe. He asks if one may not snatch a few moments from the contemplation of

political crimes, bloodshed and treachery for the enjoyment of innocent illusion. For his suggestion that Mother Goose survives beyond manifestoes and protocols, we are grateful and assure those who have read "A Digit of the Moon" and "The Ashes of a God" with amazement and joy, that they will find equal pleasure in "The Livery of Eve," a beautiful tale of the devices by which Aparajita, the daughter of a Naga, a water nymph, more beautiful than any mortal woman, overcame the hatred of women that burned in the bosom of the young King Keshawa.

For all who love children, and in particular for young mothers, there is a perfect idyll of motherhood, "One Year of Pierrot," by L. G. Hornby. The father of Pierrot tended the roses in a garden in the French town of Beaulieu that looks across the blue Mediterranean to the Island of Corsica. But before little Pierrot came the good Pierre died, and it was left to an American "Monsieur Jack Martin" to provide for Pierrot and his mother in return for certain care of his household. Pierrot's mother tells the story of one year of a baby's life, but earth and heaven are mirrored in that year. Pierrot goes away one morning while the sun is shining and the birds are singing. His peasant mother with the limpid French soul feels because many people came to honor Pierrot that she was burying a soldier: "I felt like the mother of a soldier."

"Mistress Anne," by Temple Bailey, gives us a most engaging picture of a high-minded American girl who is not ashamed of honest work nor ensnared by fascinating frivolity. While it is primarily a wholesome love story, beneath the surface is a call to service in the great army that work for public weal. Anne Warfield is one of the most delightful heroines of the year's novels.

* The Livery of Eve. By F. W. Bain. Putnam. 162 pp. \$1.50.

* One Year of Pierrot. By L. G. Hornby. Houghton. Mifflin. 361 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

* Mistress Anne. By Temple Bailey. Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Co. Ill. 307 pp. \$1.35.

* The Eternal Husband. By Fyodor Dostoevsky. Macmillan. 323 pp. \$1.50.

* The New Convert. By Sergei Stepniak. Boston: Stratford Co. 121 pp. \$1.

* His Family. By Ernest Poole. Macmillan. 320 pp. \$1.50.

LITERARY BIOGRAPHY AND CRITICISM

IN the literary world, the spring of 1917 has been distinguished by a revival of interest in Swinburne, and a succession of new books by and about the poet. Chatto & Windus publish "The Boyhood of Algernon Charles Swinburne," by his cousin, Mrs. Disney Leith; Swinburne's posthumous poems, edited by Thomas J. Wise and Edmund Gosse, is soon forthcoming (Heinemann) and Mr. Gosse's complete biography of Swinburne is already published.¹ The *London Times* book reviewer writes that "Mr. Gosse was born and bred to write the life of Swinburne. . . . An official biography would have made him seem uninteresting to all the young; they would have glanced at it and said 'just what I thought' and read his poems no more. But you cannot glance at this book without reading it through, and having read it you will wish to read the poems again."

He has made Swinburne corporeal, yet placed him in fairyland. The "legends of superhuman cleverness and superdiabolic audacity" are somehow made compatible with the facts of existence. One feels that to Gosse and to Watts-Dunton, Swinburne was always an invincible child. His mental and spiritual ardors were accentuated by his physical strangeness. His blazing red hair, slender figure, sloping shoulders, restless, jerky movements, and abnormally large head balanced over a slender, fragile body, gave him a fairy-like appearance.

The volume contains in its appendices a letter from George Moore on Swinburne, and Mallarme, others by Lord Redesdale, one from Sir George Otto Trevelyan on Pauline, Lady Trevelyan, Swinburne's "good angel," and lists of Swinburne's posthumous writings. These latter include some short monographs upon some of the Elizabethan dramatists which Swinburne had thought of using in a second series of "The Age of Shakespeare." Mr. Gosse thinks the most valuable portion of the hitherto unpublished work consists of the "Border Ballads" found by Watts-Dunton among the poet's papers. There are eight of these, but Watts-Dunton thought many had been destroyed. It is announced that the privately printed volume of Swinburne's correspondence will be published shortly.

"In Good Company," a book of personal reminiscences by Coulson Kernahan, there is a vivid chapter that recalls the author's visit to Watts-Dunton's villa, "The Pines," and a stormy scene with Swinburne when he expressed his wrath over certain imitations of his poetry and laid bare in one sentence the secret of his own poetic art. Other visits are recorded and their impressions make us see Swinburne again as a child; his intellect *because*—not in spite of its magnificence—keeping the child in him alive to the very last. Other papers give frankly personal studies of Lord Roberts, Watts-Dunton, Oscar Wilde, Edward Whymper, S. J. Stone and Stephen Phillips.

Mr. Arthur Symon's volume of literary appreciations, "Figures of Several Centuries,"² includes a tribute to Swinburne to which he has given the best of his gift for re-creating the emotional glamour of great literature. He presents the poems of Swinburne in symbolism that at once initiates the reader into the spells evoked by them. He writes that "the whole essence of Swinburne seems to be made by the rush and the soft flowing impetus of the sea."

The other literary portraits and appreciations include more than twenty of such diverse types as St. Augustine and Walter Pater. In the study of Thomas Hardy, in a brief half-dozen pages, Symons has dissected and analyzed the novelist as story-teller, philosopher and psychologist in a piece of memorable and distinguished criticism. Hardy, the poet of the blind and dumb forces of nature, the seer who knows the "moods of the seasons, winds in their different tempers, trees, waters and mists, shades and silences, and the voices of inanimate things" seems to him the last, greatest and final Hardy.

It seems a lack of gratitude for the great service to literature rendered by the editors and makers of the "Cambridge History of English Literature,"³ to cavil at the fourteenth and closing volume of the series which summarizes the literary activities of the later part of the Nineteenth Century. We are looking at the Nineteenth Century through the magnifying glass of the rapidly developing international mind of the Twentieth, and beneath the revelations of the glass, the record seems, as Professor Lewisohn has written, full of "grim and militant provincialism." The volume contains surveys of the literature of philosophy, history, biography, politics, journalism, science, travel, sports, achievements, various British dependencies, and a review of the changes in the English tongue since the time of Shakespeare. It is a miscellany of both brilliant and careless workmanship, and its value will depend largely upon the individual reader's interpretation of what is meant by history. In the minds of thinkers history has ever exceeded its definition as a systematic narration of facts and appeared as a distinct creation in view of the acute selective and interpretative powers necessary to wrest historical unity from the nebulae of assembled facts. Lack of this unity dims the lustre of the three volumes on the Nineteenth Century—the inner impulse of various groups is lost in the presentation of outer facts.

The most common accusation made against American writers is that they are lacking in the faculty of criticism. They praise overmuch, they present historical perspective, they write charming pages of exposition, but of the critical faculty they are conspicuously in need. If this is true, and the examination of the pages of anonymous criticism in most foreign periodicals and newspapers in comparison with those published in this

¹ The Life of Algernon Charles Swinburne. By Edmund Gosse. Macmillan. 363 pp. \$3.50.

² In Good Company. By Coulson Kernahan. Lane. 273 pp. \$1.50.

³ Figures of Several Centuries. By Arthur Symons. Dutton. 398 pp. \$3.

⁴ The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. Vol. XIV. Putnam.

country would seem to uphold the verdict, according to Professor Spingarn's opinions, as set forth in "Creative Criticism," a new volume of essays, it is because we have manifested as yet little real creative genius, for criticism and creation have an artistic identity. John La Farge's sentence from *Considerations of Painting* epitomizes the belief: "To enjoy as it were, to create; to understand is a form of equality, and the full use of taste is an act of genius." The essays are: "The New Criticism," "Dramatic Criticism and the Theatre," "Prose and Verse," and "Creative Connoisseurship." The appendix has a note on genius and taste which takes issue with a recent expression from John Galsworthy in regard to the new criticism.

Samuel Butler, whose heterodoxical doctrines have been recovered from the literary limbo of the nineteenth century by discerning readers, wrote in "The Note-Books," selections arranged and edited by Henry Festings Jones, his literary executor and closest friend, that "the ages do their thinking much as the individual does. When considering a difficult question we think alternately for several seconds together of details, even the minutest seeming important, and then of broad general principles, whereupon even large details become unimportant; again we have bouts during which rules, logic and technicalities engross us, followed by others in which the unwritten and unwritable common sense overrides the law. That is to say we have our inductive fits and our deductive fits." . . . Farther on he questions the miracle by which this undigested, heterogeneous mass of considerations forms itself into the "mental pabulum with which we feed our minds. From whence are our complete opinions?" This curiosity was one of the reasons Samuel Butler formed the habit of setting down in his note-book the observations that swept torrentially into his super-active mind. And humanity is his debtor for the intellectual adventuring that unfortunately came to an end "before the label was invented," as Mr. Francis Byrne Hackett aptly observes in the introduction to this reprint.

"Six Major Prophets,"³ by Dr. Edwin Slosson, is a companion volume to his "Major Prophets of To-day." The men of the newer book are: Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Gilbert K. Chesterton, F. C. S. Schiller, John Dewey, and Rudolph Eucken. Each article is followed by a list of the author's works and suggested sources for information. Dr. Slosson has much that is worth while to say of Shaw, likewise of Chesterton whom he interprets first as a poet, next as the movie actor of literature who runs at a break-neck pace over the hurdles of his pet prejudices clad in the harlequineries of his wit. Both these books are most instructive and readable, and have undeniable attractions for all classes of readers.

¹ *Creative Criticism*. By J. E. Spingarn. Holt. 138 pp. \$1.20.

² *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler*. Dutton. 437 pp. \$2.

³ *Six Major Prophets*. By Edwin E. Slosson. Little, Brown. 310 pp. \$1.50.

Twenty-three sprightly interviews with leading American writers taken down by Joyce Kilmer are published in a volume, "Literature in the Making."⁴ Among the writers are: William Dean Howells, Booth Tarkington, Robert Chambers, Edward S. Martin, Robert Herrick, John Erskine, John Burroughs, Amy Lowell, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Charles Rann Kennedy, and other great and lesser lights of American literature.

Mr. Howells thinks that no great realistic literature or art can arise outside of democracy. Burroughs advises aspirants to seek the repose of the country in order to produce literature. Edwin Arlington Robinson begs poets to decently publish their work and then let it alone. Charles Rann Kennedy calls attention to the "heresy of supermanism."

Just before his death in February last, Mr. Frank B. Sanborn, himself the last surviving member of the "Concord group," famous in American philosophy and letters, had completed his "Life of Henry David Thoreau."⁵ The volume contains new material of Thoreau's ancestry, besides essays written in his youth and heretofore unpublished, poems and other compositions not generally known. In Mr. Sanborn's own words: "There are many writers of Nature, but there is only one Thoreau; many Stoics, ancient and modern, but only this one affectionate Stoic since Marcus Aurelius."

From "The Wayfarers Library" there is a popular edition of "The Brontës and Their Circle," by Clement Shorter (Dutton). "The Home University Library" (Holt) offers "John Galsworthy," a biography and critical estimate of his works, with portrait and bibliography, by Sheila Kaye Smith, and "Henry James," by Rebecca West. These little handbooks of the lives and works of famous authors written by expert craftsmen of the younger generation are placed within reach of all by their moderate price, 60 cents per volume.

"The English Essayists," by William Hawley Davis, Professor of English at Bowdoin College (Badger) contains studies of the important writers of essays from Montaigne to Stevenson. The bringing together of information about these men in a convenient form supplies a lack felt by all students of English literature, facilitates comparison, and aids appreciation.

"An Evening in My Library Among the English Poets," by the Honorable Stephen Coleridge (John Lane), gives the illusion of an intimate evening's conversation with a literary friend over his favorite poets, the friend now and again reading musically some bit of fine inspiration or honeyed melody. It is a book written with no particular end in view, but one which definitely assists in the development of literary taste, by teaching us how to enjoy beautiful poetry.

⁴ *Literature in the Making*. By Joyce Kilmer. Harper Bros. 319 pp. \$1.40.

⁵ *A Life of Henry D. Thoreau*. By Frank B. Sanborn. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 542 pp. \$4.

AMONG THE VERSE WRITERS

THE Imagist anthology, with its broken lines and irregular rhythms, calls to mind the poetic work of the father of the so-called "Yawp School" of newspaper poetry, the late Colonel William James Lampton, whose death occurred in New York on the thirtieth of May. Lampton had written *vers libre* from the beginning of his journalistic career, but the form he invented only came into prominence in 1890, when Lampton was on the staff of *The Washington Star*. He wrote a "yawp," "The American Eagle Speaks," in what he called the "scream measure," and while the stuff proved too eccentric for *The Star*, Charles A. Dana liked the verse and used it in the *New York Sun*. It was afterward copied by newspapers and periodicals from coast to coast. In 1900, Colonel Lampton published a volume entitled "Yawps," which called forth this praise from Colonel Henry Watterson in the introduction: "In the era of news in rhyme, Lampton came with the pioneers—with Stanton and Hall, and the rest of the successors to Prentice and Hatcher and Albert Roberts. Theirs was a nimble and a current wit. His was not less so."

Lampton described his own verse in a characteristic "yawp":

"It rhythms
When it rhythms;
It rhymes
Sometimes,
But whether it does
Or not.
It gets there just the same."

One of the cleverest bits of this verse Lampton ever wrote was his reply to Edwin Markham's "The Man with the Hoe." Lampton's idea of the "brother to the ox," was the prosperous Yankee agriculturist, a man who didn't even have a hoe but ran his cultivator by steam.

On his personal side Colonel Lampton knew nearly all the famous men of his time, and will be long remembered as the kindest of friends to many aspirants for literary honors who sought his advice. He was an irrepressible optimist, and an invincible patriot. In one of his publications, a curious documentary compilation of the philosophy of a Congressman from Wayback, "Judge Waxem's Pocketbook," he wrote many axioms applicable to the present times and well worth remembering.

"The Star Spangled Banner is uncorruptible."

"A man may change his politics, but he can't change his patriotism."

"The Monroe Doctrine ain't a menace but a manifestation."

"The Cornstalk is Uncle Sam's walking stick."

"There's men fooling around the Ship of State that don't know a gang plank from a jack staff."

The third Imagist anthology, "Some Imagist Poets, 1917,"¹ merits sincere praise. Six poets have given of their best to the volume: Richard Aldington, the talented English woman who signs

herself "H. D.," John Gould Fletcher, F. S. Flint, D. H. Lawrence, and Amy Lowell. In different ways these poets penetrate farther upon the frontiers of the unadventured realm of the imagination than most of their contemporaries. On days when the lilt of rhyme and the drone of iambs become unbearable, the Imagist anthology will shake one clear of old mental grooves with its clear crisp sculptural interpretations of beauty.

Rifleman Patrick MacGill has written a volume of "Soldier Songs,"² most of them while actually under fire. They are graphic, a bit Kiplingesque, sometimes humorous, but more often full of the poignancy of the actual scenes of the conflict. In the introduction he tells us what songs the soldiers actually sing in the trenches. They are songs of the march, the trench, the billet and battle. "Their origin is lost; the songs have arisen like old folk tales. Tipperary means home when it is sung in the shell-shattered billet. On the long march, Tipperary is Berlin, the goal of high enterprise and great adventure."

"April Elegy,"³ by Arthur Davidson Ficke, sings in the title poem the elegy of the love of two human people who meet, love, and part. The lyrical interludes constitute the gripping beauty of the poem, for the actual narrative is thinned in spots until passion is utterly lost. The other poems are groups under the headings: "Lyrics," "Seven Japanese Paintings," and "Café Sketches." The eight sonnets are very beautiful. Excellent workmanship and lyric freedom characterize the volume as a whole.

In "The Wisdom of the East Series," edited by L. Cranmer-Byng, and Dr. S. A. Kapadia, there is now published a treasure for students of poetry, "A Feast of Lanterns,"⁴ translations from the work of twenty Chinese poets. The introduction explains the tenets of Chinese poetic art, their reverence and love for flowers, symbolism in poetry, and the lore of the Dragon, one of the four spiritually endowed creatures of China. There are also interesting comments on the epochs of Chinese poetry, and on the great storehouse of verse that remains untranslated into Western tongues.

"Hallow-E'en and Poems of the War,"⁵ by W. M. Letts, an English poet, contains many fine poems, several of which have received praise on previous publication in English magazines. "Hallow-E'en, 1915," "He Prayed," and "The Spires of Oxford," have a rare quality and deserve a place among the best expressions of the war spirit in poetry.

¹ Soldier Songs. By Patrick MacGill. Dutton. 120 pp. \$1.

² An April Elegy. By Arthur Davidson Ficke. Kennerley. 160 pp. \$1.50.

³ A Feast of Lanterns. Dutton. 95 pp. 80 cents.

⁴ Hallow-E'en and Other Poems of the War. By W. M. Letts. Dutton. 100 pp. \$1.25.

⁵ Some Imagist Poets, 1917. Houghton, Mifflin. 86 pp. 75 cents.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

STUDENTS of New Thought have found considerable difficulty in correlating the theories of the various cults to define a common basis for New Thought teachings. Dr. Horatio W. Dresser, the well-known author of books of philosophical theory and religion, has prepared a much-needed "Handbook of The New Thought," which brings together the multitude of its teachings, estimates them, points the way beyond most of them, and does away with all misunderstanding. The quality of Dr. Dresser's common sense is shown in his definitions of "concentration," "meditation," and "going into the silence," etc., as used by the followers of New Thought. Moreover, he includes all the cults in one definition: They are manifestations of the "New Christianity."

In another volume, "The Spirit of New Thought," Dr. Dresser brings together a series of papers—not altogether in agreement—by recognized leaders of New Thought. There are twenty-two essays arranged to acquaint the reader with salient doctrines and divergent points of view. Nearly all of the essays have a bearing on the life of everyday and are vivified by a spirit of helpfulness and optimism.

"New Thought Christianized," is the title of a well-written book by James Campbell, author of many works on religion. Its contents discuss the law of suggestion, fear and its antidotes, the folly of worry, repose and how to get it, health and religion, true optimism, the power of initiative, self-control *versus* divine control, and the higher environment. Dr. Campbell is in agreement with Dr. Dresser in fundamentals. To our formulas must be added "the cooperating grace of Christ," and his type of affirmations, while more modest than those of most New Thought adherents, will please those who find that even in our pursuit of the highest good best results come through self-control and moderation. This is an excellent book for the orthodox Christian who wants to come over into the New Thought camp without the loss of one jot of his Christianity.

"How to Develop Your Personality," by Clare Tree Major, carries a foreword by Sir Herbert Tree and a preface by Francis Trevelyan Miller; also recommendations by Frank A. Vanderlip, Carrie Chapman Catt, Frederick Collins, and Edith Wynne Matthison. It will help many people to develop their inner resources and thereby broaden and heighten their careers. The author presents her teachings in a straightforward, sensible manner and deals successively with physical personality, vocal personality, self-expression and mental power. Mrs. Major is a graduate of the Academy of Dramatic Art in London and director of the School for Acting connected with the Washington Square Players' organization in New York.

¹ Hand Book of The New Thought. By Horatio Dresser. Putnam. 263 pp. \$1.25.

² The Spirit of New Thought. Edited by Horatio Dresser. Crowell. 297 pp. \$1.25.

³ New Thought Christianized. By James M. Campbell. D. D. Crowell. 152 pp. \$1.

⁴ How to Develop Your Personality. By Clare Tree Major. Crowell. 121 pp. \$1.

"The Looking Glass," by Dr. Frank Crane, contains his well-known preachments of optimistic philosophy, humor, sunshine, and common sense.

"The History and Practise of Psychoanalysis," by Poul Bjerre, the noted Danish writer, will be of immense service to persons of neurotic tendencies and those who wish to learn and practise the methods of psychotherapy. Dr. Bjerre does not agree wholly with Freud; it may be said his views more nearly approach a common-sense conception of the causes of mental inhibitions. The translation is by Elizabeth N. Barrow.

"Our Hidden Forces" (second edition), a scholarly work by Émile Boirac, Rector of the Academy of Dijon, France, easily places a scientific basis underneath investigations of spiritism and psychic phenomena by means of a record of simple experiments in the transference of magnetism. That the powers of magnetic attraction should be studied, controlled, intensified, and exerted at will is the theme of this notable and highly satisfactory book, which was awarded a prize of 2000 francs in a competitive contest of the Academy des Sciences of Paris. Translation and preface by Dr. W. de Kepler.

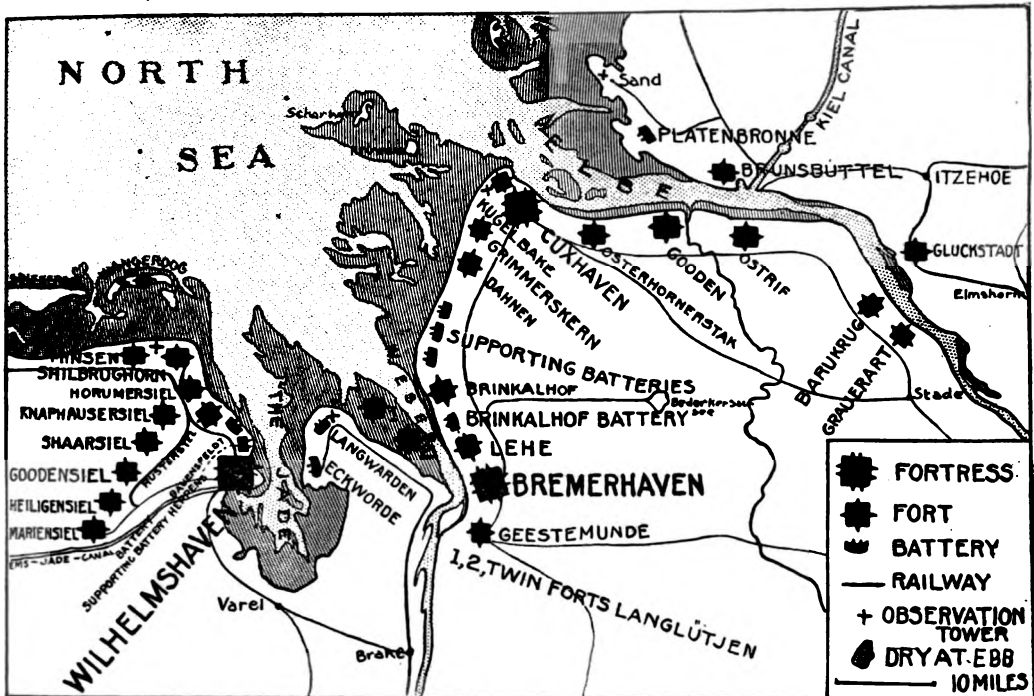
In "Marxian Socialism and Religion," Mr. John Spargo attempts a reconciliation of the Marxian system of Socialism with belief in God the Creator and Moral Ruler of the Universe and in the immortality of the soul. Mr. Spargo argues that since Socialism accepts natural laws, and since religion no longer considers this acceptance a denial of the existence of God, therefore Marxian Socialism is not at odds with religion. Karl Marx's statement that "the religious world is but a reflex of the real world" is not incompatible with the most passionate religious belief. It is not God who is destroyed by new conceptions, by change of economic environment, by democratic awakenings, it is our *idea of God*, the illusion prefigured by our own limited vision. The teachings of science and the idea of Infinite Intelligence are absolutely compatible, and the idea of the guidance of this Infinite Intelligence is entirely compatible with Marxism. This book is one of great value to the Socialist movement and to every individual whose thought turns toward the reconstruction of governments and social systems. The Socialism that will survive, the movements for the benefit of mankind that will prove durable are plainly those which strive for the "realization in the social order of the essential principles of religion." And these movements are by reason of their nature interdependent. Any retardation of the one is a clog upon the other.

⁵ The Looking Glass. By Dr. Frank Crane. John Lane. 256 pp. \$1.

⁶ The History and Practise of Psychoanalysis. By Poul Bjerre. Badger. 294 pp. \$3.

⁷ Our Hidden Forces. By Émile Boirac. Stokes. 302 pp. Ill. \$2.

⁸ Marxian Socialism and Religion. By John Spargo. Huebner. 187 pp. \$1.



GERMANY'S COAST DEFENSES FRONTING THE NORTH SEA—FROM COUNT DE BEAUFORT'S
"BEHIND THE GERMAN VEIL"

WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR

Present-Day Europe: Its National States of Mind. By T. Lothrop Stoddard. Century Company. 322 pp. \$2.

Mr. Stoddard has written a book upon the European countries that are at war, in which he tells us nothing of what he has seen himself and virtually nothing of what he himself thinks. Many war books give us little but the limitations of the author, or his prejudices, or his own psychology. Mr. Stoddard undertakes to give us the psychology of the different European nations in a series of chapters. He lets the newspapers of those countries and the leaders of parties or factions speak for themselves. The result is a remarkable study of European politics by one of the most thorough and painstaking students of international affairs whom this war period has brought to the front. Mr. Stoddard's chapters on England, France, and Germany are excellent and instructive. But his chapters on Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia are more valuable relatively because American readers have been much more lacking in information about political drifts and tendencies in those countries. We can recommend very highly the chapter on the Balkans, to those who would like to understand what has been going on, not only in outward action, but in national sentiment and aim in the four ambitious countries of Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Rumania. There is a good analysis of the Turkish position, and briefer chapters on several of the smaller European countries. In view of the startling course of events in Russia, the reader

will perhaps find that Mr. Stoddard's chapter on the conflicting tendencies and policies of that great empire is the most helpful and timely portion of the book.

Behind the German Veil. By J. M. de Beaufort. Dodd, Mead & Co. 403 pp. \$2.

The author of this book of experiences behind the German lines had a marked advantage over most of the war correspondents who have penetrated the Kaiser's domains during the present war. His passport was nothing less than a letter to Von Hindenburg himself from his own nephew. By the use of this letter the author, who by birth and parentage is a Hollander, was enabled to gain access to German headquarters and later to the eastern front, where he saw fighting in Poland and East Prussia. Besides Von Hindenburg, many of the military and political leaders of Germany were interviewed, and vivid descriptions are given of Germany's coast defenses, her fleet and harbors.

War Flying. By a Pilot. Houghton, Mifflin. 117 pp. \$1.

This little book is made up of the letters from a young officer of the Royal Flying Corps to his home people during his period of training and service in the war. The letters carry a spirit of light-hearted optimism characteristic of the youth and daring of the members of the flying service.

A Text-Book of Military Hygiene and Sanitation. By Frank R. Keefer, A.M., M.D. W. B. Saunders Company. 305 pp. \$1.50.

The health of the soldier—always a matter of prime importance in any fighting force—becomes vastly more so to us in the United States at this time because of the impending concentration of our conscript armies early in the fall. The various phases of the business of caring for troops in camp, on the march, and on the battlefield, are dealt with in a non-technical manner in this volume by Lieutenant-Colonel Keefer, professor of

military hygiene at West Point, and will interest the layman as well as those who contemplate service in this branch of military activity.

The Soldiers' English and French Conversation Book. Compiled by Walter M. Gallichan. Lippincott. 128 pp.

This convenient little pocket book, containing hundreds of appropriate sentences, phrases, and words, with correct pronunciation, should prove very useful in helping American soldiers to make themselves understood in France.

HISTORICAL WORKS

The Pacific Ocean in History. Edited by H. Morse Stephens; Herbert E. Bolton. Macmillan. 535 pp. \$4.

The admirable research work conducted by historical departments of the University of California, Stanford University, and other institutions of the Pacific Coast, is well illustrated in the papers and addresses presented at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, held in July, 1915, and now brought together in a portly volume. The papers read at special sessions of the congress have to do with the Philippine Islands and their history, our own Northwestern States, British Columbia, and Alaska, in their relations with the Pacific Ocean, Spanish America and the Pacific, and Japan and Australasia. Ex-President Roosevelt's address on the Panama Canal, in which he described the steps taken by his administration in acquiring the Canal Zone and beginning work on the Canal, is included in the volume.

Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699. Edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph.D. Scribner's. 382 pp. \$3.

The term "Northwest" in the title of this volume is used as it was employed in the Seventeenth Century to designate the region of the upper Great Lakes and the northeastern part of the Mississippi Valley. As explained in the introduction to this volume, the Great Lakes were discovered in the first half of the seventeenth century, while the exploration of the Mississippi Valley was the work of the second half. The present volume contains English translations of the narratives of the French discoverers, explorers, and empire builders in North America. It is a great convenience both to the historical student and to the general reader to have these materials arranged in a single volume.

Mount Rainier: A Record of Exploration. Edited by Edmond S. Meany. Macmillan. 325 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Visitors to Mount Rainier National Park during the present season will have for the first time in accessible form the record of the discovery and exploration of the mountain and its environs. The chronological order has been preserved in the arrangement of the materials, beginning with

the discovery and exploration of the mountain by Captain George Vancouver, of the British Navy. This volume is especially replete with information concerning the origin of place names in the Mount Rainier region.

Chronicles of the Cape Fear River: 1680-1916. By James Sprunt. Washington, D. C.: Miss Rosa Pendleton Chiles, 142 A St. N. E. 732 pp. \$4.

Merely as a contribution to local history this volume is of more than ordinary importance, because of the unusual care that has been given to its preparation, and the excellent literary form in which it now appears. It happens, however, that the Cape Fear region of North Carolina has far more than a local or sectional interest. Besides having an important place in the Colonial and Revolutionary history of the country, the Port of Wilmington was famous throughout the Civil War as a refuge and objective for Confederate blockade runners. More than one hundred pages of this volume are devoted to an account of the blockade-running enterprises that centered at Wilmington, and of this episode the author writes from personal experience. There is an excellent map of the Cape Fear River and the approaches to Wilmington made from the Confederate engineer surveys.

Three Peace Congresses of the Nineteenth Century. By Charles Downer Hazen, William Roscoe Thayer, Robert Howard Lord. Claimants to Constantinople, by Archibald Cary Coolidge. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 93 pp. 75 cents.

Apropos of current discussion about the fate of Constantinople, these surveys of debates and discussions of the Congresses of Vienna, Paris, and Berlin are informing and suggestive. The basis of Russia's claims is clearly stated.

The Red Rugs of Tarsus. By Helen Davenport Gibbons. Century. 194 pp. \$1.25.

A personal narrative of a young Bryn Mawr graduate's experience at a mission station with her husband during the terrible Armenian massacre of 1909.

REFERENCE BOOKS

The New International Encyclopædia. Second Edition. Dodd, Mead. 24 volumes. \$120.

In 1902, when the late Dr. Daniel C. Gilman, the first president of Johns Hopkins University, prepared the preface of the "International Encyclopædia" (First Edition), he named four attributes of the ideal encyclopædia: "First, accuracy of statement; second, comprehensiveness of scope; third, lucidity and attractiveness of presentation; and fourth, convenience of arrangement." While no encyclopædia has yet reached perfection, there would probably be general agreement among scholars and professional men that the "International" has approached more closely to Dr. Gilman's ideals than any work of its kind thus far published in America. Thousands of students and literary workers have found the "International" serviceable and no other work in the English language has so fully met their needs. After ten years a complete revision became necessary, and the publishers decided to make new plates so that topics and departments might be expanded and a great number of necessary new articles included. While this has been done, the essential features of the first "International" have all been retained. The subjects are placed under titles to which the reader would naturally turn first, a single alphabet being employed, with a liberal supply of cross references. A typographical improvement in the new edition is the insertion of black-face side heads in the longer articles. The progress of knowledge in the past decade, especially in such fields as aeronautics and wireless telegraphy, has required the preparation of entirely new treatises. So far as possible, the treatment of scientific subjects is non-technical. The aim of the editors has been to produce a comprehensive and popular work, fitted to answer in the simplest and most direct way the questions that come up for solution in the day's work of the ordinary man and woman. We reserve for later comment a few of the new and striking features of this admirable work, especially the history of the war and the outline courses of reading and study contained in the final volume.

The New International Year Book. Dodd, Mead & Co. 839 pp. \$6.

Because of the Presidential campaign and election, the "International Year Book" for 1916, tenth in the series that began with 1907, is a larger volume than usual. The war is necessarily covered in some detail, which also adds to the length of the volume. The plan of the work involves up-to-date revision of all economic, social, and literary topics, and new illustrations and maps are included in each successive volume.

English Pronouncing Dictionary. By Daniel Jones, M.A. Dutton. 419 pp. \$3.

This work, compiled by Daniel Jones, M.A., Reader in Phonetics in the University of London, has great value for those who are familiar with existing systems of phonetics, and also affords in its most scholarly and competent

introductory material instructions in phonetics for those unfamiliar with the science. The pronunciations used are those of cultivated people in the South of England. Special features of this dictionary are the inclusion of proper names, plurals of nouns, comparatives and superlatives of adjectives and inflected forms of verbs.

What Is English? By C. H. Ward, M.A. Scott, Foresman & Co. 261 pp. \$1.

Mr. Ward, who is head of the department of English in the Taft School, at Watertown, Connecticut, has ideas of his own about the true aim of English teaching in our schools. He thinks that every pupil should be taught English with a view primarily to the expression of his own thought. Approaching his theme from this viewpoint, Mr. Ward embodies in his little book the results of many years' experience in teaching such humdrum subjects as spelling, grammar, and punctuation. The value of the treatise lies in this—that it shows how all these details relate themselves to the main theme and how the teacher, by illustrating the best usage, may point the way to his pupils for an intelligent acquisition of the ability to express themselves clearly and forcibly. In style and method Mr. Ward's book is itself an excellent object-lesson in effective composition.

Debaters' Manual. Compiled by Edith M. Phelps. H. W. Wilson Co. 181 pp. \$1.

National Defense. Vol. II. Compiled by Agnes Van Valkenburg. H. W. Wilson Co. 204 pp. \$1.25.

Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic. Compiled by Lamar T. Beman. H. W. Wilson Co. 237 pp. \$1.25.

Prison Reform. Compiled by Corinne Bacon. H. W. Wilson Co. 309 pp. \$1.

Capital Punishment. Compiled by C. E. Fanning. H. W. Wilson Co. 299 pp. \$1.25.

This magazine is aware of the remarkable popularity of the debate, both in school and out, as a means of arousing interest in study and research and also as a means of acquiring facility of speech. Readers seeking material for the preparation of debates have been referred to a series of volumes compiled by the H. W. Wilson Company, at White Plains, N. Y. Each volume deals with a distinct topic, and contains reprints of the best reference material available—in books, magazines, and pamphlets—on both sides of the question. There is, besides, much original material, including a brief, a bibliography, etc. The whole is carefully selected, prepared, and arranged. Four of the recent volumes in this Debaters' Handbook Series are: "National Defense, Vol. II," including Compulsory Military Service; "Prison Reform"; "Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic," and "Capital Punishment." There is also a revised edition of the "Debaters' Manual," which began the series. In all, there have been thirty-five volumes. Many of the topics—such as the direct election of Senators—have ceased to be matters of argument and debate.

FINANCIAL NEWS

1.—OUTLOOK FOR SECURITIES AND COMMODITIES

EUROPE is approaching the fourth year of her war. The United States is coming to the end of her third month of war. In this short period definite readjustments in the prices of securities and commodities have occurred. Permanent changes are evident. As the whole nation settles down to the business of war it is clear that there will have to be a revaluation, so long as war lasts, of the things that are not essential to life, as well as of those which are primary in the trade of war. The purpose of this article this month is to indicate the possible trend of stocks and bonds, of the so-called speculative commodities, and of real estate.

The Automobile Industry

There are very few listed or unlisted stocks of industries that cater directly to luxuries. Most of these trades are controlled by concerns whose stocks and bonds are not on the market. An exception is the automobile. As that industry had been developed in most instances by individuals, the need for more working capital led to the flotation of large amounts of stocks. These have been widely distributed in the past two years under the influence of attractive profits and the general knowledge that the average man had of the industry and its place in the life of the country. Great fortunes have been made in buying and holding the common shares of such concerns as General Motors, whose original stock sold at 850; Studebaker, which rose to nearly 200; Willys-Overland, which sold at 325, and all from very lowly beginnings.

Before it was supposed that the United States would enter the war the high cost of materials had begun to make serious inroads on the profits of the pleasure-car producers. Competition with low-priced standard makers had also occasioned a revision of estimated gains for 1917. By the end of March automobile stocks had receded a great deal. The average quotation then of four popular common stocks was more than 50 per cent. below that of the maximum average of 1915 and 1916. In other words, these stocks,

which, on the basis of the original capitalization, had reached an average of about \$370 a share, dropped to an average of \$175 a share. This had discounted a great deal. In fact, during the June quarter, when production fell off very seriously, the lowest average reached was only \$155 a share.

The question will be fully determined now as to whether the automobile is a luxury or a necessity. Probably the middle ground will be adopted as containing the truth of the matter. Much depends on the length of the war. Great commercial advantage is every day taken of the cars of minimum and moderate price. They have suffered relatively little in the economy campaign that has been sweeping the land. Their daily uses are manifold. In Canada, where there have been three years of admonition to save and help the government in its prosecution of the war, the sales of low-priced cars have increased. They are a recognized part of the country's transportation system. It is equally true that cars serving only the purposes of pleasure have not been in demand. Abroad, factories producing them have been transformed into plants for the manufacture of munitions. It was not surprising to learn, therefore, that there had been extensive cancellations here in May and June of orders for luxury cars or to hear that makers were turning to the business of producing commercial trucks and aeroplanes to maintain their organizations and continue their profits. It is obvious that the demand for pleasure cars must slowly recede during the life of the war with Germany; on the other hand, the building of trucks for the army and of the lighter vehicles for delivery of goods will rapidly increase.

In England nearly every form of trade is incorporated and its shares listed. The stocks of hotels, restaurants, bakeries, retailers of dry goods, of men's furnishings, dealers in jewels, *objets d'art*, etc., could be bought by the investing public. With the war and its readjustments the profits of such enterprises shrank and the shares came down in proportion to increase the depression in the

market-place. There are almost no stocks of this character quoted here. Next to the automobile industry the brewing and distilling trades face the greatest losses, and, as there is a widely scattered ownership in the stocks and bonds of such companies, it had been necessary for their shareholders to reinvest their investment accounts.

Producers of War Equipment

The other side of the picture deals with the stocks of corporations supplying the raw materials or the manufactured goods that go to fill war requirements. The central position is held by iron and steel securities. Since relations with Germany were severed in February there has been an average advance in five common stocks of steel producers of about \$35 a share. Dividends have been increased. Net earnings in the June quarter of the United States Steel Corporation are estimated at \$130,000,000, or 30 per cent. more than was made during the entire year 1914. Companies making railroad equipment, those manufacturing clothing, shoes, or machinery, those building ships, the dreadnought or the submarine, the makers of wagons and harness, of aeroplanes, of powder, rifles, shells, and cannon, the producers of coal, copper, and lead, the hewers of wood, have all seen the potential values of their shares advancing.

Railroad and Public-Utility Shares

In the middle ground are the interstate transportation lines and the utilities identified with city traffic and the production of light, heat, and power, all enjoying the greatest gross revenues in their history, but confronted with rising costs in every form of material they consume and constantly having to make readjustments upwards in the wages of their employees. There is every prospect of some relief to both interests through higher rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission and from State utilities bodies. The depreciation in all railroad securities the past year has been very great. Many of the very best dividend-paying preferred stocks are selling lower than in twenty years, although the 1916 net results were the best ever made. This reflects what has been feared, rather than what has taken place. It is believed to be good investment judgment to take advantage of 6 to 6½ per cent. returns on prime railroad stocks.

The bonds of railroads and public utilities not only have reacted from the conditions

pulling down the stocks of such corporations, but from the effect of an enormous foreign liquidation, competition with the high returns on European government loans placed here, a rising rate of interest, and, latterly, by sales against subscriptions to the Liberty Loan. In some instances these have been to provide means to pay for the government issue and in others to get the larger net return of a tax-exempt bond over bonds which are taxable and figure in an income paying a large super-tax. We cannot see much prospect of recovery in the first-mortgage 4 to 5 per cent. railroad bonds so long as war financing continues. The probabilities are that they will still further recede from their level of to-day. This applies to bonds of long maturities. A bond returning 4½ per cent. will suffer more in proportion than one giving 5 per cent. or higher yield. As for the junior mortgages whose return runs all the way from 5 to 8 per cent., they will benefit from the demand for substantial yields to balance the low income of United States Government bonds, and where they represent reorganized properties, from the possibilities of speculative profits.

Municipal and Government Securities

State, municipal, and government bond issues that have no circulation value have been, and are likely to be, affected the same as corporation issues. During June there was a rather violent decline in New York City 4¼ and 4½ per cent. descriptions. The latter touched 111 in January and have since declined to 102, while the former have reacted to 99 from 106. The U. S. Panama 3s of 1961, which were above 102 in January, have recently sold as low as 88, which places them on the same yield basis as the Liberty Loan 3½s. Holders of United States Government bonds have not experienced such a slump as this during the present generation. The 3s are now about where French 3 per cent. rentes and Prussian 3s held prior to the war. If our government is forced to make the next issue of bonds bear a 4 per cent. rate of interest the Panama 3s will have to go to about 79½ to maintain their parity. In that event the 4s of 1925, which have fallen from 111 to 105 this year, would probably react nearer to par, though they possess circulation value. Should war last for three years it is quite probable that the United States would have to issue 4½ and 5 per cent. bonds, the same as Great Britain, France, and Germany, though at par, in-

stead of a large discount, as the belligerents have been doing. In this event the 3s would sell at 65 and the 4s of 1925 might go to a discount.

Prospects for Commodity Prices

The situation in respect to commodities is disturbing. It is influenced in a considerable degree by small crops. The present indications are for a yield of winter and spring wheat of less than 700,000,000 bushels. After wheat in Chicago had sold at about \$2.80, all trading except on a cash basis and at a given maximum was prohibited. The effect of this was a decline below \$2 a bushel and a readjustment to this figure in flour. Corn, which will have to be a food substitute for wheat this year on a greater scale than ever, has been so high that all foodstuffs depending on it have been greatly advanced. Cotton for the first time since the Civil War has risen above 25 cents a pound and it will probably go still higher. Last year's crop was small, and the one now planted does not promise any better on account of drought, insects, poor fertilizer, and the wider cultivation for other staples. Inflation shows itself more in commodities than elsewhere. It will

broaden and intensify as the war goes on. A sudden peace would obviously cause very disturbing readjustments in all commodity prices.

Real Estate

For some years there has not been a land boom or activity in improved real-estate values. This is one of the conspicuous features of the war period which has brought such great and universal prosperity. Exceptions are to be found, of course, in communities where the erection of new plants for the manufacture of war supplies has led to mushroom growths. Farm lands have held much of the rise made in the ten years prior to 1914. But the record prices since then of all food supplies have not added to these values. There was a great deal of overbuilding of cities and towns which not even the great increase in urban population has absorbed. A period of two or three years of inflation of credits would most likely lead to another land and real-estate advance. This is one of the phases of such an era as we are now in that ought to be controlled as far as control is possible, for it leaves the marks of distress long after other inflationary effects have been erased.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 851—SOME EXCELLENT BONDS

The writer and wife, age about 52, have maturing endowments in near future approximating ten thousand dollars. Wish safety and reasonable income. Present plans are:

- \$5000 joint and survivor annuity.
- \$1000 Armour & Co. 4½ per cents.
- \$1000 Dominion Canada 5 per cents of 1931.
- \$1000 Commonwealth Edison 1st 5 per cents.
- \$1000 Union Pacific Ref. 4 per cents.
- \$1000 Am. Tel. & Tel. Coll. 4 per cents.

How do you regard these?

The present weakness in the bond market seems to indicate that this is a good time for people of small means to invest, and we are very glad indeed to find it possible to commend the investment scheme which you outline. As a matter of fact, taking everything into consideration, we doubt very much that your scheme could be improved upon in any essential respect. The joint and survivor annuity should afford an entirely safe means for the employment for half of your surplus capital; and the bonds you have named seem to us to be representative, high grade, conservative securities of their respective classes with not a single element of trouble of any kind. Moreover, the prices at which these bonds are now selling in the open market are in our judgment exceptionally attractive and very well worth being taken advantage of by people who have funds for investment and who are looking for

safety, combined with a good average rate of income.

No. 852—RUSSIAN SECURITIES

I have a few hundred dollars which I would like to invest at a better rate than 4 per cent., and I thought of buying Russian securities now that their prices are low. Will you tell me what you think of such a plan.

If we were in your place, we should not give serious consideration to the purchase of any of the Russian bonds at the present time. We do not believe these securities can safely be recommended to people of modest capital resources. The situation with which the Russian nation is now confronted is, as you doubtless know, still full of uncertainties and one which makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible to forecast just what the fate of the nation is going to be. We do not go so far as to consider seriously the possibility of the repudiation of Russia's debts, but there is no assurance that the situation may not develop along lines that will serve to keep the value of the Russian ruble, as expressed in terms of the American dollar, at a considerable discount for some time to come. This will, of course, more directly affect the position of the Internal or so-called Ruble Bonds, but it will also continue to be reflected in the market position of the External Bonds.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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Photo by the American Press Association

THE DRAFTING OF AMERICA'S NATIONAL ARMY

This picture shows the historic scene that took place in the room of the Judiciary Committee in the Senate Office Building at Washington on July 20, when the numbers of the registered men were drawn. Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, is seen dipping his hand into the glass bowl to draw out the first number. At the left of the picture is Brigadier-General E. H. Crowder, Provost Marshal General, who is chief of the Army Bureau that has been charged with giving effect to the drafting system. (See page 132 for further particulars of the proceeding.)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 2

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Politics
in
Germany*

If Americans do not understand clearly why the German Chancellor, Dr. Theobald Theodor Frederic Alfred von Bethmann-Hollweg, was obliged on the 14th of July to retire from the post which he had held for exactly eight years, they may at least console themselves by the reflection that the German public was also much bewildered about it, and the German press interpreted it in a variety of ways. The Reichstag, which is the popularly elected parliamentary body that represents all Germany, has no direct control over imperial policies, but has important indirect influence over policies through its power to give or withhold the money that pays the public bills. Furthermore, it is a national debating society and its discussions bear importantly upon the shaping of German opinion. For although Germany is not as completely governed by public opinion as England or the United States, it is useless to deny that so intelligent a country as Germany is in the last resort controlled by the dominating sentiment of its people.

*The Reichstag
Peace
Proposal*

For some time past, there has been a steadily increasing clamor in Germany for peace at almost any price except that of dismemberment and humiliation. Large and important groups in the Reichstag, ordinarily out of sympathy with one another, have been coming together on the platform of peace along lines that Russia and the United States might regard as reasonable. Thus the Catholic element, known as the Centrist party, and the Social Democrats—these two groups being much the largest of the eight or more distinct parties in the Reichstag—were able to agree upon a peace resolution and to secure the support of a third group called the Radicals

—the three groups thus brought together constituting a large majority of the total chamber. The strength of the three parties supporting the peace resolution was reported as follows: Socialists 107, Center 91, Radicals 45, making a total of 243. The rest of the Reichstag consisted of National Liberals 45, Conservatives 44, and the so-called German party 27, these three groups being devoted to the idea of a "German peace," based upon victory, annexations, indemnities, and German dominance everywhere. Besides these there are 20 Independents and a group of 18 Poles. The peace resolution of the majority parties was so important that we must quote it here in full. It is as follows:

As on Aug. 4, 1914, so on the threshold of the fourth year of the war the German people stand upon the assurance of the speech from the throne—"We are driven by no lust of conquest."

Germany took up arms in defense of its liberty and independence and for the integrity of its territories. The Reichstag labors for peace and a mutual understanding and lasting reconciliation among the nations. Forced acquisitions of territory and political, economic, and financial violations are incompatible with such a peace.

The Reichstag rejects all plans aiming at an economic blockade and the stirring up of enmity among the peoples after the war. The freedom of the seas must be assured. Only an economic peace can prepare the ground for the friendly association of the peoples.

The Reichstag will energetically promote the creation of international juridical organizations. So long, however, as the enemy Governments do not accept such a peace, so long as they threaten Germany and her allies with conquest and violation, the German people will stand together as one man, hold out unshaken, and fight until the rights of itself and its allies to life and development are secured. The German nation united is unconquerable.

The Reichstag knows that in this announcement it is at one with the men who are defending the Fatherland. In their heroic struggles they are sure of the undying thanks of the whole people.



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A SNAPSHOT OF KAISER WILHELM OF GERMANY
AND HIS RECENT CHANCELLOR, DR. VON BETHMANN-
HOLLWEG

*Two Opposing
Forces in
Germany*

This very sane and moderate expression, if adopted in good faith by the German Government, ought to bring about peace negotiations within a few weeks. But the German Government is not as yet under the control of a majority of the members of the Reichstag. And the retirement of Bethmann-Hollweg, together with other political changes, must be regarded as moves made in the interest of the perpetuation of the present autocratic rule in Germany. Gradually, two political forces begin to stand out as facing one another. One force is that of the Hohenzollern dynasty with the clique of army and navy leaders, Junker aristocrats, pan-German industrial magnates, and propagandists of the imperial cult. The other force is that of democracy, representing the ideas of political reform at home and of international peace and good will. The crisis of last month came about not merely through the determination of the leading Reichstag groups to force their peace resolution to a successful vote. There had been an even more insistent demand on the part of the liberal elements, that the

Reichstag be given some part in the administration. Most of our readers know, of course, that the Emperor appoints the German Chancellor and fills all the cabinet posts without the slightest reference to the wishes of the Reichstag. The British and French cabinets are merely committees of the parliamentary chambers, representing the majority parties or coalitions. But the German cabinet, like the American, is wholly apart from the law-making bodies. American cabinet officers, indeed, must be confirmed by the Senate after they have been chosen by the President. But German administrative chiefs are not subject to such confirmation.

*Autocracy
Unqualified*

The German Government as an administrative affair is carried on by the Bundesrat, or Federal Council, which has 61 members (the Reichstag has 397) and which acts as a senate or upper chamber. The Chancellor of the Empire presides over the Bundesrat. The members of this Bundesrat are not elected, but are appointed by the governments of the states which make up the German Empire. Of this number, Prussia has 17 members, Bavaria 6, Saxony 4, Wurttemberg 4, the grand duchies of Baden and Hesse 3 each, Alsace-Lorraine 3, Mecklenburg-Schwerin 2, Brunswick 2, and 17 other smaller members of the German confederation have each of



THE TWO OPPOSING FORCES IN GERMANY—THE
HAND OF DEMOCRACY TRYING TO CHECK AUTOC-
RACY IN ITS MAD CAREER

From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)

them one member. Many of these small members are so related to Prussia that their membership in the Bundesrat is controlled by the larger state. The government of Prussia is the key to the whole political situation in Germany. That is why so much depends upon the reform of the Prussian franchise that is now under agitation. At present the government of Prussia is the most effective autocracy in the entire world. It is controlled by the King in conjunction with a few hundred land-holding aristocrats and a few men of great wealth and influence in industry and commerce.

**A Clique
Rules
Prussia—**

The executive government of Prussia is wholly in the hands of the King, whose council of ministers is appointed by royal decree. The Prussian law-making body has two chambers, the upper one of which is made up of royal princes, territorial nobility, and a number of magnates named by the King, with a few burgomasters of large cities. The lower house, which has 443 members, is elected by the great body of Prussian citizens above the age of twenty-five, on the now famous three-class system. Those who pay the highest taxes to the total extent of one-third of all the taxes paid, constitute the first class and exercise one-third of the electoral power. Those whose taxes in the aggregate constitute a second amount equal to a third of the whole, form the voters of the second class, and they in turn have a third of the voting power. All the rest of the citizens who pay taxes constitute the third class. How this works out in practical effect we have more than once explained in this REVIEW when alluding to German politics. The first and second classes, made up of the large taxpayers and constituting perhaps 15 per cent. of the entire number of voters, have twice as much political power as the remaining 85 per cent. of the voters. Thus, as we have previously stated, a voter of the first class in Berlin has fifty times as much political power as a voter of the third class. In the Essen district, where the Krupp works are located, it is within bounds to say that one voter of the first class has as much voting power as fifty thousand voters of the third class.

**—and Prussia
Rules
Germany**

Various high officials of the German Empire are also important officials of this Prussian Government, which is controlled absolutely by the Emperor and his clique. It is



"PEACE WITHOUT INDEMNITY AND TERRITORIAL GAIN? WHAT DO YOU THINK I STARTED THIS WAR FOR, ANYWAY?"

From the *News* (Dallas)

this Prussian clique which, in its turn, dominates the Bundesrat or Council of Empire. And it is for this reason that franchise reform in Prussia is a matter of such consequence to Germany as a whole, and has become an affair of such vital bearing upon the universal problems of war and peace. The German Empire rests upon a constitution framed in 1871, which makes the King of Prussia the "Deutscher Kaiser" (German Emperor), and gives him the supreme direction of the military and political affairs of the Empire, and the control of its international relations. The Reichstag is, indeed, elected on the basis of universal manhood suffrage. Of its membership of 397, there are 236 deputies from Prussia. It is evident that if a considerable part of the administrative control of the country could be taken away from the Emperor's clique as controlling the Bundesrat, and could be vested in the Reichstag, which represents the German people (after the manner of the American House of Representatives or the British House of Commons), there would soon occur a succession of profound changes in the policies and methods of German government, so that it might become possible for the rest of the world to live on terms of peace and friendship with the German people.

**The Kaiser's
Reform
Pledges**

It will be remembered that last Easter-time the German Emperor issued a message to the nation promising political reforms to be brought into effect after the war. There



THE GERMAN CROWN PRINCE FRIEDRICH WILHELM,
AT HIS ARMY POST NEAR VERDUN

has, however, been a constant demand for reforms without postponement. The triumph of democracy in Russia, with the forced abdication of the Czar and the House of Romanoff, has naturally had its influence in strengthening the German demand for immediate political reform while also putting the Kaiser and his clique to their wits' end in the endeavor to maintain full power and control. The stormy and critical situation in the Reichstag compelled the Emperor and his group to make a series of quick decisions. To mollify the clamor for electoral reform, the Emperor announced that the principle of manhood suffrage must be conceded and that it must be put into effect in time for the next election of members of the Prussian second chamber. Since the present lower house was elected in May, 1913, for a period of five years, the Emperor's announced concession of last month would naturally apply to an election to be held some time in the year 1918, presumably in May. With the upper house, however, firmly controlled by the monarch himself, it would be a long time before Prussian electoral reform could of itself serve to liberalize the government

of Germany. The Prussian as well as the German ministerial system, unless reformed and liberalized, would remain absolutely apart from the popularly elected chamber; and the Imperial Council (Bundesrat) would probably continue to be controlled as at present.

*A More
Make-Shift*

A close study of these latest movements in Germany would probably lead to the conviction that no important relief from the deadly evils of the present autocratic and militaristic system can result from such concessions as the Kaiser and the Crown Prince are disposed to make. The Crown Prince, indeed, was quite ostentatiously brought into the Emperor's inner conference which resulted in the dismissal of Bethmann-Hollweg from the Chancellorship. At first there was an impression that the change was meant as a concession to liberalism. It became clearer, however, that Bethmann-Hollweg had outlived his usefulness to his master, and that some man much more obscure must be put in office, who would not be embarrassed by any of the promises or commitments of his predecessor. Although Bethmann-Hollweg had always been a bureaucrat of the Prussian conservative type, he was in danger of yielding a little too much to the Reichstag influence and to the pressure of the public opinion of the world at large. It



THE VICTOR?

(The cartoonist represents the Crown Prince as having played a chief part in the overthrow of Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, who is being carried off the field by the servants of autocracy)

From the *World* (New York)

had become necessary for the Hohenzollerns and the chiefs of their military and imperial projects to face the German public through a new Chancellor.

*The
Retiring
Chancellor*

In dismissing Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the Emperor made use of the following language:

I decide with a heavy heart by to-day's decree to grant your request to be relieved from your office. For eight years you have occupied the highest and most responsible offices in the imperial and State services with eminent loyalty, and have successfully placed your brilliant powers and personality at the services of the Kaiser and the empire and the King and the Fatherland.

In the most grievous times that have ever fallen to the lot of the German countries and peoples—times in which decisions of paramount importance for the existence and future of the Fatherland have had to be taken—you have stood by my side with counsel and aid. It is my heart's desire to express my most cordial thanks for your faithful service.

The late Chancellor had been a personal friend and associate of the Emperor from the time when they had been university students together. Eight years ago Prince von Bülow, a very brilliant diplomat and statesman, had given up the Chancellorship because of his failure to persuade the Reichstag to adopt a Finance bill that the imperial government was determined to enact for the support of the pending projects of naval and military aggrandizement. His successor was a comparatively obscure man, who had held district and provincial governorships and had finally come into the Prussian administration as one of the loyal servitors of his King. At times, Bethmann-Hollweg has shown himself a man of more than mediocre ability; but he has been a very unfortunate bungler in matters of international policy. He must not, however, be too much blamed; for he has not held the masterful position that belonged to Bismarck, who was the first of the four German Chancellors preceding him.

*A
Painful
Record*

Bethmann-Hollweg will be longest remembered by the part he was compelled to play in the opening days of the war, just three years ago. In his remonstrance to the British Ambassador against England's proposed intervention on behalf of Belgium, he had referred to the joint guarantee of Belgium's neutrality as a "mere scrap of paper." In his famous Reichstag speech, at the moment when German troops were marching into



© Brown & Dawson, Stamford, Conn.

DR. THEOBALD VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG

(Who was dismissed last month from the Chancellorship of the German Empire by Kaiser Wilhelm, after having held the chief political office of Germany for a period of exactly eight years. His career has been that of the typical German bureaucrat)

Belgium, he admitted that the action was in violation of international law and right but declared that "military necessity knows no law." He had been much under fire from the extremists because of his temporary yielding to President Wilson on the submarine issue. He had himself given way to the extremists when illegal submarine methods were resumed early in the present year, with the consequence of bringing the United States into the war as an enemy of Germany.

The terrible conflict has brought him domestic grief, as well as constant anxiety and misfortune in his public career. He had intended to remain manfully at his post, hoping to have an official part in the shaping of peace. But the decision that relieves him was made by those in higher authority, whom he has never been able to dominate, and who forced the war three years ago because of their theory that world conditions were adapted to an immediate German victory. The retiring Chancellor steps down at the age of sixty, having been in official life for nearly forty years. He goes to his estates near Berlin to find repose and carry on writing and study as historian and publicist.

*The New
Man at the
Helm*

The new Chancellor, Dr. Georg Michaelis, is a man of typical German thoroughness and training in government work. He also entered the government service in 1879, and has advanced from one place to another, holding legal and financial offices and coming into prominence only recently as the new Food Controller of Prussia. So little was known of his views that some of the German newspapers announced that he was committed to support of the peace resolution of the Reichstag majority, while other prominent newspapers declared that he held the views of

the pan-Germanists and those most fully opposed to the Reichstag declaration. The real truth, of course, lay in the fact that he was known to be a man of personal strength of character and of administrative efficiency, who had not been identified at all with the higher problems of foreign policy, and who would bring fresh energies to the service of his Imperial Majesty. There were evidences enough that some political ferment was beginning to work in Germany, but no evi-

dences at all that the selection of the new Chancellor was a concession to the spirit of reform. Several other changes in the ministry were also announced, but they were without much importance.

*Zimmermann
Also
Out*

The re-
tirement
of Zim-

mermann from the post of Foreign Minister, after a short and blundering incumbency, has a passing interest. Zimmermann has many excellent qualities, but he has some bad methods and is unlucky in having his schemes exposed. The most conspicuous instance was the letter that he wrote to the German minister in Mexico, which fell into the

hands of the American Government. That letter had a great influence upon the American mind, and helped to bring this country to the point of assuming the attitude of a belligerent. He was also unhappily implicated in dynamite plots in Norway that came to light a short time ago. Except for the Chancellorship, the ministerial changes in Germany are not of a character to concern the outside world at the present moment.

*The Chancellor's
Conciliatory
Speech*

The new Chancellor duly made his bow to the Reichstag and delivered his cleverly prepared speech on Thursday afternoon, July 19. He had not attempted to run the risk of a de-



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DR. GEORG MICHAELIS, WHO SUCCEEDED BETHMANN-HOLLWEG AS CHANCELLOR OF GERMANY

feat at the start by opposing the majority's peace resolution as quoted on the first page of these comments; and thus the Socialist-Centrist-Radical "bloc" duly passed its resolution on that same Thursday by a vote of 214 to 116, seventeen members of the chamber not voting. Chancellor Michaelis endeavored to harmonize differences and to identify himself with both sides. He declared that "Germany did not desire the war in order to make violent conquest, and therefore would not continue the war a day longer, merely for the sake of such conquests, if it could obtain an honorable peace." He expressed the utmost confidence in present methods, saying that "the submarine war is accomplishing all, and more than all, it was expected to." The submarine destruction of England's shipping he regarded as sure to compel peace in the near future, and he added: "We can look forward to the further labors of the brave submarine with complete confidence." He spoke disparagingly of Russia's recent military efforts, declared that Italy could never attain "the goal of its breach of faith—the possession of Triest," and refused to regard America's intervention as worthy of "grave concern." He did not believe that the ship tonnage could be supplied to transport American armies to Europe, much less to feed and supply them after they were there. The Chancellor declined to go into a full discussion of German questions of political reform until after further consideration. He accepted, of course, the Emperor's instruc-



ANOTHER "STRATEGIC RETREAT"
From the News (Dayton)

tion regarding equal suffrage, and admitted that the executive government ought to be in closer relation with the leading parties in the Reichstag. If something can be done to check the submarine, the liberal and democratic sentiment in Germany will develop fast. But otherwise it has small chance.



MILITARISM STILL IN THE SADDLE
From the World (New York)

The difficulty of bringing about political reform in Germany is due in great part to the success of the German Empire during a period dating from the beginning of Bismarck's career, and to the means employed by Bismarck and his successors, including the present Emperor, to undermine democracy by promoting prosperity and improving the condition of the people. So tremendous is the fabric that modern German imperialism has built up in the world, that it is now, after three years of war, strong enough to be able to hold out to the German people some hope of a victorious solution, even against the combined forces of all the other nations except the three governments now allied with that of Berlin. The pan-Germanists and annexationists were using all their energies last month to counteract the proposals of the Social Democrats and Centrists who wished



GENERAL LUDENDORFF

(While Von Hindenburg is in supreme command, his constant reliance for advice is upon the famous Quartermaster-General von Ludendorff, who has been mentioned as a possible future Chancellor if Dr. Michaelis should prove to be a mere temporary makeshift)

to give up conquest and to live on terms of disarmament and peace with their neighbors. General Hindenburg, with his mentor, General Ludendorff (who is now regarded as the guiding brain of German military and naval strategy and the Emperor's ablest supporter), is yielding not one inch in his determination to secure victory through defensive operations on land while the submarine policy works its destruction and forces England to seek peace.

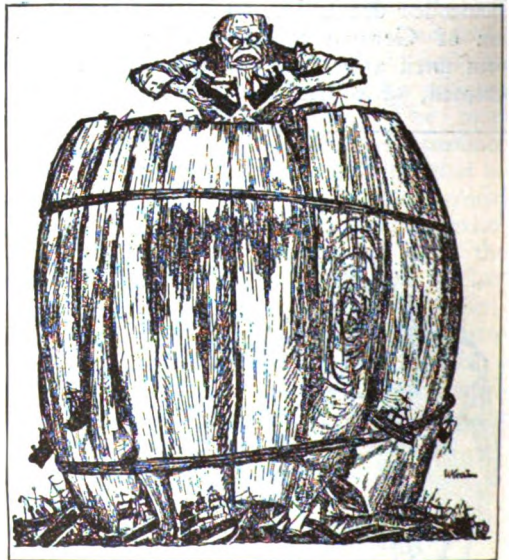
*Increasing
Menace of
"U"-Boats*

It is to be regretted that the British and American peoples have been so constantly deceived by the studied and misleading assurances of the British Government regarding the submarine menace. For some months past we have endeavored in these pages to make it plain that the danger of the German submarines yet winning the war is by no means averted. It is, indeed, not our opinion that England and America will permit German daring and ingenuity to prevail, while they continue to look on in a sort of hypnotized fashion. For many months past the British

Government has reported the number of ships sunk, but has refused to report the size of the ships and the aggregate tonnage. It now appears that the losses have been far heavier than the public has been told. This constitutes a reason for using extreme energy in the pushing of the program for building American merchant ships. But all the ship-building we can do will not avail to save the situation unless something can be done during the next six months to meet the submarine menace directly, or else to offset it by doing something on our part to menace Germany. The one thing that can be done to menace Germany is to give the Allies a great preponderance in the air. But meanwhile it would seem necessary that the navies of Great Britain and the United States, with that of France, should find a way to do something more aggressive and startling than the excellent work they have been doing of employing hundreds of chasers and destroyers and convoying cruisers to lessen somewhat the percentage of risk incurred by merchant ships in entering and leaving British and French ports. Naval strategy should be invoked.

*German
U-Boat
Confidence*

The best-known German illustrated weekly, the *Illustrirte Zeitung* of Leipzig, devoted a special number, two or three weeks ago, to the submarine propaganda, in which its edi-



JOHN BULL'S VAT OF DANAIDES

(England's constantly putting ships into the sea, only to have them destroyed by German submarines, reminds the *Kladderadatsch* cartoonist of the Danaides of Greek mythology, who, for murdering their husbands, were condemned in Hades to fill sieves with water)

From the *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)

tors have the utmost confidence. It obtained opinions from many leaders. General Hindenburg declared: "The submarine warfare works; enough said!" General Mackensen made a German rhyme to the effect that the submarine sounds the death-knell of England. Admiral Capelle pronounced the submarine "a success up to date and constantly growing in strength." The chief of the Admiralty staff, Holzendorf, declared that it was the common opinion of the entire navy that the submarine campaign would defeat the British. Admiral von Tirpitz warned Germans not to expect full success without a long and hard struggle, but expressed his unchanged confidence in the submarine policy which he himself had initiated. Admiral von Schroeder made the following significant remark: "The submarine shows the high strategic value of the Belgian coast and its indispensability to us now and in the future for the protection of the empire." It is worth while to note that these German leaders do not have it in mind to restore Belgian independence, except with provisions for German naval stations on the coast.

"The Last Argument of Kings!"
More striking, perhaps, than any of these other expressions, as disclosing the state of mind of the aggressive leaders of imperial policy, is the



ADMIRAL ED. VON CAPELLE, HEAD OF THE GERMAN NAVAL ADMINISTRATION

(Von Capelle succeeded Von Tirpitz early last year)

sentiment contributed by the Crown Prince. In view of what has happened in Russia, and of all that is going on in Europe that seems inauspicious for the vocation of monarchy, these words of the Crown Prince may prove to possess an historical significance that their swaggering author had not intended:

Borne upon the nation's confidence, with warmest wishes for favoring gales, upon their bridges the nation's best, for their crews are served by crews despising death, hated and feared by our foe and ready ever for deeds of daring, may our submarines ever float the German flag victoriously through the seven seas and teach respect for them as the last argument of Kings!

Since the Crown Prince chooses to call the submarine "the last argument of Kings," we are to understand that he believes not only that the free nations are to be defeated through the infamous outlawry of the submarine methods, but that kingship—by which he means German imperial autocracy—is to be the more firmly established in its sway. The democracies of France, England and America have fully accepted the challenge. It remains, however, for the democracy of Germany itself to discover that in the long run the interests of the German people are not represented by the Crown Prince, and the imperial admirals and generals.



EMPEROR, CROWN PRINCE AND U-BOAT

"My son, my son! And this was our last hope!"
"Yes, dad, and I keep wondering when it is going to explode like all the others!"

From *Esquella* (Barcelona)

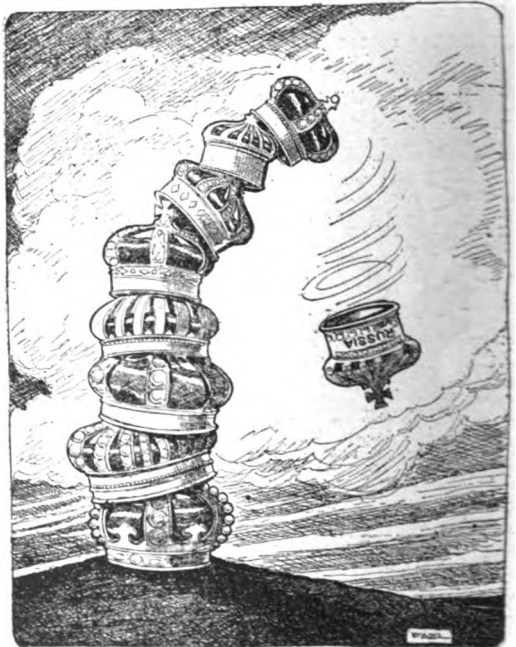
*What German
Policy Has
Meant*

We have endeavored in preceding paragraphs to give some idea of the constitutional mechanism by virtue of which Germany autocracy is supported. A much better idea, however, of what it all means is to be conveyed by a study of the German imperial system as it has been operating through domestic and foreign policies. We are fortunate in presenting to our readers a singularly timely article on this subject from the pen of Dr. Talcott Williams, head of the School of Journalism at Columbia University, New York, who has so long been a thorough student and interpreter of international politics and affairs. There is set forth the menace of this aggressive German policy to the peace of the world, and to the democratic peoples, as illustrated from time to time by numerous occurrences in recent history affecting all the continents and all the oceans. Dr. Williams is a consistent admirer of what is best in German life and culture. He realizes fully the value of the contributions that the German people have made to the upbuilding of the United States. He looks forward to a future in which Germans and Americans may be as good friends as at any time in the past. But he can see no way out of the existing world catastrophe except the triumph of democracy; and he can see no safe future for the Germans themselves until they shall retrace their steps and start afresh to create a modern political structure freed from autocracy and militarism, and cured of the desire to exploit the rest of the world.

*Royalty—
German and
Other*

With German royalty still assertive and not disposed to yield up its real control of affairs, the business of kings was not regarded as so very hopeful in other parts of Europe. It had already become evident that the Allies had done a foolish thing in expelling King Constantine from Greece and then putting his second son on the throne as King Alexander, with the idea that he would be a harmless figurehead subservient to Venizelos as the new Premier. He has not been subservient, and Greece should have been made a republic at once. This, however, would have been a little too embarrassing and suggestive to the surviving monarchies of England and Italy. While there is no controversy raging on the subject, there is much open talk in England to the effect that consistency will compel a change in the venerable British constitution that has for so long a time sustained

the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons as in common parlance the "three estates of the realm." The caste system is a source of distinct weakness to Great Britain, not so much in its political structure as in its social well-being. The English reigning family, like most of the other royalities of Europe, is thoroughly German in origin. The late King of England, it is said, did not speak English as well as his nephew, the present German Kaiser. His father was a German prince, and his mother, Queen Victoria, came of German royal lineage. King George, in the middle of last month, went through the rather pathetic performance of publicly changing his family name and adopting the English name of Windsor as a disavowal of his origins and kinships and a renouncing of the numerous German titles borne by his family. Politically, the English have achieved freedom. Socially, they are quite like the Germans in their class attitude. The permanent ruling class in England is by no means as pernicious an influence throughout the civilized world as is the Junker class in Germany. Yet the course of human events would have proceeded much more fortunately if the long struggle in England on the part of the liberal and radical elements against caste and privilege—which has almost wholly constituted the domestic history of England

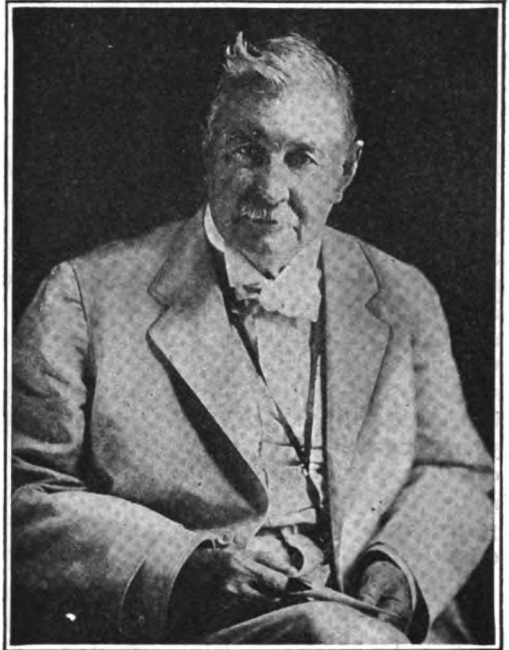


THE LEANING TOWER OF EUROPE
From the *Telegram* (New York)

for a century, while also vitally affecting external relations—could have been swifter and more drastic in its break-up of the feudal inequalities.

*The
Irish
Question*

The Irish question, which remains so critical, would have been settled a long time ago but for the undue influence of the so-called "classes" in Great Britain as against the common people. The injustice of an established Protestant church in Ireland was righted by Mr. Gladstone. The worst evils of absentee-landlordism have also been remedied. But the bitter distrust between Ulster and the rest of Ireland remains as a survival of past wrongs. Full democracy in England would furnish a basis for the full solution of such difficulties as the Irish question. Meanwhile a convention of all the Irish elements is beginning its secret sessions, and it is earnestly hoped that it may find a way to put the Home Rule bill into effect and begin a hopeful new chapter of Irish history. It is well known in England that all elements in America believe that a prompt settlement of the Irish question would contribute materially toward the winning of the war. Mr. T. P. O'Connor, the eminent journalist and parliamentarian, who is now in the United



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HON. T. P. O'CONNOR, NOW IN THIS COUNTRY

States, has done much to enlighten Americans as to certain phases of the Irish question. Mr. O'Connor, himself a representative Nationalist, would go far to conciliate the Ulster Protestants by securing for them a large part in the control of a Home-Rule government. The truth is that the mingling of men from the different parts of Ireland in a parliament at Dublin would rapidly dissipate prejudice and create confidence. Each of the two elements in Ireland has some peculiar faults, so marked as to be known everywhere. On the other hand, each element has its shining virtues worthy of all praise. Each element would gain much, and neither would lose anything, through a generous coöperation for the upbuilding of Ireland as a whole.

*Carson
and the
Admiralty*

As having an incidental bearing upon the assembling of the Irish convention it is to be noted, in the British cabinet changes of last month, that Sir Edward Carson retired from the post of First Lord of the Admiralty, which means the political headship of the Navy Department. Carson had led the defiant military movement in Ulster that was about to precipitate civil war to prevent the going into effect of the Irish Home-Rule law, when England entered the war against Germany in



KING GEORGE OF ENGLAND, INSPECTING AUSTRALIAN TROOPS AND DECORATING ONE OF THEM
(From a New Photograph)

1914. He is a man of audacity who knows no such word as "compromise"; but nothing in his experience had especially qualified him to direct the British navy. It had not been a compliment to the Irish people, nor yet to the Liberal majority in England, to have Carson rewarded with so high a post of honor. He remains in the war council without portfolio; but Ireland is somewhat appeased by his departure from the Admiralty. On the affirmative side, the change in the direction of naval affairs seems very promising. The new First Lord of the Admiralty is a young man who has come up very rapidly in this three-year war period as a business executive.

*The New
Naval
Genius*

Sir Eric Geddes (he was knighted last year) is only forty-one years old, and is the ablest administrator in the British Empire. Mr. Winston Churchill is a brilliant parliamentarian and writer, but he was a failure in naval management at the opening of the war. Sir Edward Carson is a great lawyer and politician, but not an executive. Geddes, as a boy in India, decided that he wanted to be an engineer and run railroads. He came to the United States and spent some years in practical railroad work. Twenty years ago, when he was only twenty-one, Geddes went back to India, where his rise in railroad administration was marvelous. Later on he became a railroad manager in England, and at the outset of the war he handled troops and supplies both in England and in France, and Kitchener learned to rely absolutely upon his efficiency. He went to the aid of the French Government when the railroad situation needed straightening-out after the battle of the Somme. Then he became Sir Douglas Haig's director-gen-

eral of transportation. He more than anyone else developed the business of munition production in England. Two or three months ago Sir Edward Carson needed him at the Admiralty, and he was given a temporary rank of Vice-Admiral with the title of Controller of Shipping. This young railroad man of American training has now the titles of Major-General and Vice-Admiral, besides having been knighted by the King. Geddes has the reputation of being a genius for cut-

ting through obstacles and getting things done. Everybody co-operates with him wherever he goes.

*It is easily possible that
British Cabinet Changes*

Sir Eric Geddes may do something to win the war in the early future. The one great danger to the cause of the Allies lies in the German submarine methods. The British navy has not been handled along the new lines that this war demands. Geddes may see some aggressive and direct way of employing the sea power of Great Britain. It is of great consequence to the United States at this moment that the British sea-forces are to be guided in their relations



SIR ERIC GEDDES, ENGLAND'S ABLEST EXECUTIVE,
NOW AT THE HEAD OF THE BRITISH NAVY

to the larger situation by a business man of the preëminently executive type, such as American industrial enterprises develop from time to time. There are other shifts in the British cabinet, including the bringing-back of Mr. Winston Churchill, who becomes Minister of Munitions in place of Dr. Addison. This has no great practical significance, because munition production is now fully developed. Churchill may prove to be more fortunate than Addison in dealing with labor questions. Addison's remarkable ability will be employed in a new field, for he becomes Minister of Reconstruction. The official report of a board of investigation

which has looked into the ill-fated Mesopotamia campaign, of the earlier part of the war, is drastic in its condemnation of the management of the civil authorities of India as well as the military authorities of the expedition. These exposures of British military blunders are painful but necessary. England evidently has the courage to face them for her own discipline and welfare, and they have only secondary interest for Americans.

*Washington
and the
Ship Crisis*

Germany's confidence in the submarine project, and England's belated admission that existing naval methods do not meet the German menace, had a sharp effect upon the situation at Washington after the middle of last month. Great programs of shipbuilding had been announced in a general way, and these had been summed up in the pages of this REVIEW last month. But the practical program had been deadlocked through the disagreements of men whose business it was to carry out plans that their official superiors should perhaps more promptly have stamped with approval or else with rejection. It will be remembered that, in April, it had been decided by the Shipping Board, of which Mr. William Denman, of San Francisco, was chairman, not only to produce all the steel ships possible, but to build one thousand, more or less, smaller wooden vessels on a standardized plan that would utilize the aid of lumber mills and of small shipbuilding plants, in no manner conflicting with the construction of all the steel ships that the steel mills and shipyards could unitedly set afloat. This plan of the wooden ships was approved of, and it was further decided to put the business of supervising the letting of contracts and the carrying-out of the building programs in the hands of a subsidiary organization, to be known as the Emergency Fleet Corporation. It was decided to appoint Major-General Goethals, who had headed the board that completed the work of constructing the Panama Canal, and who was supposed therefore to be a good organizer and executive, as director of this business of constructing the merchant fleet.

*New Men
to Head
the Work*

It was not understood by the public that General Goethals was brought in to help the Administration and the Shipping Board form their program, which had been already shaped by the authorities at Washington after the subject had been studied for a good

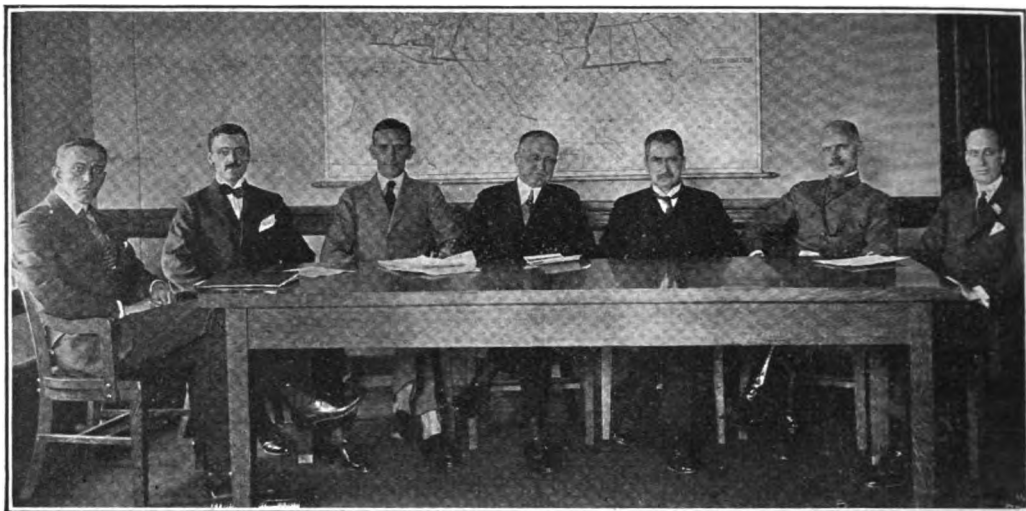


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REAR-ADMIRAL WASHINGTON LEE CAPPS, WHO SUCCEEDS GENERAL GOETHALS AS MANAGER OF THE EMERGENCY FLEET CORPORATION

(Shortly after his graduation from the Naval Academy, in 1886, Ensign Capps became identified with the construction of war vessels. Fourteen years ago he was appointed Chief Constructor, with the rank of Rear-Admiral. He has had charge of designing and constructing all kinds of naval craft)

while. General Goethals, however, became almost at once involved in controversy with the Shipping Board over programs that he was supposed to execute. The differences between him and the Shipping Board under which he was serving were in their nature of a technical sort, and were not fundamental to the Government's main project. Already contracts had been let for several hundred of the wooden ships, and plans were well advanced for building a great tonnage of steel ships and for assuming Government control of the numerous uncompleted vessels, encumbering all our principal shipyards, that had been ordered by Europeans. Mr. Denman, who was head of the Board, is a man of extraordinary knowledge and capacity, and the great program involving an expenditure of \$750,000,000 was in all essential respects the work of the Shipping Board, and not that of the agency subsequently formed to look after the contracts and carry on the construction. There seemed ample room and great need for the best efforts of Chairman Denman, and for the large experience and superb energy of General Goethals, who had the advantage of possessing the national con-



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THE AIRCRAFT PRODUCTION BOARD AT WASHINGTON

(This board is working with the utmost energy to carry out its part of the new aviation program. It has already developed a scheme for the rapid manufacture of thousands of aircraft. Reversing the usual order and reading from right to left, the members of the board as seated above are: Chairman Howard E. Coffin; Brig-Gen. George O. Squier, head of the Army's aviation service; Rear-Adm. David W. Taylor, chief of the Navy's Bureau of Construction and Repair; Mr. E. A. Deeds, of Dayton, Ohio; Mr. Sidney G. Walden, of Detroit; Mr. R. L. Montgomery, of New York; and Mr. A. G. Cable, of Chicago, who is secretary of the board)

fidence in a high degree. It became clear, however, that the two men could not work together and President Wilson found it necessary, from the standpoint of the public interest, to accept the resignation of General Goethals and to request that of Chairman Denman. Rear-Admiral Washington Lee Capps, Chief Constructor of the Navy, was named, on July 24, as successor to General Goethals, while Edward N. Hurley, of Illinois, the former chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, was appointed to Mr. Denman's position. To succeed Commissioner John B. White, who had also resigned his place, Mr. Bainbridge Colby, of New York, was chosen. These appointments give every assurance that this vast project of a Government-built merchant marine will go forward honestly and intelligently.

The Great Aviation Plan

Under any conceivable circumstances, the merchant ships that the Government is to build will be needed. It is, indeed, to be hoped that peace may come before the program can be fully completed. If the war continues there will be desperate need of every ship. Aggressive measures, however, must be taken against Germany, and the most promising thing is the aviation program, which we outlined in these pages last month. The country supports that proposal with enthusiasm. The initial appropriation for the air

fleet and the aviation service calls for an outlay of \$640,000,000. The bill carrying this sum was favorably reported to the House of Representatives, and after a few moments discussion was adopted on July 14 by unanimous vote. It went over to the Senate, where it was promptly reported by the Military Committee, again with entire unanimity. It was hoped that the Senate would vote immediately as the House had done. But several members objected to certain details of the bill (although the Senate was overwhelmingly in favor of the essential policy) and there was some necessary delay for debate. It was certain that the bill would become a law before the end of July. Meanwhile, however, the Aviation Board was going ahead with its arrangements for the training camps and with tentative plans for the making of thousands of airplanes. It must be remembered that Germany is already making aircraft rapidly and efficiently and is fully aware of the American and Allied program to gain overwhelming power in the air. The great establishment on Lake Constance that had been making Zeppelins is now reported to be making battle-planes. America, England, France, and Italy will have to employ their collective energies without loss of time, to meet the immense increase in the German and Austrian output of military aircraft. This is America's chief opportunity to play a decisive part.

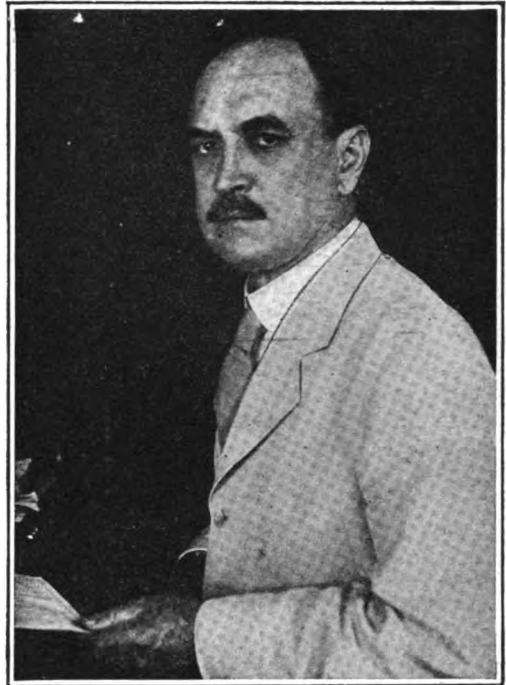
Food
Control
Assured

The course of the Administration's Food Control measure in its passage through Congress was tedious and difficult. There developed in the Senate an overwhelming opposition to the President's plan of conferring upon Mr. Herbert C. Hoover an unlimited power to regulate and control the prices, transportation, and distribution of food supplies for the people of the United States, and for export to European belligerent and neutral countries. After extended discussion, the Senate adopted an amendment creating a board of three members, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, to exercise the powers that had been originally intended for a single Food Controller. This amendment had been prepared and agreed upon by three leading Democratic and three leading Republican Senators; and it was understood that President Wilson would accept it as the best that could be had, although it was not satisfactory. Dr. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture, had insisted that the thing needed was not a commission but an executive who could act with vigor and promptness. This view is, in our judgment, the sound one. The President had already designated Mr. Hoover as the man whom he should place in authority if Congress passed the proposed measure. The emergency is serious, and the plan of a food commission does not meet it. Congress would in any case have had the power to change the law and modify the Food Controller's power if it should at any time have lost confidence in Mr. Hoover's methods of serving under the President's direction. The bill as finally framed provided for fixing minimum wheat prices, these being wholly necessary if there is to be a special effort to produce a large crop next year.

Aspects
of the
Measure

The bill brings fuel, including gasoline and kerosene, under control. The attempt to make it include steel, copper, and various other commodities was unsuccessful. It must be remembered that this Food-Control measure is not primarily an economic undertaking, but a war project and a humanitarian undertaking in the face of threatening famine. Price-fixing for steel and copper had no proper relationship at all to a food-control measure that should help to save human life and to strengthen the Allied cause. It was expected last month that Mr. Herbert Hoover would be made chairman of the

Aug.—2



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HON. DAVID F. HOUSTON, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

(Whose intelligent judgment helps to adjust all the great economic problems arising in the war period)

Food-Control Board, and that someone connected with practical agriculture would be one of the other two members. Undoubtedly Secretary Houston and the Agricultural Department will have a very close relationship with the practical business of making American agriculture effective for home and foreign needs in the coming two years. As respects the wheat outlook and the crop conditions, we refer our readers to a valuable article in this issue written late in July by Mr. Hugh J. Hughes, editor of a Northwestern farm periodical.

Controlling
American
Export

By a separate clause in the extensive measure known as the Espionage bill, which became a law by the President's signature on June 15, power was conferred upon the executive to control American exports to the extent of a full embargo, as a measure of war necessity. The Allied governments were already fully represented here, and their purchases and exports were in coöperation with the plans of the Government of the United States. The new questions of export control to be dealt with, therefore, under the embargo clause, had to do with the shipments of food supplies, cotton, iron and steel, copper, and

many other commodities, to the countries that remain neutral, and particularly to those adjacent to Germany and engaged in constant trade with the enemy. It has not seemed quite clear to our friends in the Scandinavian countries and in Holland that the United States is now at war and is drawing to an unlimited extent upon its resources for the sake of defeating Germany and securing a world peace that will relieve and protect all the smaller nations of Europe. It is no part of the business of a belligerent to engage in trade with neutrals to the disadvantage of its cause. It is the intention of our Government so to regulate the export trade of the United States as to contribute to the benefit of the Allies and to promote the common objects of the great struggle. It happens that Denmark and Norway, though having far more serious grievances against Germany than has the United States, relatively speaking, have preferred not to risk getting into the war. Somewhat quixotically, we are fighting their battles for them. The same thing may be said of Spain. It is not the present business of the United States to sell supplies to European neutrals in order that they may continue to trade with Germany.

*Materials
Under
License*

These smaller European countries have no better friends than the Government and people of the United States. And the power to regulate exports to them will be used justly and for righteous ends. A strong administrative board, with Mr. E. N. Hurley as chairman, is in charge of this new branch of our Government's control over trade. A list of materials has been issued which cannot be exported except under licenses to cover each cargo before it goes out. Some of the articles immediately affected are coal, fuel oils, gasoline, wheat and other food grains as well as flour, fodder and feeds, meats and fats, iron and steel of all kinds, fertilizers, arms, ammunition, and explosives. The exercise of export control will be in harmony with the British policy, and its object will be to prevent American supplies reaching Germany, or—what amounts to the same thing—to prevent America from supplying Sweden, Holland, and other neutrals with commodities which would enable them in turn to trade the more extensively with Germany. We are now a belligerent nation and are in a wholly different position from that which we occupied previous to last April.

*Political
Ferment in
Canada*

The present Canadian Parliament was elected for a term that ends in October. Sir Robert Borden's government endeavored vainly last month to secure unanimous consent for another year's extension of the lifetime of the existing Parliament. The refusal of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his supporters has made it certain that there is to be a general election this autumn. Meanwhile, the pending Conscription bill is to be made law in the face of great opposition, although it will not be put into working effect until after the election. Canada is also to have an income tax. The seriousness of issues in Canada will be found frankly stated in this number of the REVIEW by Mr. Harry C. Douglas, a British journalist, whose acquaintance with affairs in the self-governing British dominions is exceptionally wide and thorough. Canada has large forces in Europe, but recent recruiting has fallen off and conscription is intended to make good the losses and maintain the existing military units. It is expected that the soldiers abroad will in some way take part in the balloting this fall. A period of much political excitement lies immediately ahead of our Canadian neighbors. Meanwhile, their men abroad have continued to win renown for valor and efficiency. Major-General Sir Arthur Currie has been given the full Canadian command.

*Russia's
Progress and
Perils*

Russia's unexpected advance in Galicia last month is fully described by Mr. Simonds (page 152), while in the two pages immediately following Mr. Simonds' article Mr. Henry Suydam, who has recently returned from Russia, sketches the personality of War Minister Kerensky (chosen Premier on July 20), who by his unusual qualities of leadership has virtually created a new spirit and a new vision in the armies of his country. Readers who may be depressed from day to day by unfavorable news from Petrograd should take heart from Mr. Root's statement sent out through the Associated Press on July 10. He says:

We found no organic or incurable malady in the Russian democracy. . . . We must remember that a people in whom all constructive effort has been suppressed for so long cannot immediately develop a genius for quick action. . . . The solid, admirable traits in the Russian character will pull the nation through the present crisis. . . . The country's most serious lack is money and adequate transportation. We shall do what we can to help Russia in both.

Problems like those of Finland and Ukraine will constantly recur in Russia, and it will take time to secure adjustment. It was hardly to be expected that the home-rule principle could be applied at once to the unalloyed benefit of either the dependent provinces or the government at Petrograd. Questions of organization might well wait for the meeting of the Constituent Assembly to be held in October.

*China's
Republic
Still Lives*

Last month the Chinese Republic after an existence of five years, was thought to have met its doom when the young Manchu Emperor was restored to the throne for a few days and the reactionary leader, Chang-Hsun, with a nondescript army, threatened the whole governmental structure. But the troops of the Republic were able to put down the rebellion, which seems to have been badly planned and feebly supported from the start. If the attempt to restore the monarchy was really a German plot, as was alleged, the outcome reflected no credit on German resourcefulness; it was a dismal failure. Elsewhere in this magazine (page 172) the whole course of public affairs in China since the death of President Yuan Shi-Kai is ably outlined by Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck. A portrait of Chang, with a characterization of that "Villa of China" by Mr. Carl Crow, will be found in our department of "Leading Articles of the Month," on page 195. Both these writers are particularly well informed on current Chinese developments. Dr. Hornbeck, who is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, has spent much time in China, and is the author of "Contemporary Politics in the Far East." Mr. Crow is also well known to our readers as a writer on Chinese topics. Feng Kwo-Chang assumed the duties of the presidency at the request of President Li, who has retired from office, and Premier Tuan Chi-jui retained his post, with the added portfolio of Minister of War.

*Japan
and the
United States*

As to China's proposed entrance into the world war on the side of the Entente Allies, the Government at Washington has made it clear to both China and Japan that it regards such action on China's part as of less importance than the firm reestablishment of constitutional government in that country and the continued political and economic development of the nation. Japan naturally con-



THE NEW NATIVE-BORN COMMANDER OF CANADA'S
ARMY IN FRANCE

(Canada has developed a military leader of high order in Major-General Sir Arthur W. Currie, who has been much mentioned in dispatches and several times decorated and promoted for distinguished service. He has just now been made commander of the Canadian forces in France, being the first native Canadian to hold that post. He was born in Ontario forty-one years ago, has lived for some years in British Columbia, and was for some time the officer in command of the 50th Gordon Highlanders.)

siders herself as holding a similar place in the Far East to that occupied by the United States in the Western Hemisphere. She has declared, through her Prime Minister, that her present policy in China is one of non-interference. Last month a mission headed by Viscount Ishii, formerly Foreign Minister, left Tokio for America and it was announced that after its arrival in this country every question of importance between the two powers would be frankly discussed. Japan feels that her political interests in China are greater than ours, but she disclaims any intention to oppose American trade expansion in that part of the world. On the contrary, she is eager to associate herself with the United States in helping to develop Chinese resources. The Japanese mission will be warmly welcomed.



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HON. NEWTON D. BAKER, SECRETARY OF WAR
(Who inaugurated the American Army draft system last month)

Drafting Our New Army

The greatest lottery in the history of the world took place on July 20 in the City of Washington, when Uncle Sam drafted the men from whom to make up his great new army of 687,000. These men were to be selected by a carefully worked out system from among the 9,650,000 men between the ages of 21 and 31 who had registered all over the country on June 5. The drawing operation was surrounded with every safeguard and all due solemnity. Officials from the army and prominent Congressmen were present at the ceremony. Secretary of War Baker made a brief preliminary address, appealing to the country to honor the men to be drafted, and to draw no distinction between the conscripts and the volunteers. He also explained that the drafted men would be used not only in the big new army, but would also be utilized to fill vacancies in the Regular Army and the National Guard. The exemption district boards throughout the country had previously been instructed from Washington to take all the registration cards in their district, shuffle them up, and then number them serially from one to

the highest number represented by the total of the cards. These numbers were published locally so that each man registered would know his number, and were also sent to the War Department authorities at Washington. Among the 4,557 exemption board districts, the most populous district exceeded 10,200. It was, therefore, determined to draw 10,500 numbers. Little slips numbered from 1 to 10,500 were then enclosed in black capsules, and the capsules put into a large glass bowl.

The System in Detail

Secretary Baker, blindfolded, drew the first number, which was 258, meaning that in every exemption district in the country the man whose number was 258 was the first man drafted for the army. Other prominent officials then drew numbers, after which the remainder of the work was left to blindfolded clerks to complete. The numbers as drawn were immediately telegraphed to all the districts in the country and published in the newspapers. When the local exemption boards receive an authentic copy of the drawn numbers from Washington, they will then attach the names and addresses to the numbers. This list will be posted locally and also forwarded to Washington. The drafted men whose names occur near the top of the list will be notified by mail, and will then have to present themselves for physical examination. Any plea for exemption must be made after the physical examination. The men whose names are near the top are certain to be called up for the first army, while those near the end of the list will remain for the second increment.

The "Cantonment" Plans

The War Department has been very busy preparing the sixteen large cantonments for the housing and training of the new army. These cantonments, located in sixteen different States, will be veritable cities in themselves, each containing 40,000 of the new soldiers. The work on these mushroom cities is progressing rapidly, and it is hoped to have them ready for the reception of the troops by the first of September. The National Guard, meanwhile, to the number of 350,000, has also been called out under orders from Washington, and has been assigned to sixteen mobilization camps located in various parts of the country. Next month we shall describe in some detail the cantonments and the system of training.

*The
Freight Rate
Decision*

On June 29, the Interstate Commerce Commission announced its decision against the railroads in the matter of their application for a horizontal increase of 15 per cent. in freight rates. The refusal was tempered by the allowance, to the eastern roads, of somewhat higher rates on class schedules and by a 15 per cent. increase in the tariffs on coal, coke, and iron ore for the southern and western roads. Owing to the recent death of Commissioner Clements, only six members reported. Three of these were entirely satisfied with the final result; Commissioner Harlan voted with the three in order to effect an affirmative decision, although he felt that the full relief asked for by the railroads should be granted. The remaining two commissioners opposed any increase of rates at all.

*The Trend
of Railroad
Profits*

The railroads had claimed that they were confronted by a war emergency and that the burden of excessive prices of war times for supplies, coal, cars, locomotives, and steel, together with greatly increased costs of labor, was making it impossible for them, under the old schedules of freight rates, to get the necessary equipment and make the desirable extensions to meet the expanding needs of the public. Beginning with last autumn the net returns in the profit and loss accounts of the railways began to show importantly the effects of these higher costs of railway operation. In the first quarter of the calendar

year these factors, combined with unusually awkward operating conditions, had produced a startling decrease in the incomes of the roads as reported month by month. The Commission noted, however, a turn for the better beginning in the spring, and decided on the whole that no such great emergency confronted the roads as was claimed. They were invited to re-open the question by October 28 next if they desired, or earlier if there should come any striking fall in net income, the Commission promising to watch closely the curve of current railway profits in the meantime.

*The Roads
Not Meeting
Needs*

It is safe to say that never before in the history of Government regulation of railways has there been so much sympathy with the efforts of their managers to raise rates. In the hearings, many shippers and boards of trade joined with the railroads in pointing out the necessity for rate increases. The Commerce Commission went into a most painstaking and conscientious comparison of monthly results in arriving at an adverse decision, but there is a widespread feeling that in its minute examination of these technical details, it failed to give proper heed to the broader aspects of the case. Dismissing any thought of the rights of stockholders to earnings and dividends, it remains true that the American railroads are not building any new trackage to serve the public; they have entirely insufficient terminals and cannot work their present trackage freely enough to carry the freight offered to them without larger facilities. They are not by any means keeping pace with the demands of industry. Competent authorities estimate that at least a billion dollars a year should be spent by the roads in extensions and improvements to enable them to keep up with the demands for transportation.

*Capital
Is
Shy*

This is a condition, and a very serious condition, which is unappreciably affected by any statistics the Interstate Commerce Commission may find showing that the average earnings of the roads in May, 1917, were decidedly better than the earnings of February. The managers of the railroads are not maintaining and extending their properties to serve the public and they cannot do so unless they can raise the capital. They cannot raise the money because people who would loan it or buy new stock with it have no confi-



A VERY DRY SEASON FOR THE RAILROADS
From the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)

dence that the Interstate Commerce Commission will allow the new money to earn what it should earn under present conditions. Those who take an opposite view are inclined to insist on the great demand for capital for industrial expansion and, more particularly, for Government loans as the chief reason for the roads' inability to sell stock and bonds. Undoubtedly this fierce competition for capital resulting from war-time conditions is a factor. But it must be remembered that the same railroad situation existed before the war and before the Government loans and the sudden industrial expansion. The plain truth of it is that the railroads cannot get their capital now on any safe plan. A few years ago they could sell stock—a method which furnishes the safest condition. Later on, they could not sell stock but could dispose of bonds. Now they can dispose of neither bonds nor stock, and have resorted to short-term notes, even where their credit is much above the average. This device of short-term notes has generally been the signal for trouble ahead. Most of the numerous railroad receiverships of the past few years have come directly from the inability of the roads to meet these maturing short-term obligations.

Commissioner
Harlan's
View

In his minority report, Commissioner Harlan sets forth this view very clearly. He openly expresses his dissatisfaction with the "month to month, and purely statistical view of the matter." He points out that in the fifteen years from 1895 to 1910 new railroad construction increased year by year, while after the latter date it has steadily diminished. "After two years," he says, "the commerce of the country has been moving under intermittent embargoes, an experience, as must be observed, that we have had in the past not only while we were at peace, but while the world at large was also at peace. Great losses have resulted to the whole country. The producer and manufacturer, with ample supplies which the public was demanding, have been unable to make deliveries. The coal operator, with no shortage of coal at the mine, has not been able to deliver it promptly to those needing it. Prices for the necessities of life have increased, partly at least because existing supplies could not be brought to the consumer; and the speculator has been enabled to demand unreasonable prices because inadequate facilities have prevented the competition in the consuming

markets of those who were prepared to furnish the same commodities at lower prices."

Having completed its redraft of the House Revenue Bill, the Finance Committee on July 8 presented the revised measure to their associates. The most important change from the House bill was the adoption of a real and workable provision for a tax on excess profits, in general along the lines advocated in the last issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. To fix the normal profit necessary in order to figure the excess for the taxable year, Mr. Simmons' Committee specified the average of the three years preceding 1914. For the rates to be applied on the excess over this average a graduated system was adopted. When profits are shown in excess of the normal, but not above 15 per cent. in excess, the tax is 12 per cent. on the excess; between 15 and 25 per cent. the tax is 16 per cent., and so on up to 50 per cent. on excess profits amounting to more than 250 per cent. of the pre-war income. The way this would work out with a corporation that showed a normal pre-war annual profit of \$1,000,000 and an income for 1917 of \$5,000,000, is that the first \$150,000 of war income, over and above the exempted normal, would be taxed 12 per cent. and so on up to the last rate of 50 per cent. on \$1,500,000 of the income for 1917, producing a total tax in this case of \$1,571,500. This



WAR INVENTIONS

(A simple little device to collect revenue from corporations grown fat with war profits)

From the *Evening Mail* (New York)

example is worked out because many people, including even some in financial circles, have the erroneous impression that in some cases the tax will amount to 50 per cent. of the entire excess. In the example cited above, it will be seen that although the war income shows an excess amounting to 400 per cent. of the normal profit, the graduated scale works out so that the entire tax to be taken would be only a little more than 30 per cent. of the total income of the taxable year.

*Price
Fixing at
Washington*

In the midst of much uncertainty and bickering over the prices the Government is to pay for metals and other supplies, President Wilson made, on July 11, an earnest and eloquent appeal to the business interests of the country to divorce absolutely the thoughts of patriotism and profit. He went so far as to urge that, with the nation's fate in the balance, prices might make the difference between victory and defeat. He announced that prices to the public must be the same as those made to the Government, and intimated that the Government would fix prices that would be just and sufficient to assure a fair profit after good wages to labor had been paid. Especially he rebuked the shipping interests for the unprecedentedly high ocean freight rates that have been in order. About the same time there was a conference at Washington between representatives of the great steel companies and Secretaries Daniels and Baker, Chairman Denman of the Shipping Board and Bernard H. Baruch, in which the question of steel prices was considered. The result, as reported, is that the Government will pay for steel the cost, as determined by the Trade Commission, plus a "reasonable profit." While the war lasts the Government is to control the entire output of the steel mills, deciding on what portion private consumers shall have and who shall be preferred as to priority of shipments.

*Difficulties
in Fixing
Prices*

Admirable as are the principles as to profiteering stated by the President, the process of applying them with consistency is most baffling; furthermore it is at least doubtful whether a price-fixing program carried to the logical conclusion of making prices low instead of high would not hurt rather than help the waging of war. The formula of cost plus an arbitrary percentage of profit has the disadvantage, which, perhaps, ought to be ac-

cepted, of putting a premium on inefficiency, since the profit on every ton of steel will be greater in proportion as the cost of fabricating it is greater. More important, in such a general program of price fixing, is that the Government, to be entirely consistent, would have to go back through scores of anterior operations and costs of subsidiary materials and fix just prices for labor and commodities whenever the proper price for a ton of steel or a pair of shoes or a pound of chemicals is decided. This would obviously be impossible.

*Are High
Prices a Curse
Now?*

But most important of all is the function of high prices and good profits of war times in increasing quickly and largely production of both raw and manufactured commodities. To wage such a war as we are now engaged in, it is absolutely necessary that unprecedented amounts of copper, zinc, and iron ore should be mined and fabricated; that more oil should be taken out of the ground; that greater crops should be raised and huge additional quantities of shoes and blankets and motor trucks should be manufactured. In the present state of human nature the sentiment of patriotism is not a feasible reliance to produce these economic results. Even if the copper mine owners of Butte were suffused with patriotism to such a degree as to determine to double the production of their properties without the spur of high prices, their laborers could not be held without the bait of high wages. As a matter of fact they are now being held by unprecedentedly high wages based directly on the current price of copper. Still more to the point is the fact that scores of copper mines are being operated that would not be worked at all except for the high prices of the metal—mines that normally lie idle. Oil fields in Kentucky that have been passed over in normal times as not profitable enough to drill are now, under the impetus of high prices, at a fever heat of activity. And it must always be remembered that the present necessity is to get that oil and copper and the like out of the ground to satisfy the extra demands of war.

*Why Interfere
with Supply and
Demand*

Clearly, where the high level of prices in a given industry is due wholly or partly to agreements by the producers to maintain prices or restrict production, it is more than ever valuable for the Government to interpose, as it

can under the Sherman Law. Also the Government should get for its own purchases the very lowest prices that market conditions allow for huge quantities of goods desired by a customer of unimpeachable credit. But as for the wisdom and justice and efficiency of going beyond this, of declaring the law of supply and demand inoperative and attempting to supplant it with arbitrary prices throughout industry and trade, there is the gravest doubt. True, even with a carefully guarded policy of *laissez-faire* it is certain that in the gigantic activity and turnover, and the inevitable inflation of war times, inordinate profits will be made. But why not let them be made? To make them it is automatically necessary that miners and manufacturers and shipbuilders should produce at a great pace, which is the first essential for the successful prosecution of the war. Having doubled their output and increased their profits fivefold, they have so far done what the country needs them to do and are then in a position to contribute mightily to a solution of the current financial problem by enormous contributions made through the machinery of the excess profits tax. This is in general the policy that England has adopted, and it has produced results. England pays the White Star Line \$100 per ton for every commandeered vessel sunk, although the vessel is carried on the books of the company at only \$35 per ton. The high prices and correspondingly high freight rates keep every shipbuilder straining to turn out additional tonnage, and start new shipyards by the score—which is the all-necessary thing. Then, if the White Star Line has made too much money as compared with normal times, back to the Government goes a reasonable proportion of the income in the excess profits tax.

Our Promising Crop Outlook

Within certain limits the same principle holds as to the production of food, even though there is but slight chance of increasing tax income from food producers. Certainly the first thing to make sure of is that there will be food enough for America and her Allies. To attain this first essential, would it not be better to guarantee that potatoes should sell for as much as \$1.50 a bushel, rather than to worry over the prospect of their selling so high as \$3.00? With such a guarantee the supply would inevitably catch up with



WANTED: MORE HELP—LESS ADVICE
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)

the demand and avoid the danger of soaring prices. That even without a guarantee the farmers are responding to the chance for good prices is shown in the greatly increased crop acreage of this year. The Department of Agriculture's July report, published on the 8th of the month, gives a greatly increased area of land planted, in the case of the corn crop about 14 per cent. larger than last year. The estimated yield is 3,124,000,000 bushels, the largest in history. The entire outlook for food crops has changed decidedly for the better from earlier spring indications. The total production of the principal crops is more than six billion bushels—another new record. The winter and spring wheat crops together will show 38,000,000 bushels more than the aggregate crop of 1916; potatoes, too, promise to establish a record, with an increase of 22½ per cent. over last year, even without counting the help of the greatly increased home-garden planting. The crop of oats will come near to equaling, and with favorable weather may exceed, the largest yield hitherto reported; barley, rice, and rye all promise yields far above the average. Looking ahead to the crops of 1918, for which the farmers are now obliged to make their plans, it will be more than ever necessary to secure the largest possible output. Farm labor is hard to secure at any price, while fertilizers and other supplies are expensive beyond any previous experience. The farmer must be assured of excellent prices, or he cannot put in the requisite acreage of winter wheat, or maintain his quota of livestock.

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From June 20 to July 20, 1917)

The Last Part of June

June 20.—The British Admiralty's weekly report of British merchant ships sunk shows the highest total since April, 27 vessels of over 1600 tons each having been destroyed.

June 22.—Official announcement of the first American war loan (closed June 15) shows that \$2,000,000,000 offered was oversubscribed by \$1,035,226,850; it is estimated that more than 4,000,000 persons subscribed.

June 24.—A provisional ministry is formed in Austria, with Dr. von Seydler as Premier.

June 25.—The Greek cabinet of Alexander Zaimis resigns, and ex-Premier Venizelos is authorized by the young King Alexander to form a new ministry.

The movement against Lens, the French coal city occupied by the Germans, makes substantial progress; Canadian troops advance from the southwest, on a front of a mile and a half.

June 26.—The first contingent of American troops (under Major-General William L. Sibert) arrives at a French port, having sailed secretly on June 14; German submarines were met twice and driven off by the naval escort.

The formal report of a British commission investigating the first Mesopotamian campaign characterizes it as undertaken with insufficient forces and inadequate preparation; all the authorities concerned are criticized for "want of foresight and provision for the most fundamental needs."

June 27.—The Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates adopts a resolution rejecting "every policy tending to the conclusion of a separate peace or armistice."

June 28.—Brazil revokes its decree of neutrality in the war, the action being interpreted as equivalent to a declaration of war on Germany.

The Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils in Russia recommends the abolition of the Council of the Empire and the Duma.

June 29.—Greece severs diplomatic relations with Germany and her allies, and the Greek Government considers itself at war.

Premier Lloyd George, speaking at Glasgow, declares that the war can only end when the Entente armies attain their objects.

June 30.—The demand for reform in the Prussian electoral system receives new impetus as leading Conservatives make formal demand for equal franchise, with a direct secret ballot.

The First Week of July

July 1.—The Russian army—led in person by Minister of War Kerensky and observed by General Scott, Chief of Staff of the United States Army—assumes an offensive (in Galicia) for the first time since the revolution.

July 4.—The Russian War Office declares that on July 1 and 2 more than 18,000 prisoners were taken.

The French Ministry of Marine announces that during June fourteen merchant ships were destroyed by enemy submarines.

Argentina demands of Germany an immediate apology for the sinking of two Argentine ships, and a guarantee against further attacks.

July 5.—It is officially reported that since April 1 the British and French have captured 509 field and heavy guns and 63,222 German soldiers.

July 6.—Discussion of a new war credit of \$3,750,000,000 in the Reichstag yields the information that the war is costing Germany \$25,000,000 a day (compared with Great Britain's \$38,750,000).

The Canadian House of Commons passes to second reading the Compulsory Military Service bill, by vote of 118 to 55.

The Irish convention is set for July 25, in Dublin, with Henry E. Duke (Chief Secretary for Ireland) as temporary chairman.

July 6-7.—French aircraft carry out a series of raids in reprisal for German attacks on French towns; one flier reaches Essen and drops bombs on the Krupp factory—a night flight of 466 miles, including return.

July 7.—A raid of German airplanes over London results in the death of 37 persons; a larger number of airplanes were in the fleet (at least 20), but fewer lives were lost, than in the raid of June 13.

A leading member of the Centrist (Catholic) party, Matthias Erzberger, speaking before the Reichstag Main Committee, voices a demand for the enunciation of a program of "peace without annexations" which precipitates a crisis in Germany's domestic affairs.

Indictments are returned in San Francisco against 97 persons charged with conspiring to promote a revolution against British rule in India.

The Second Week of July

July 8-9.—A German assault in the Aisne district results in the capture of two miles of French trenches, which are later retaken by the French.

July 9.—The British battleship *Vanguard* is destroyed while at anchor by an internal explosion; only two of the men on board survive.

July 10.—German assaults pierce the British line near the Belgian coast, the maximum gain being 600 yards.

The advancing Russian armies (under General Korniloff) capture Halicz, an important military point in Galicia southwest of Lemberg.

July 11.—Premier Ribot declares to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Senate that France's right to Alsace-Lorraine will not admit of a plebiscite.

The weekly report of British merchant ships sunk shows the smallest losses in four months.

July 14.—Germany's political crisis brings about the resignations of Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg (Imperial Chancellor for eight years), Dr. Alfred Zimmermann (Foreign Secretary), and General von Stein (Prussian War Minister); Dr. Georg Michaelis, Prussian Food Controller and Under Secretary of Finance becomes Chancellor.

The Third Week of July

July 16.—An official Russian statement claims the capture of 35,900 Germans, Austrians, and Turks between July 1 and 13.

July 17.—The British cabinet is reorganized; Sir Eric Geddes succeeds Sir Edward Carson as First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Spencer Churchill becomes Minister of Munitions, Dr. Christopher Addison takes the new portfolio of Reconstruction, and Edwin Samuel Montagu becomes Secretary for India.

King George changes the name of the English royal family from Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (of German origin) to House of Windsor.

Four members of the Russian cabinet resign, being opposed to immediate concessions establish-

ing autonomy for the Ukraine; serious rioting occurs in Petrograd, with fighting between armed members of the extreme radical faction and government troops.

Under pressure from German reserves, the Russians are forced to withdraw from Kalusz, which they occupied after a battle on July 11.

July 19.—The new German Chancellor, Dr. Michaelis, in his address to the Reichstag, dwells upon German successes, especially in the submarine campaign of self-defense against starvation; he declares that Germany will not continue the war for conquests and desires an honorable peace.

The Reichstag, by vote of 214 to 116, adopts a peace resolution proposed by the Socialists, Radicals, and Catholic party; the resolution expresses the desire of the German people for a peace without forced acquisitions of territory and with mutual understanding and lasting conciliation.

The chairman of the Shipping Board at Washington estimates submarine destruction of merchant ships at 1,000,000 tons a month.

The Finnish Diet completes the passage of a measure virtually proclaiming Finland's independence of Russian rule.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From June 20 to July 20, 1917)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

June 22.—The Senate is addressed by Baron Moncheur, head of the Belgian mission to the United States.

June 23.—Both branches assemble in the House chamber and are addressed by Boris Bakhmetieff, Ambassador and head of the Russian mission to the United States. . . . The House passes the Food Administration bill, placing broad powers in the hands of the executive; an amendment is adopted (365 to 5) forbidding the use of food materials in the production of alcoholic beverages.

June 27.—The Senate passes the "daylight-saving" bill—advancing clocks one hour during summer—amended to take effect next year. . . . The House passes the River and Harbor appropriation bill (\$27,000,000) and the Senate measure increasing the Interstate Commerce Commission from seven to nine members.

June 29.—The House passes the bill giving power to the President to designate priority shipments in interstate commerce.

July 3.—In the Senate, Mr. Simmons (Dem., N. C.) introduces the conference committee's draft of the War Revenue measure, estimated to raise \$1,670,000,000, as against the House bill's \$1,810,420,000.

July 7.—The Senate, after many days of debate on the prohibition section of the Food Administration bill, adopts an amendment (by vote of 45 to 37) prohibiting the manufacture and importation of whiskey during the war and directing the seizure of whiskey in bond at cost plus 10 per cent. profit for the owners.

July 9.—In the Senate, the proposal to seize distilled spirits in bond and pay a fixed sum is admitted to be unconstitutional by many members who had voted for it.

July 11.—The House passes without roll call a measure regulating, under a license system, all "trading with the enemy."

July 14.—The House passes without opposition the bill appropriating \$640,000,000 for the construction and operation of a vast fleet of aircraft.

July 16.—In the Senate, Mr. Pomerene (Dem., Ohio) and Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) lead in a criticism of Census Bureau figures fixing State quotas to be raised for the new army; it is declared that over-estimates of population require Northern States to furnish more than their proper share of men.

July 19.—The Senate adopts an amendment to the Food Control bill, placing authority in three men instead of one.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

June 20.—The Federal Trade Commission proposes to the President that the coal problem be solved by the creation of a Government agency to control production and transportation.

June 25.—It is officially announced that on June 22 the President signed an executive order creating an Exports Council, to direct exports so that they will go first where most needed.

June 26.—At a special election in Indiana, Richard N. Elliott (Rep.) is elected to Congress from the Sixth District, defeating ex-Congressman Finly H. Gray (Dem.).

Coal operators, representing both anthracite

and bituminous industries, meet with Government officials at Washington and agree to establish a fixed lower price.

June 20.—The Interstate Commerce Commission, after many weeks of hearings and consideration, rejects the plea of the railroads for a 15 per cent. increase in freight rates to meet increased cost of operation; the Eastern roads are granted advances in class rates which will yield nearly 10 per cent. additional.

July 1.—In Kansas, the administration of more than a score of State institutions passes to a board of three men appointed by the Governor.

July 9.—President Wilson issues a proclamation placing the export of specific commodities (coal and fuel oils, flour and meal, meats and fats, iron and steel, arms and ammunition, etc.) under governmental control.

The President issues a proclamation drafting the State militia into the federal service on August 5.

July 10.—In a Congressional election in North Dakota, John M. Baer, candidate of the Farmers' Non-Partisan League (a former Democrat), defeats O. B. Burtness, Republican, the district being normally Republican.

July 11.—President Wilson issues a proclamation setting forth the guiding principles in price regulation; he especially condemns ship-owners for exacting exorbitant freight rates.

July 13.—The War Department issues a formal order by the President drafting into the military service 678,000 men, to be selected from those registered on June 5; the combined strength of regular army, National Army, and National Guard will be 1,263,000 men.

Announcement is made by Major-General Goethals of progress on the emergency shipping program; contracts have already been let for 348 wood ships of 1,218,000 tons, to cost \$170,000,000, and for 77 steel ships of 642,800 tons, to cost \$101,660,356; two Government shipbuilding plants are to be constructed for steel ships.

July 18.—The President authorizes a censorship of cablegrams by the Navy Department and of telegrams across the frontiers by the War Department.

July 20.—The drawing of numbers from a lottery wheel at Washington determines the order in which young men—separately numbered in each of 4557 districts through the country—will report for examination for National Army service.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

June 25.—Constitutional guarantees are suspended in Spain by the Dato ministry, with the approval of the King; the decree condemns the campaign of agitation and disorder prevalent in various provinces.

July 2.—Gen. Chang Hsun, recently proclaiming himself military dictator in China, forces the resignation of President Li Yuan-hung and declares the monarchy restored with the boy Emperor, P'u-yi, on the throne.

July 12.—The attempt to restore the monarchy in China comes to an end with the defeat of the forces of Gen. Chang Hsun, by Republican armies under Gen. Tuan Chi-jui (Premier), entering Peking (see page 172).

July 15.—Li Yuan-hung decides not to resume the Presidential office in China, blaming himself for the recent crisis; Feng Kuo-chang (Vice-President) accepts the Provisional Presidency.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

June 26.—The cruiser *Olympia*, flagship of Admiral Dewey at Manila Bay, is badly damaged on the rocks off Block Island (R. I.).

July 2.—Race riots in East St. Louis, Ill.—caused by the importation of negro laborers from the South during a strike—result in the death of 37 persons and the destruction of negro homes.

July 9.—The report of the Department of Agriculture indicates a record yield of 6,093,000,000 bushels of the principal food crops; all harvests will be in excess of last year.

July 12.—More than 1200 striking miners in the vicinity of Bisbee, Ariz.—alleged to be members of the Industrial Workers of the World—are deported to New Mexico by armed citizens.

July 14.—Nearly 1000 foreign-born miners in the lead district around Flat River, Mo., are forced to leave by armed American-born miners, as a method of meeting labor competition.

OBITUARY

June 20.—James Mason Craft, former president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 78.

June 21.—Rear-Adm. William P. Potter, U. S. N., retired, 67.

June 23.—Prof. Leverett Mears, head of the chemistry department at Williams College, 67.

June 24.—Rear-Adm. Bartlett Jefferson Cromwell, U. S. N., retired, 77. . . . William Holland Samson, of New York, author and editor of historical works, 57.

June 26.—Katharine Sarah Macquoid, a prolific British novelist, 93.

June 27.—Col. Oliver Hazard Payne, a pioneer oil producer, capitalist, and philanthropist, 78. . . . Prof. Herbert L. Warren, head of the department of architecture at Harvard, 60.

June 28.—M. J. Schollaert, president of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies and former Premier.

June 29.—William DeWitt Hyde, president of Bowdoin College since 1885, 58.

June 30.—William Winter, the noted New York dramatic critic, 80 (see page 207).

July 2.—William Henry Moody, who had held office as Secretary of the Navy, Attorney-General, and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, 63. . . . Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree, the famous English actor, 63.

July 9.—Katherine Abbott Sanborn, widely known as a writer, 78.

July 10.—James H. Van Buren, D.D., Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Porto Rico, 67.

July 11.—William Furst, composer of incidental music for theatrical productions, 65.

July 12.—Rufus Hildreth Thayer, former Judge of the United States Circuit Court at Shanghai, 67.

July 15.—Rear Adm. William Hemsley Emory, U. S. N., retired, 71.

July 16.—Rear-Adm. Conway Hillyer Arnold, U. S. N., retired, 68. . . . Brig.-Gen. Henry Whitney Closson, U. S. A., retired, 85.

OUR TROOPS IN FRANCE



© Press Publishing Co. (N. Y. World)—From American Press Association

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL PERSHING AND STAFF IN FRANCE

(General Pershing reviewing the guard of honor drawn up at the landing at Boulogne)

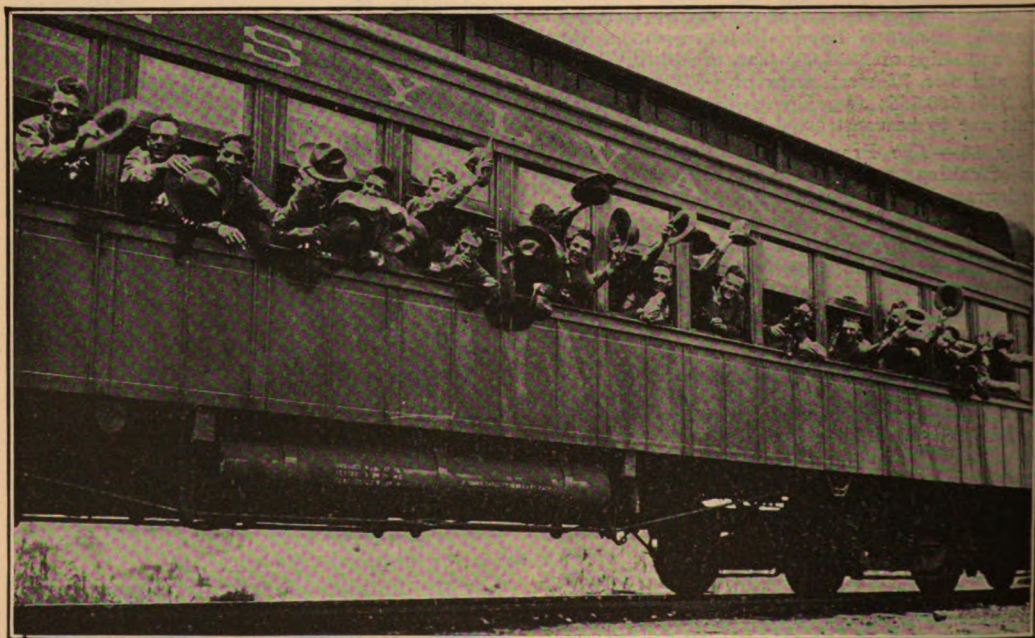
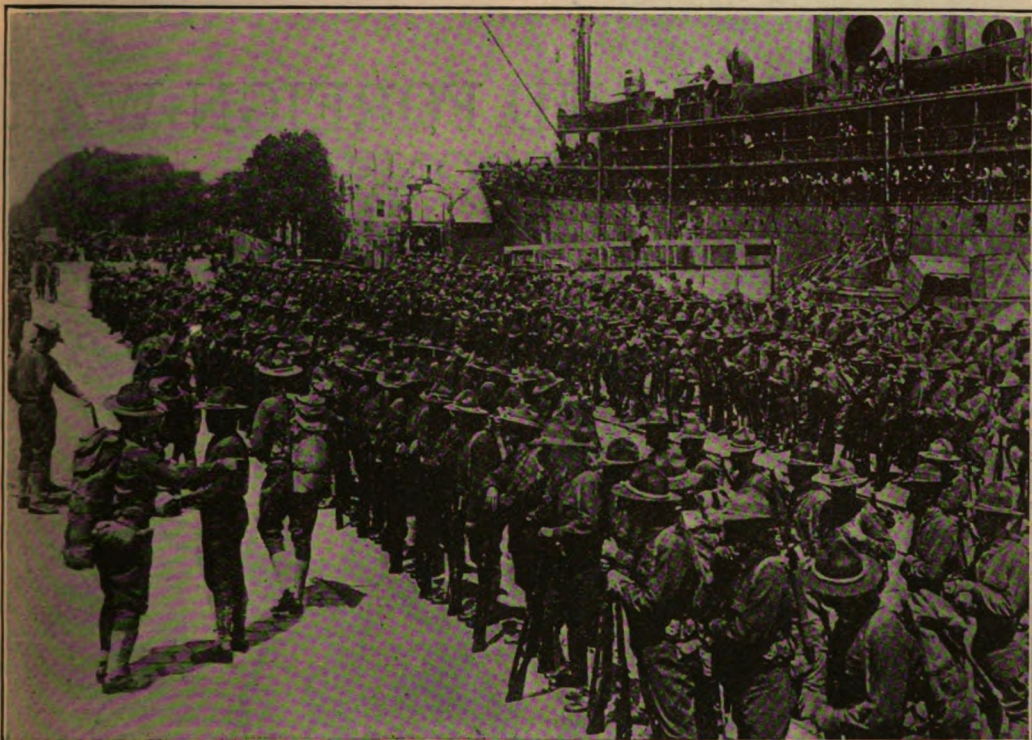


Photo by Bain News Service

COLONEL DOYEN'S REGIMENT OF UNITED STATES MARINES ON THE WAY TO THE PORT OF DEPARTURE FOR FRANCE

(These sun-browned fighting men, all veterans of campaigning in Hayti and Santo Domingo, waved their campaign hats from the windows as the train pulled out)



© by International Film Service, 1917

AMERICA'S FIRST CONTINGENT LANDS ON THE SOIL OF FRANCE

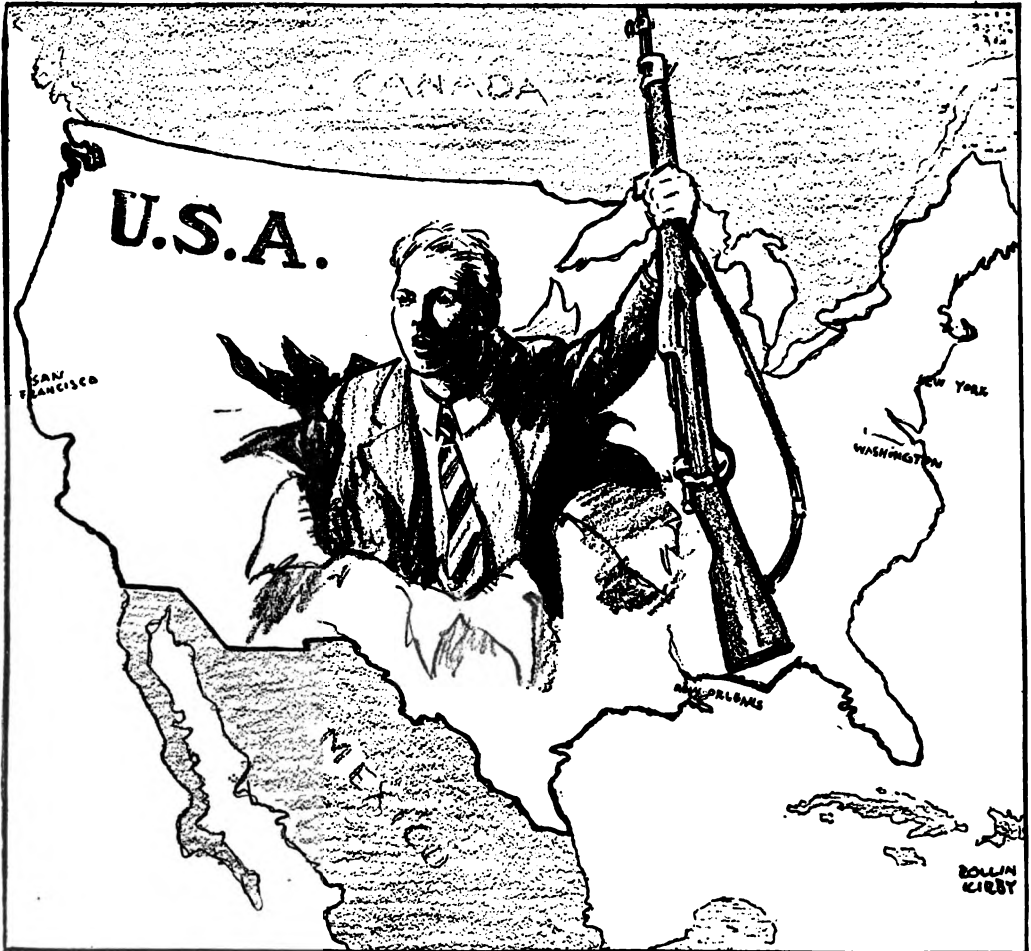
(The troops which the United States has sent to fight side by side with the armies of the Allies landed safely in France, where they received an enthusiastic welcome. The picture shows the troops disembarked and ready to proceed to their base)



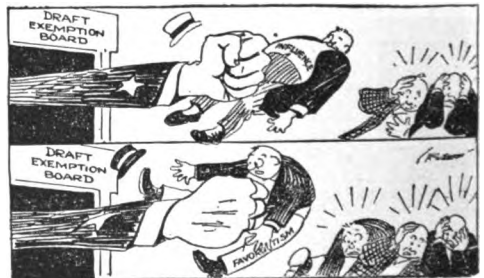
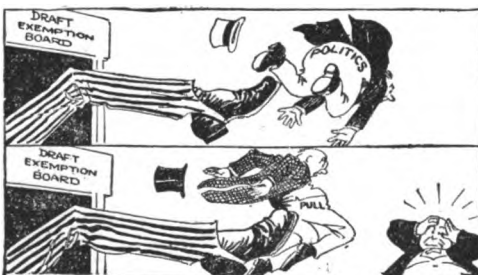
© Kadel & Herbert, N. Y.

HEADQUARTERS OF GENERAL PERSHING AND HIS STAFF IN PARIS, NEAR THE INVALIDES, IN THE RUE DE CONSTANTINE

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN WAR CARTOONS



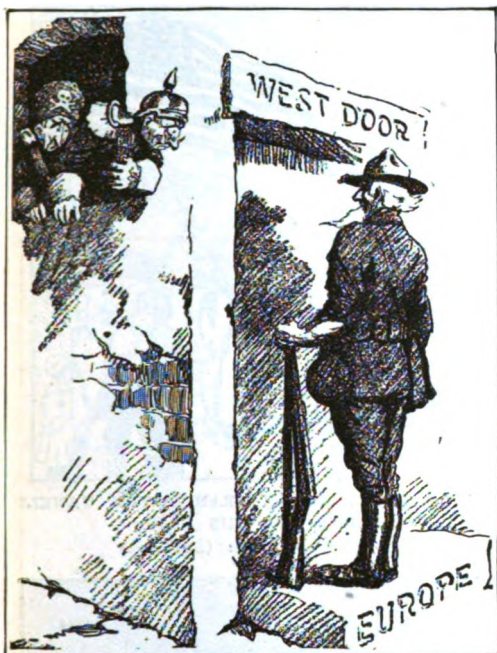
HIS DAY
From the *Evening World* (New York)



© 1917, John T. McCutcheon

HOW TO MAKE THE DRAFT A SUCCESS—ELIMINATE POLITICS, PULL AND FAVORITISM

From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



CROWN PRINCE TO KAISER: "LOOK, FATHER, THEY SAID HE WAS FAT AND LAZY"

From the *Journal* (Detroit)

AMERICAN troops are now on the soil of France, preparing to do their share in the fighting of the war. The transportation of the men was signally successful. They were accorded a most inspiring reception.



DISTORTED HOPES

THE KAISER. (looking through wrong end of telescope): "Ten million Americans registered! They look like another 'contemptible little army' to me."

From *London Opinion* (London)



OUR BOY!

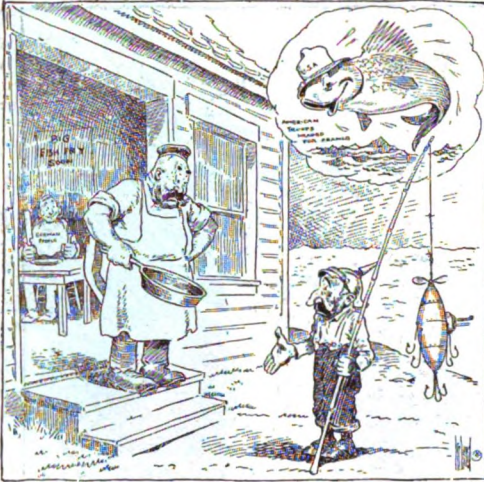
From the *Tribune* (New York)



A WORD OF ILL OMEN

CROWN PRINCE (to Kaiser, drafting his next speech): "For God's sake, Father, be careful this time, and don't call the American Army 'contemptible.'"

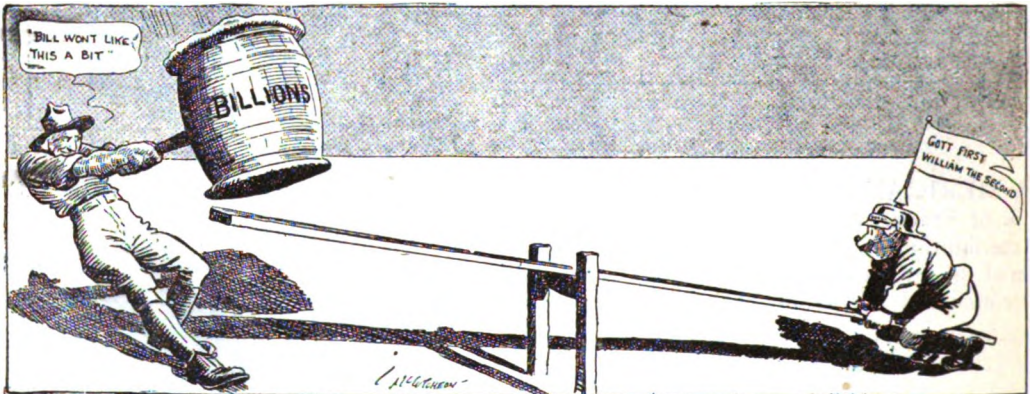
From *Punch* © (London)



HE GOT AWAY!
(Referring to the safe transportation of American troops)
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, O.)



IDOLS OF THE HOUR IN FRANCE—THE YANKEE SOLDIER AND HIS FLAG
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)



© 1917, John T. McCutcheon

BILLIONS VERSUS BILL
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



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OUR "WOODEN" SWORD
From the *Evening World* (New York)



COMING TO THE SCRATCH!
AMERICAN EAGLE: "Say, are you the guy that's collecting NAILS?"
From *Evening News* (London)



STRANGE THEY COULDN'T DO IT UNTIL NOW
From the Tribune (New York)

Many intricate economic questions have arisen as a result of our participation in the war abroad. The fixing of prices by the Government, in order to cut out excessive profits, the regulation of our food supply, and the laying of an embargo on exports of food products to neutral countries are some

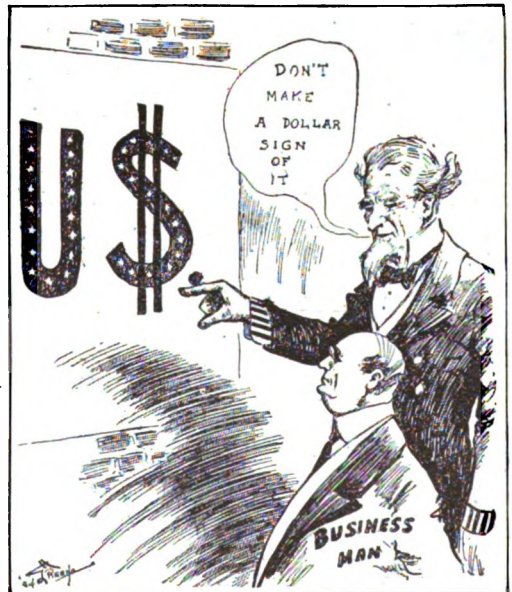


READY TO SHUT IT OFF
From the News (Dayton)

of the important problems that have been pressing for solution by those in authority at Washington. The prohibition of whiskey has apparently been agreed on as a war measure included in the food bill.



WHISKEY—THAT'S ALL
From the Press (Philadelphia)
Aug.—3



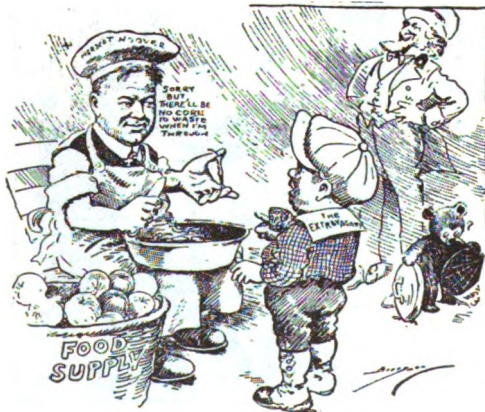
PATRIOTISM, NOT PROFITS
From the Evening Telegram (New York)



AND IN THE MEANTIME
From *The Virginian* (Richmond, Va.)



QUICK—SOME SHOT!
From *the Leader* (Cleveland, Ohio)



"THERE'LL BE NO CORE"
From *the Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.)



A LONG TIME IN HATCHING
From *the World* (New York)



THE SQUEALERS
From *the Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)



THIS IS A FINE TIME TO STOP FOR REPAIRS
From *the Globe* (New York)



RUSSIA AND AMERICA

Will Jonathan be able to hold them in? (Referring to American efforts to assist Russia in reestablishing a firm and stable government) From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)



THE METAMORPHOSIS

THE ALLIES: "Great Scott! Is he going to turn dog on us?"
THE BEAR: "Don't get excited. I'm all right at the front!" From *Punch* (Melbourne)



AGAINST TYRANNY

RUSSIA (drawing her sword in the common cause):
"If I can't keep faith with the friends of freedom, how am I fit to be free?" From *Punch* © (London).



JOHN BULL SEES PERISCOPES EVEN IN HIS DREAMS
(A German view of the submarine war)
From *Jugend* (Berlin)



ANOTHER HOSPITAL SHIP DUE FOR TORPEDOING
From *Lustige Blätter* (Berlin)



GOOD FISHING FOR THE BRITISH LION
From *Il 420* (Florence)



MARS TRANSFORMED TO MERCURY
From *Numero* (Turin)



PEACE PROPOSALS COME UP JUST LIKE TOADSTOOLS,
AND THEY SEEM JUST ABOUT AS USEFUL
From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich)



THE NEUTRALS AND THE SUBMARINES
TRUTON: "This is fine. The more I torpedo their
ships, the more neutral they become."
From the *Espana* (Madrid)



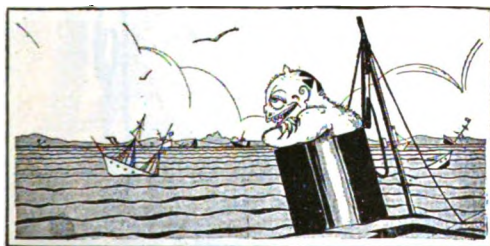
THE SHARPENING HUNGER OF THE NEUTRALS
FORCES THEM TO EAT THEIR TABLE CLOTH
From the *Nebelspalter* (Zurich)

The remaining neutral countries are by no means enjoying the blessings of peace. The people of Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries are suffering for food



HIGH TIME TO ENFORCE THE FOOD EMBARGO
From the *Tribune* (New York)

because the supplies of those countries are being sold at high prices to Germany, Spain's ships continue to be torpedoed by the German submarines, resulting in the increase of the pro-Entente sentiment in that country.



THE TERROR OF THE SEAS
"I'm loth to cause you grief and pain,
But still, you know, I love you, Spain!!!"
From *Campana de Gracia* (Barcelona)



THE JOYS OF NEUTRALITY
SPANISH STATESMAN: "You may look at the performance, gentlemen, but you must not interfere!"
From the *Campana de Gracia* (Barcelona)



THE GERMAN NOTE TO SPAIN
"You are the only one, dear Spain, who has been faithful to me. I will reward you in the day of victory."
From *Iberia* (Barcelona)

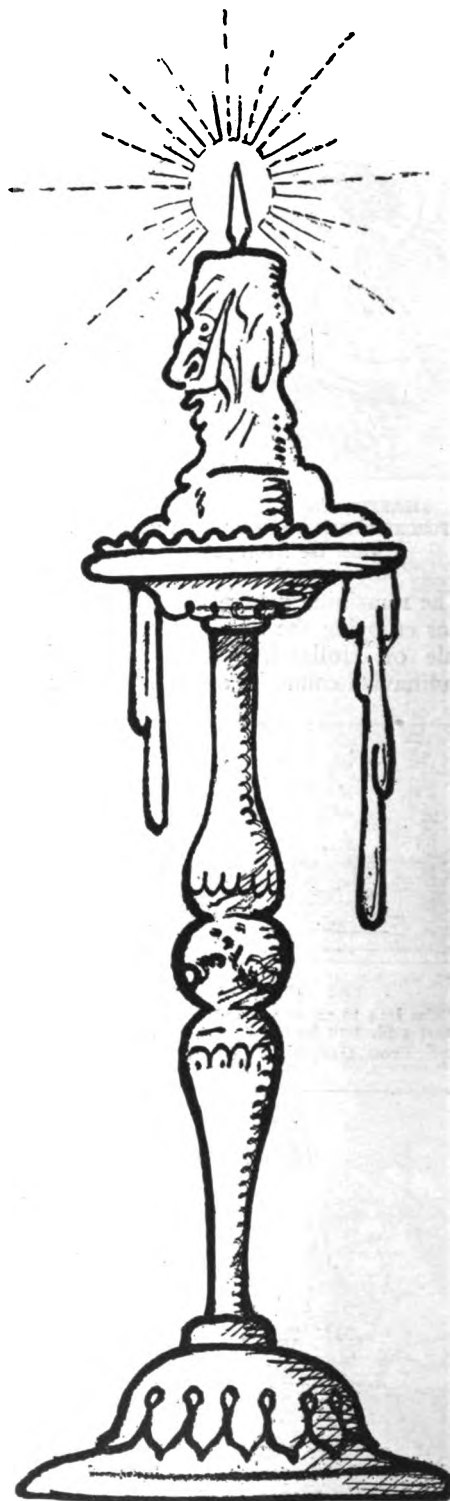


ABDICATION—THE ONLY EXIT
From *L'Asino* (Rome)

Internal conditions in Germany have held a prominent place in the news of the past month. A number of important political changes have taken place (commented on fully in our editorial pages), and there has been much discussion of war aims and the granting of political reforms.



SIGN HERE
From the *Evening Post* (New York)



GUTTERING OUT—(THE KAISER)
From *Esquella de la Torratxa* (Barcelona)



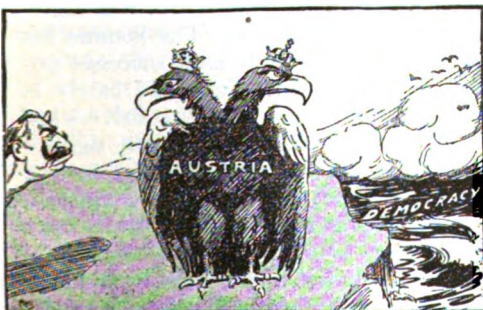
GERMANIA: "ALAS, MY SUBMARINES CANNOT GET MY PEACE ACCEPTED ANY MORE THAN MY SWORD."
From *Campana de Gracia* (Barcelona)



PEACE: "I CAN'T SEE ANY PLACE WHERE I CAN TAKE HOLD OF IT"
From *De Nieuwe Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)



THE PEACE DANIEL IN THE ENTENTE LION'S DEN
PEACE: "Roar as loud as you will, I am coming just the same!"
From *Lustige Blatter* (Berlin)



'TWIXT THE DEVIL AND DEEP BLUE SEA
"And yet people tell us two heads are better than one."
From *the Dispatch* (Manchester, England)



GERMANY AND AUSTRIA
"No separate peace. We have sworn mutual fidelity, and our word is sacred."
From *Iberia* (Barcelona)

A FOURTH YEAR OF WORLD WAR

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE ANNIVERSARY

WHEN this magazine reaches the reader's hands the third anniversary of the World War will have arrived. All over the world men and women will be asking again the tragic question, "How long?" And if one looks only to the military situation it seems to me that there can be no satisfactory evidence discovered which will give promise of a termination in less than another year. It is not too much to say that the military history of the past year has demonstrated that a German military victory is no longer possible. But it is equally true that there is no evidence of such Allied progress, to date, as would warrant a prediction of speedy victory.

Looking backward it is worth while to recall that the past year has seen no offensive attempted by Germany against her major foes. In the long history of military events Germany and her Allies have suffered many defeats. The Russian campaign of last year which began in June and ended in late August cost the Central Powers large casualties, 400,000 prisoners and an enormous loss of material. The Battle of the Somme cost Germany over 80,000 prisoners and above 500,000 additional casualties. Before Verdun two French attacks won back the positions stormed by the Germans at such great cost, retook Douaumont and Vaux, together with 18,000 prisoners.

Since the present calendar year opened the Germans have been driven back on many points of the western front. As a consequence of the Battle of the Somme they were compelled to evacuate over a thousand square miles of French territory. Since that time they have been driven back from the lower Aisne and have lost to the French more than 30,000 prisoners. By the British they have been defeated before Arras and at Ypres, losing at least 35,000 prisoners, suffering great casualties and surrendering vast military stores and a hitherto unprecedented number of guns, both heavy and light.

As against this showing we have just one successful German offensive, the attack upon Rumania, which ended in the occupation of more than half of the territory of this little kingdom and in military victories of considerable magnitude. But it was a victory obtained over a new foe, which left Germany still in the same position with reference to her greater enemies. She had brilliantly avoided disaster, magnificently parried a new and deadly blow. But this is the military extent of her Rumanian victory.

For the rest, wherever one looks there has been a manifest recession of German arms. Bagdad, Monastir, Gorizia, Stanislaw, Czernowitz, Kolomea—such is a partial roll-call of lost cities. Verdun, the Somme, Arras, Galicia, Ypres—these are the major defeats and a new Russian offensive breaking out in Galicia has already brought nearly 50,000 prisoners and a new harvest of captured guns. Such is the story of 1916-17, as it is written in the war news.

Look back a year and see what the contrast is. In the opening months of the second year of the war German armies had advanced far into Russia and won victories hardly preceded in military history. They had destroyed Serbia and opened the road from Berlin to Bagdad. The Turk had won his Gallipoli fight and captured the Bagdad expedition of the British by May. The great offensive aimed at Verdun was still unfinished and Verdun, in July, 1916, was almost at the point of reduction. The Somme battle had opened with only local successes purchased at terrific cost. Italy had barely escaped from the terrible Trentine drive which had brought the Austrians within sight of the Venetian Plain. Only Russia, in Volhynia and Galicia, had begun her great campaign which was to go forward to so many victories.

At the beginning of the third year of the war Germany was still, in the eyes of the world at least, on the offensive, her attack upon Verdun still bulked large in the minds of all. But to-day we have come to

the end of a period in which there have been no German offensives, save the Rumanian, in which there have been German recessions on all fronts and even German official statements speak of Germany as outmanned and outgunned on her western front, speak of Germany on the defensive, and save for the submarine possibility, talk only of Germany's holding out, no more of her "hacking through!" This is, I think, the significant fact on the threshold of the fourth year.

II. PROSPECTS

In recent months there has been a great accession of German confidence based upon the submarine and the Russian Revolution; there has been a new hope that Germany might win the war, after all. But these hopes have gone glimmering with the return of the Russians to the attack, the unsatisfactory harvest of the submarine, which discloses the fact that it cannot win the war this year or next, at the present rate, and, finally, the entrance of the United States into the war and the arrival of American troops in France.

The echo of all this we hear in the present crisis in Berlin. It is no part of the task of the military reviewer to discuss political events. We have not yet any satisfactory evidence as to the true meaning of the passing of Bethmann-Hollweg and the pending changes in the German Government or system, but it is plain that these changes are the fruit of military disappointments and are manifestly consequences of a growing recognition in Germany of the fact that the war cannot be won and may be lost.

We shall have a real measure of the German spirit when there emerges from the fog some definite statement of German peace proposals. Unless these proposals accept unequivocally the Russian view of no annexations and no indemnities, it is safe to conclude that they will be thrust aside by the nations now fighting Germany. Even if they do make such proposals, the Allies will infallibly demand a German agreement to a settlement of the Alsace-Lorraine question in favor of France, of the Italian Irredenta in favor of Italy and the reconstitution of the Balkans in favor of Serbia, insuring that state a seaboard on the Adriatic and an increase of Serb lands at the expense of Austria.

That an evidence on the part of Germany—and of her Allies, of willingness to

open these questions might lead to an agreement to settle colonial questions about the green table and to negotiate on the question of German interests in Central Africa, seems to me quite likely. But this is mere speculation. Germany must first renounce conquest, second consent to sacrifices; until these things happen there can be no peace conference this year, or before a campaign of 1918.

Yet recognizing all this it seems to me plain that we are entering the last year of the war. For my own part I am convinced that if the war lasts until the fourth anniversary, we shall then be within two steps of peace and my conviction is that peace will come before that anniversary. The temper in Austria, the change wrought in the Near East by Russian renunciation of annexations in Turkey, the growing clearness of perception in Germany that victory is impossible and that disaster lies in future prolongation of the struggle are for me clear indications that we are on the edge of a change in the whole situation, a change which will make military events from now on of less importance than political.

In all this it seems to me the United States has a very clear mission. We must first of all continue to send men and supplies and munitions to Europe, because I believe that the arrival of American troops in France has already been an unmistakably powerful influence in bringing a change in Germany. The more troops we send to France the less chance there will be that we shall have heavy losses and long casualty lists. The fact that we mean to go on will, I believe, be a great force for peace, the first sign that we were slowing down might act as did the Russian Revolution to arouse a German hope that the war might be won.

A few weeks ago, when Russian soldiers were quitting the front and there was still no suggestion of an American army in France, Germany believed she could win the war and adopted a policy of extreme rigor. Her statesmen and publicists proclaimed victory in sight and asserted that this victory would mean the real world domination of Germany. But the Russian soldiers returned to the battle and an American army arrived in Europe with results that are plain. There has been a profound change in German expectation and this change has shown itself in unmistakable ways,

The submarine, the separate peace with Russia, the impotence of America—these

have all proven illusions. But, on the other hand, if Russia again pauses, if the United States contents itself with sending only a first expedition to France, German hope may revive and German determination to fight on may return. Then we shall lose many lives, both of soldiers now in France and soldiers who will ultimately have to be sent from this country, if the war takes on a new and bitter phase.

III. PEACE

Once more I caution my readers against any belief in an immediate arrival of peace or any hasty acceptance of the German events as a proof that democracy has conquered Germany and the war has thus been won for liberty. Certainly events in Germany mean that there is a beginning. The end may come with great rapidity, once the first step is taken, but I do not believe the old order will pass without a struggle, nor do I believe it will consent to the surrender of all Germany has won in the field in this war without a more determined resistance than it has yet made.

It is essential to realize that if Germany consents to the restoration of the conditions of 1914, that in itself will mean a lost war and a diminished future. Above all else Germany went to war because she believed that only if there were a redistribution of the territories of the world would the German have an equal chance in the future with the Briton, the Russian, and the citizen of the United States. She perceived that as the world was divided, there was left for Germany no outlet for her excess population, and in her overseas colonies there was no opportunity to keep pace with Russia, with Britain, that even France would distance Germany in commercial possibilities when North Africa was opened to trade.

This situation has not changed. If Germany emerges from the war as she entered it, the old limitations will be renewed. More than this, she has roused all over the world antipathies which will endure. It will be years before German industry can regain its place in France, in Britain, in Belgium. A generation must pass before there will be even a tolerable reception for Germans in these countries. Unquestionably war costs will bring Britain to a new intra-imperial tariff, which will bear heavily upon German exports.

And in three years of war and blockade

German commercial organization has lost its place in the Americas and in the Far East. In time some of the ground may be regained but much has been lost forever and Germany, if the situation of 1914 is restored, will be, in fact, far worse off than she was in the year when she undertook a world war because her international position seemed intolerable.

Peace without annexation will then be for Germany a defeat which cannot be concealed from the German people. It will be a defeat the extent of which will be revealed in succeeding years. If to this there is added the burden incident to a renunciation of indemnity, if Germany is to have no price for evacuating France and Belgium, Serbia, and Poland, then the German people will have to bear a burden of taxation almost intolerable and calculated to stifle all industrial development. The burden will be far heavier than that of Britain or France, because Germany lacked the capital at the outset, which both her older foes possessed.

We must be chary, then, of accepting German proposals until the nature of these proposals is revealed unmistakably. For any peace proposal that will command even a passing hearing in Allied capitals will be a confession on its face of a defeat such as no unconquered nation has known since Louis XIV agreed to a peace without annexation at the close of the War of the Spanish Succession, a peace that left France intact, but economically ruined.

That Germany is being led by events toward such a peace proposal no one can mistake. That she will be compelled to make such terms within a brief span of weeks or months, I believe. But it seems to me likely that before this time arrives she will inevitably make many efforts to escape her hard fate, both by internal shifts of officials and forms and by external manipulations and manoeuvres. That is why, once one has recognized the enormous importance of the main fact of German internal upheaval, it is necessary to be on guard against too optimistic conclusions as to immediate developments.

We are, in my view, arrived at a situation wherein peace is more nearly within reach than at any moment since the war began. More than this, German defeat is more clearly indicated than ever before. But the curtain is rising rather than falling on the last act, and much may yet take place in

the field and in the internal affairs of the nations at war.

IV. RUSSIA RE-ENLISTS

Turning now to the actual military events of the past month, one fact alone is of first importance. Russia has struck again. She has made a great military effort and as the result of severe fighting has advanced south of the Dniester, taken Halicz and Kalusz, and renewed the threat at Lemberg of last autumn. She has in this operation captured nearly 40,000 prisoners and advanced at points at least twenty miles.

Remembering that as recently as a month ago the military opinion of the world was confident that Russia was out of the war for many months, for the campaign of 1917, at the least, this is a very great change, a piece of good fortune for the Allies as unexpected as it is considerable.

Oddly enough, the events this year recall those of last strikingly. Just before Brusiloff struck in June, 1916, all the Allied representatives at Petrograd urged their governments to advise Russia not to attack, so bad did they think the Russian physical condition was. The answer came in the great victories about Lutsk, Dubno, and Czernowitz and in a summer of tremendous Russian successes. Once more the Russians have given the lie to the military men and once more there has come a great surprise.

The effect is not measured by ground gained, it is not to be estimated primarily in military terms. Its effect is to be seen in what has taken place politically in Berlin, in Vienna; its effect is to be seen in the great and growing pessimism in all Teutonic quarters. There is to be no separate peace with Russia, then. There is to be no quiescence on the Eastern front permitting concentrations on the west and the defeat of the western allies. A war on all fronts is to be resumed with new demands upon German manpower, and new confessions of weakness in Austrian collapses.

Now I take it this is the real meaning for Berlin of the new Russian drive. It has not yet attained military importance of the first order, it is not yet a break in Austrian lines beyond repair or comparable with the Brusiloff performance in June, last year. It may expand to this, it may not. Conceivably the German General Staff already has the matter in hand, and the Russian drive will slow up from this day forth.

But if it is to be checked it will take German reserves and German munitions and there will be a return to the old situation of stopping leaks in the dikes, which are the battle-lines, by fresh drafts upon the rapidly diminishing German reserves. With Russia out Germany might calculate to hold out until the submarine brought Britain to the point of peace discussion. But the submarine is doing its work far more slowly than Germans expected—and Russia is back adding to the strain upon German reserves. It is clear now that Britain can last beyond this year, submarine or no submarine. It is probable that she can get on until the harvest of next year. Can German manpower go that long?

The Russian offensive raises another question. With Russia out it became plain that neither France nor Britain cared to risk the terrible costs of an offensive this year. They had patently adopted the policy of waiting until the United States arrived, making only local offensives and keeping their final reserves for the hour when the manpower of the United States would be available as a reservoir and as a last reserve. But with Russia back in the line is it not probable that we shall see a new British attack, a new Somme effort, and a sudden and enormous expansion of German casualties on the West, at the moment when the East is claiming a harvest of dead?

We shall do well not to exaggerate the Russian offensive. It is an unmistakable fact that the Russian army has been disorganized by revolution and the condition of its transport is notorious. A great and continued offensive, taking Lemberg and sweeping Galicia will only be possible if Austria turns out to be weaker than Russia and an Austrian collapse comes on the heels of a Russian offensive. This is far from unlikely, given the past history and our present knowledge of Austrian conditions. But it is not a safe factor to reckon on.

We have all asked of Russia, since the war began, far too much; and after great services we have suffered great disappointments at Russian hands. It is impossible to exaggerate the latest Russian service, but it is not a time to repeat the old errors based upon the conception of a Russian steam-roller moving irresistibly upon Berlin. Only an Austrian breakdown will make this possible. We have not yet any authentic sign of this, hopeful as Russian beginnings have been.

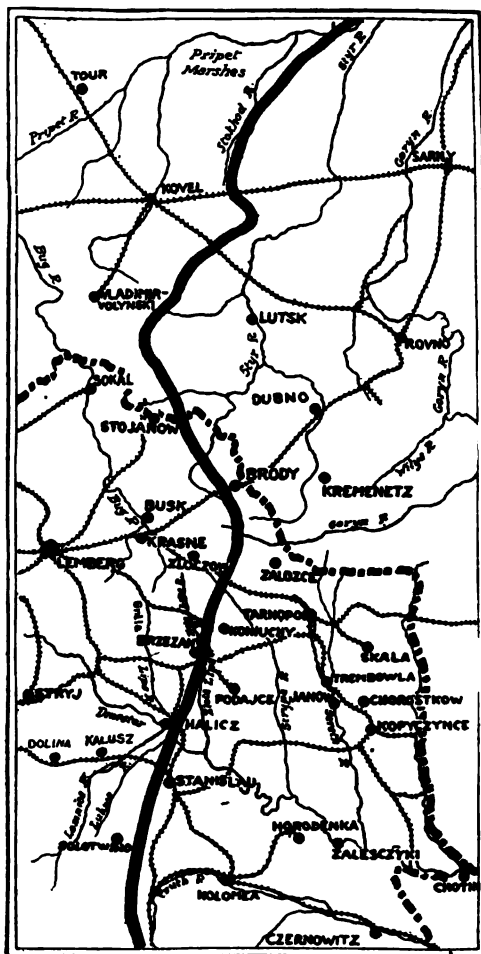
V. A RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE

To understand the actual history of the Russian attack in Galicia it is necessary to recall certain facts familiar in 1916 and now forgotten. When in August Brusiloff's great offensive came to an end the Austrian armies in Galicia were standing in a wide semi-circle about Lemberg and from forty to sixty miles east of that city. To the north, in Volhynia, the Russian advance had stopped along the line of the Stochod River, some twenty miles east of the vital railroad center of Kovel. Had the Russians reached Kovel a great Austro-German retreat from the Gulf of Riga to the Carpathians would have been inevitable.

In Galicia the Austrians were standing behind the upper stream of the Styr, which flows north out of Galicia, their center was along the Zlota Lipa, which rises near the Styr but flows south into the Dniester, with their extreme right center bent back north of the Dniester to the point where the Gnila Lipa enters it. South of the Dniester their line ran behind the Bystritza, just west of Stanislaw, straight down to the Carpathians. They were actually in a temporary position, were on the point of drawing back their center behind the Gnila Lipa when the Russian offensive stopped. After the pause the Austrian and German troops held on.

The main mission of the Austro-German forces in Galicia was to cover Lemberg. Originally they had stood along the line of the Strypa, which parallels the Zlota Lipa to the eastward. They had fallen back to the Zlota Lipa, and the Russians had succeeded in passing the lower stretch of this river, thus turning the Zlota Lipa position. Actually, the Austrians had left to them the Gnila Lipa River position; that is, the position behind this river which rises in the hills east of Lemberg and flows fairly straight down to the Dniester, which it enters opposite Halicz. This is the natural defensive position of an army defending Lemberg, which is an open town; it is the position from which the Austrians had defended the town in August, 1914, and when they were defeated here they evacuated Lemberg.

The Bug River, rising in the hills that also see the birth of the Gnila Lipa and at one point coming within half a dozen miles of this stream, turns north and flows across eastern Galicia into Russia, it makes a natural extension to the northward of the Gnila Lipa position, and together the lines of the



SCENE OF THE JULY FIGHTING IN GALICIA

Bug and the Gnila Lipa constitute the last and best defensive position before Lemberg. South of Dniester the Bystritza, and behind it the Lomnica, serve as extensions of this Gnila Lipa-Bug line.

In August, 1916, the world believed that the Austro-Germans would be compelled to draw back to the Gnila Lipa position. But they stood, their center still advanced along the Zlota Lipa, and it was against this center and about the town of Brzezany that the first Russian attack of this year was delivered on a wide front from north of the Lemberg-Brody railroad to the ground south of Brzezany.

This attack met with local successes. The town of Koniuchy, northeast of Brzezany, was taken; Brzezany itself was threatened; some 20,000 prisoners were captured, together with many guns. But, as in the case of the French at the Aisne in April,

the local successes were all that resulted. The Austrian line was reinforced and held on. Fresh Russian attacks were met by stiff resistance and brought heavy losses. The attack had begun on July 1. By July 4 it was beginning to flicker out and there was no longer immediate promise of any piercing of the enemy line or any renewal of the achievement of 1914 or of 1916.

The most that could be said for this first attack was that it had surprised the world by showing Russia was resolved to fight on, and it had revealed the Russian army as better prepared in artillery and other munitions than had been expected and disclosed the soldiers as having a fighting spirit once more. July 2, the best day of the attack, may have great value in subsequent Russian history, and already battalions which fought in it have been christened by its name. Kerensky, who led the assault, earned imperishable glory as the real driving force of the reinvigorated Russian armies.

But had it ended with the Brzezany episode the Russian offensive would have had little real military value, measured by actual achievement.

VI. HALICZ

But as it turned out this was only a beginning. After a few days' pause the Russians renewed the attack, this time south of the Dniester and along the Bystritza, west of Stanislau. Here their success was immediate and considerable. The Austrian lines were pierced and there began a drive quite like those of 1916. On July 16, when these lines are written, it is still going forward, and it remains to be seen whether it can be stemmed in time to avert the gravest peril to Lemberg of the last two years.

Recall again what I said of the relation of the various rivers to Lemberg. The Austrians still hold a portion of the Zlota Lipa line. They can still retire to the line of the Gnila Lipa, as far as pressure north of the Dniester is concerned. But the Russians have passed both the Bystritza and the Lomnica, which are the natural extensions of the Gnila Lipa line south of the Dniester, and they have crossed the Dniester from the south, opposite Halicz, which they have captured, and are thus west of the Gnila Lipa, north of the Dniester.

Apart from the announcement of the passing of the Dniester at Halicz there has been no report of Russian progress. It is con-



GENERAL BRUSILOFF, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE RUSSIAN ARMIES (AT THE RIGHT), AND GENERAL GOURKO, COMMANDANT OF RUSSIAN TROOPS IN THE SOUTHWEST

ceivable that their excursion here has been abruptly halted before the river hills. If it has, the Gnila Lipa line may still be made good by the Austrians, but if not the Russians are in a position to move north behind and on the communications of the whole Austrian center and this center will be compelled to withdraw, not merely to the Gnila Lipa line, but beyond it, because the Russians will hold a portion of this line and thus have turned the whole position.

The situation south of the Dniester is perhaps more serious, for the Russians have passed both the Bystritza and the Lomnica, and having taken Kalusz are moving westward between the Dniester and the Carpathian foothills, driving a wedge between the Austrians north of the Dniester and those to the south and threatening to open a wide gap through which their troops will pour



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GENERAL KORNILOV, WHO HAS LED THE RUSSIAN TROOPS IN THE RECENT GALICIAN DRIVE

in north and west and threaten Lemberg. The real test of the Russian success is now their ability to reach the city of Stryj, thirty-odd miles northwest of Lemberg and an important railroad junction. If they get to Stryj, then I think the evacuation of Lemberg will be inevitable.

It is possible that the passing of the river at Halicz may compel the abandonment of the Gnila Lipa River line by the Austrians and the eventual retirement west of Lemberg. It did in 1914, but it is less likely that this success will be decisive than that the fall of Lemberg, if it comes, will be determined by operations to the south of the Dniester, where there are more evidences of Austrian collapse.

Again I warn my readers against premature hopes. The fall of Lemberg would be for Germany the greatest disaster since Verdun. Its moral effect in Austria and in the

world would be incalculable. It will not take place if the Germans by straining every nerve can prevent it, and it is clear that they have already begun their work of salvage. That the Russians have the resources or the organization for a sustained drive is wholly improbable. The chances are against them. If they are able to achieve so great a success as an offensive carried to the city of Lemberg, we can fairly speak of the Russian "miracle."

Having said this it is equally necessary to recognize that the military movements to date foreshadow the fall of Lemberg. Unless the Russians are checked, and they have advanced more than twenty miles now, unless they are checked within a brief period of time, before this magazine reaches the reader, for example, Lemberg will be in deadly peril, and the whole complexion of the war in the East will have been changed. Had the Russians accomplished in September, 1916, what they have now accomplished the fate of Lemberg would be regarded as sealed. When they did take Halicz in 1914 Lemberg fell without resistance and its defenders retired to the Grodek line, a few miles to the west, and then to the line of the San, surrendering the larger half of Galicia to the invader.

Meantime there are signs of a new Rumanian operation to the southward and hints of Russian attacks to the north, between Pinsk and the Dwina. Thus, even if Russia is stopped before Stryj falls and Lemberg is directly threatened, there is promise of continued pressure on the east front and new demands made upon German manpower and German resources. All this means one of the most dramatic and unexpected recoveries in military history and a complete change in the prospects of the campaign of 1917, which has still nearly three months of fighting weather in sight.

As I read these proofs Russian and German official statements announce that the Russians have evacuated Kalusz. This means that temporarily—at least—the Central Powers have restored the Lomnica line. If the success grows permanent, there will probably be no immediate change north of the Dniester and the Russian attack will end in a considerable but purely local success.





Photo by Central News Photo Service

THE INDOMITABLE FRENCH ENGINEERS

(A road and a bridge newly constructed by the French engineers in a district near the Noyon Canal. This district has been devastated by the retreating Germans to retard the French pursuit)



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CANADIAN OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE WESTERN FRONT
(Unloading water-mains in a captured village on the Arras front)

KERENSKY: COMPROMISER

BY HENRY SUYDAM

[The value of this article lies in the fact that the writer has just returned from Russia, where his duties as correspondent of the *Brooklyn Eagle* brought him into intimate relations with the War Minister.—THE EDITOR.]

TWO Russian soldiers were sitting in a waiting-room in Petrograd a few weeks ago, hoping for an interview with the Minister of War. The door of an inner office was suddenly thrown open, and a man of middle height, with close-clipped brown hair, flashing eyes, and a sullen mouth, stuck his head out.

"Come on, comrades!" he cried in a rough voice. The soldiers arose, shook hands, and went inside.

That was Kerensky—Alexander Feodorovitch Kerensky—Russian Minister of War. That was Kerensky, who lately led the Russian armies in an offensive across Galicia, who has kept the Russian revolution within bounds, who has placated all factions by offending none. Russia has had enough of imposing personalities, and Russia likes Kerensky because he sticks his head out of doorways in Moscow to-day and in Kieff and Odessa to-morrow and dares the Russian people to coöperate with him in constructing a democracy.

There is an intense desire on the part of Russians for a man of native blood to lead the way to freedom. Although he has learned revolutionary enthusiasm from France, and stability from Great Britain, Kerensky is a Russian, first and last. He was born in Tashkent in Middle Asia thirty-six years ago. His parents

were humble people, and he worked hard to get an education, took a degree at the University of Petrograd, and during his somewhat brief career as a lawyer gained fame as the unswerving defender before the Russian courts of peasant, workman, and Jew.

When the revolution broke out, Kerensky had served for four years as the representative of Socialistic Labor in the Duma—a fiery representative, outspoken, belligerent, uncompromising. He had been known as an extremist, but the radicalism of the revolution left him on a sort of middle ground. Now he is known as a compromiser, and because the Russian people are gradually learning that tolerance is part of democracy, Kerensky has become strong.

It was Kerensky's frankness and passionate sincerity that made Russia trust him ever since he hopped on a table in the Duma committee-rooms during a crisis in the revolution, and quieted extreme workmen and conservative bourgeoisie shopkeepers by shouting: "You shall have your republic—after the war! Meantime, have the common sense to fight to retain the freedom you have won!"

"I told them that an autocracy of workmen, or an autocracy of soldiers, is as bad as an autocracy of aristocrats," said Mr. Kerensky to me after-



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RUSSIA'S GREAT WAR MINISTER, ALEXANDER F. KERENSKY, AS HE APPEARED AT THE FRONT LAST MONTH, WITH INJURED ARM

wards. "Russia must have no autocracies. Each man must be a free citizen of New Russia, with as much respect for his neighbor's rights and prerogatives as his own."

That is Kerensky's philosophy, in a word. He bases his entire hope of ultimate success on the single policy of compromise.

Kerensky thus has a dozen different aspects to as many different classes and factions. To the Russian army, Kerensky is a fighting leader. To the peasantry, Kerensky is the man who will get for them their share of Russian land. To the bourgeoisie, Kerensky is a level-headed radical who will protect them from the excessive socialism of the workmen. To the workmen, Kerensky is a crusader who has intimated to Russian financiers that there is a limit to the power of a Russian rouble. To the secret adherents of the old régime, Kerensky is an infernal anarchist. To the German Government, Kerensky is anathema. In his modest way, you will observe, Kerensky is something to all men. Even the Petrograd cab-drivers whip up their horses when Kerensky's name is mentioned in connection with an eight-hour day.

Although Kerensky assumed office under the Provisional Government as Minister of Justice, the placid Russian confidence placed in him by the entire army made his appointment as Minister of War a foregone conclusion. Kerensky is a soldier's man. He turns up at the front wearing a peasant-blouse of black serge, and urges the Russian soldier, with a grasp of the hand and a harsh-spoken phrase, to do his duty for Russia.

The rise of Kerensky as one of the most significant statesmen of the war smacks of the new sort of democracy that is abroad. He has behind him no long years of parliamentary training; he reveres no traditions of a bureaucratic caste. He was simply a revolutionary member of the Duma, with legal training and a direct and rather fascinating mode of expression. It was within those Czar-ridden walls of the Tauride Palace in Petrograd that he learned the lesson that restraint is one of the components of effective radicalism.

So when the Duma became the center of revolution during that incredible third week in March, Kerensky dominated each extreme faction—landlord and peasant, workman and capitalist, republican and monarchist, conservative bourgeois and anarchistic socialist—by the sheer human intensity of his oratory and the downright horse-sense of his arguments. He took command himself, without

suggestion from anyone, because he had the calm assurance of a young man who recognized the value of his own powers, and had the courage to use them. No other type would have dared lead the Russian armies into an offensive within fifteen weeks of an upheaval that affected 170,000,000 people.

Kerensky is too fiercely sincere to make dramatic gestures in the Lloyd-Georgian manner or to deliver spectacular phrases according to the Roosevelt tradition. His appearance is surly and dogged, except when he smiles, and then he seems a charming young gentleman out of some university—a tired student, perhaps, who has worked too continuously at a difficult problem. He was very fatigued and nervous when I talked with him at the time he was engaged in planning the Russian offensive.

But when he spoke of Russia and America—he is one of the most loyal and discerning friends the United States possesses among European governments—his eyes grew bright and his voice trembled.

"Ah! We understand your simple democracy best," he said. "The Russian people do not understand the nature of the British monarchy, but we understand the spirit of the United States. The Russian masses and the American people are to-day exhibiting one of the most profound democratic kinships in history. Russia and the United States—or rather the spirit of our common freedom—must essentially dominate the dictation of peace."

As I sat in a shabby office of a ministry in Petrograd and talked to this gaunt young chap, who told me naïvely that he "admired Abraham Lincoln and the United States," I asked myself the question: "Is this the man who will save Russia from herself?"

Russia will be saved if moderation prevail, if Kerensky can reconcile the divergent Russian factions to work together for the common good. If compromise fail, and Russia and Siberia begin to degenerate into a series of semi-independent nations, Kerensky may not be strong enough to command, and another dictator—another benevolent, pedagogic personality—may be tossed up on the shores of government.

The Russian revolution will not be over for a decade or so, and only persons with catch-word minds will insist upon decorating Kerensky with polemic epithets of the Mirabeau period. Kerensky is merely Kerensky—a new phenomenon in a new process of human evolution evoked by the war for democracy.

HOW THE GERMAN EMPIRE HAS MENACED DEMOCRACY

BY TALCOTT WILLIAMS

[Last month's political events in Germany, including the peace proposal voted by the Reichstag and the speech of the new Chancellor, Dr. Michaelis, give peculiar importance to a careful review of recent German imperial policy; and Dr. Talcott Williams, as a publicist and historical scholar, is especially competent to make the indictment that follows herewith.—THE EDITOR.]

WHY "must the world be made safe for democracy," as President Wilson demands? Is Germany the enemy of democracy the world over, and therefore the enemy of the American people?

The many asking this question have a right to a frank answer from every man who, like myself, has urged our entrance since October, 1914, and looks on our share in the war as our greatest service to humanity, great as have been the services of the American people to man for 142 years.

Democracy has been safe enough here through all that span and spreads the world over. What quarrel have we with the German people? None! A tenth or more, perhaps a fifth, of our population is drawn from it, directly or indirectly. No factor has been more wedded to liberty than our German communities and our German newspapers. They saved Missouri to the Union. They furnished a larger share of foreign-born in the army of the North than any race but the Irish. Their laboratories have blessed the world with beneficent discovery; their literature has raised our stage to a new level in the discussion of moral and social problems; their capacity for organization and efficiency has become the world example. In the great hazard of war, which in many ways is the final test of humanity, in the highest and the lowest, the German staff and German armies have made all the rest of the world seem like amateurs. Why does the world need to be made safe for democracy? Why is Germany the enemy of freedom? Because in the last sixty years Germany has put its soul in pawn to the Imperial German Government.

The Reichstag, little more than a debating society, has just sought to free the soul and will of Germany from the imperial pawnshop by demanding the right to pass on the terms of peace and to secure the re-

sponsibility of the Kaiser's ministers to the representatives of the people. Both efforts have failed at start. They must succeed, if the world is ever to have lasting peace which the safety of democracy requires. Freedom and subjection, a democratic world seeking peace and an imperial world in the heart of Europe always ready for war, as the first law of its being, cannot live together.

As the Imperial German Government stands to-day it controls 170,000,000 armed for war as no territory ever was before, holding the world's strategic center, between Europe and Asia and Africa. The German Kaiser, the Austrian Kaiser, and twenty-three kings, princes, and dukes hold complete control of these people and this territory. It is the last fortress of privilege and despotism the world over. While it remains the world cannot be made safe for democracy. Our institutions, national policy, and liberties are in as much peril as any other land, and the proof of this is the policy and the act of the Imperial German Government under the present Kaiser, as I shall now show.

GERMANY'S "MASK OF DEMOCRACY"

Down to 1848, everyone believed that Germany would be the first of European continental lands to see liberty. In that fell hour when Germany as a whole followed the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, rather than the Frankfort Diet, which spoke for a regenerated, self-governing Germany, and the best of the Teuton blood led by men like Carl Schurz left their native lands with a price on their heads to find freedom and great careers among us,—men confidently believed that in the end Germany would be in the forefront of those who, to quote a great German, find "liberty in death for country." But in 1862 Bismarck offered to Germany the first proof of what despotism could do by wrenching Schleswig-

Holstein from Denmark and self-government, establishing the headship of Prussia in all the German land. For four years Bismarck was preparing in the Council Chamber and Moltke in the field for the physical supremacy of this headship (1866) at Sadowa. To do this it was necessary to refuse a Prussian legislature the constitutional right to control expenditure, a right and power on which democracy must rest and must defend or military despotism follows. To-day, in the midst of war, its boundaries threatened east and west, the German Reichstag is pleading for the same constitutional power denied in Germany for more than half a century.

In 1871, the next surrender was made. When the German Empire was proclaimed at Versailles, in the midst of the great triumph of the Franco-Prussian War, the constitution of this empire created a popular national legislature (the House of Representatives, as we should say), a Reichstag elected by universal manhood suffrage.

This was the mask of democracy which at that time imperial autocracy thought wise to wear. But the general power over the business and policy of foreign affairs and the decision on final national action in war rests in the Council of the States, the Bundesrath. The princes, not the people, choose this body, each sovereign in the German Empire selecting the representatives of his state, and the King of Prussia, who is, ex-officio, Kaiser, controls this chamber, which governs the Empire and creates the German Government. Even our Senate has again and again betrayed liberty, but how much liberty would we have if the Senate were appointed by hereditary lords of our States and the representatives of these lords controlled, through ministers and standing committees, the army, navy, tariff, excise, trade, within and without the empire, railroads, ports, telegraphs, finance, and foreign affairs?

This is the "Imperial German Government" against which we have in terms declared war, not against Germany or the people of Germany, but against the "Imperial German Government," made of, by, and for the Kaiser, kings, princes, grand-dukes, and dukes, ruling by divine right and refusing all responsibility to the people or their representatives.

For a decade this system was handled by Bismarck, on the whole, wisely. In 1878 he returned to the early traditions of his youth in foreign affairs, and, when Russia

had beaten the Turkish Empire to the ground, called the Congress of Berlin, which, like the Congress of Vienna, held that it was not war, but the conference of the great powers of Europe, which must shape peace.

BISMARCK'S WORK

The greater spoils of war were taken from Russia; free Bulgaria was made; Rumania and Serbia were given independence; provision was made that, should there come again in the Turkish Empire, such dire massacres as in 1860 and 1876 shocked the world, Europe would step in and administer such territory by a gendarmerie, a police force paid by Turkey but officered by Europeans and responsible to the European concert of great powers for keeping order, and protecting the weak from Turkish and Kurdish massacre.

Bismarck, the great figure of Europe of the nineteenth century, as many frank utterances show, personally believed that the great fabric he had constituted would in the end gravitate towards freedom, and he protested against taking Alsace and Lorraine from the French because he held that it would sow the seeds of endless hate and make violence the law and habit of the German people. But he who had forced others to yield to necessity in his turn yielded to military necessity. So always, when men and nations sell themselves for a price and the bond is sealed, they pay the interest in new concessions and the numbing of conscience, national and personal.

But Germany, in spite of all, was uneasy; and it became necessary, as is the way in all descending from the high level of struggle and effort and forfeiting claim to better things, to drug conscience by material advantage. The German Government (for the phrase sums as a whole all the forces of the lower nature of Germany during the three score years in which Germany has been losing its soul to find it again in the agony and fiery sacrifice of war) had to provide those things which should make it to the material interest of the German people to remain subject to the German Government.

The upper classes were already satisfied. They were composed of these two portions, among 65,000,000—the ruling houses of Germany, in all six or eight hundred men, women, and children, and the "Junkers," or the old dominant aristocracy, and others, newer, the "Vons," of the land, a large

body, but not more than half a million all told, were already satisfied. These had power and social supremacy, the task of governing not only sovereignties and small principalities, but had the controlling share in the government of the German Empire, which dominated Europe. There remained the new manufacturing and commercial classes which grew to greatness and surpassed all the boundaries of their home market in the decade from 1870 to 1880; and the vast laboring class, harder worked and less well fed and less well housed than any other in Western Europe and without life's joyous joys, which mark the Latin races, partly from climate and partly from temperament. These two classes had to be satisfied for their loss of liberty by new material advantages.

COMMERCE AS A BUTTRESS OF AUTOCRACY

Foreign trade from a Germany divided into many and populous states had small protection. Behind the trade and exports of a united Germany Bismarck arrayed the diplomacy and the power of a great empire. When the Kaiser became a large shareholder in Krupp's and led in subscriptions to the new steamship lines his example was not only followed by the rest of the Junker class, but he and those in this class could do far more under an autocratic system, which placed all the threads of power in the hands of their ministers and the organizations of the German Empire, as a whole, and in its units than could or would English ministers responsible to legislators in the House of Commons.

Still more, this association of the new mercantile wealth of Germany, with its old ruling class, gave bankers and manufacturers, all associated in the same commercial enterprises, a new place in the sun of the new German hierarchy. Their educated sons went into the army. Those who remained in business became officers of the reserve. To be an officer of the reserve meant prestige, recognition, and a place in the Kaiser's sunlight as Commander-in-Chief, and placed the political influence of this class on the side of the military and militant autocracy. It is difficult for the American, who looks on an officer as one of the servants of the nation, to begin to appreciate the increased sense of personal dignity and importance which a banker or publisher felt if he were an officer in the reserve. The real thing, I found, on which one of the

foremost publishers of Germany prided himself was not the revolution which he had worked in color-printing and in the issue of a great powerful, profitable illustrated journal, but in his position as major in charge of all the automobiles in Leipsic when called into military use.

These associations made the entire business class of Germany, its kings and princes of industry, and the lords of great domains of factories, part of the system which supported not liberty, as the American and English business man always has, but autocracy.

TAKING CARE OF THE LABORER

For the artisan class, covering all labor, it was necessary to provide its special price. This was furnished in the labor legislation which established in Germany sick benefits, industrial insurance, and old-age pensions. These benefits for workmen were exchangeable between all the lands of Central Europe. A laborer or mechanic who went from place to place found himself always under the same autocratic shadow of a great power which made the life of a laborer easy and safe, but left him so that while he continued to cultivate socialist doctrine in theory he has never from the time this system was adopted been perilous to the established order.

This mess of pottage provided for capital and labor, there was added in this amazing system an education which from the highest university professor down to the teacher in the smallest schoolhouse was under control. The whole fabric in training a nation, educating it, giving its ideas and ideals form and shape was placed in the hands of professors and teachers who were free to do everything but attack autocracy.

EDUCATION AS THE HANDMAID OF KAISERISM

Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen issued thirty years ago a life of Goethe, on which I wrote a review which brought us in close touch. It had been published in German, and I asked him as to its success. He told me that when he went to Germany he received a polite invitation to come to see the Minister of Instruction (also of ecclesiastical affairs) in Prussia and found the minister at his desk with a copy of the volume in his hand. "This," said the minister, "we feel is the best life of Goethe that has been written, but there are two chapters in it

which dwell upon the liberal views of Goethe, which we all regret, which he would never hold to-day, which have no real part in his life as a whole. If you will take this volume, leave out these chapters, or rewrite them so they are not a republican propaganda, I will put it into our schools wherever there is a course in literature. All the other units of the Empire will follow, and Austria will probably do the same."

Boyesen said to me, "I looked at him as he sat there in his undress uniform and I realized I was face to face with the military power of a great country stifling freedom, and I told him as politely as I could that nothing would induce me to change those chapters. As it was copyrighted in Germany and by other countries of the Geneva convention, I knew that the minister could not alter it; but the dream of royalties which would have meant to me a competence for life, if this book were once made a text-book, which came before me when I saw my volume in his hand, vanished."

A decade after the Congress of Berlin, until the present Kaiser "dropped the pilot" (Bismarck) and began his own personal policy whose end has opened the hell of war for all the world, the German Government continued as it had in the Congress of Berlin. It followed the view that peace could be best secured by using the united power of Europe in due course to preserve from massacre and rapine lands where these things came. As a European country, it did its part to develop lands which were stagnating, and to nourish the growing free states of the Balkans, thriftily furnishing them, in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece, with kinglings related to the German ruling class until the time came when the same steps which had won for Austria the two provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were able to secure its free avenue of trade across the Balkans to Salonica.

THE TEMPTATION TO EXPLOIT COLONIES

No one would be foolish enough to say, or idiot enough to think, that either the present Kaiser, or his succession of ministers, or the Junkers of Germany had any deliberate plan between 1890 and 1900, when the new régime opened, to mine the fair and promising heights of European prosperity, and store the mine with explosives, which rent all asunder in August, 1914. Men can plan good lives but they are led

into bad lives by the unconscious pressure of the temptations to which they yield step by step. At the moment when Bismarck left, the Kaiser, his ministers and the ruling class of which he was alike the head and fountain of promotion, had placed before them a new and singular temptation.

Leopold of Belgium, flagitious in his personal life, was the thriftiest business man of his day, and came of the line of Saxe-Coburg Gotha—long thrifty princelings. He organized the Congo Free State, and while the United States refused to be a party to the convention which created it in Berlin in 1885, this country was the first to recognize it as an independent state. Belgium paid for developing this state, but the subsidiary companies which Leopold organized reaped the profits. Several of these companies for years together paid dividends of 100 per cent. wrenched from the ill-fated inhabitants of the Congo basin, who were slave-driven, mutilated, murdered, and visited with rapine and desolation so that the shareholders in these companies, many of them members of the ruling class of Germany, might make these profits.

At the very time, when Africa came up for division, when the Ottoman Sultanate was passing to its end and China in the welter of battle between the moribund government of Peking and the militant autocracy of Tokio, there sprang up in this way before the class which had more weight and influence than any other in the destiny of Germany the proof that if backward races were unsparingly and freely exploited, profits untold might be extorted from new tropical colonies.

I do not say that this was the cause of the change of German policy, but I do say at the very time when the German imperial machine came first to have a colonial policy, this temptation was spread in the path of those who could decide in what direction its policy should be directed. Whether, as was laid out in the Congress of Berlin by the creation of new autonomous principalities, and the independent developments of all lands and peoples, or by their exploitation.

Europe had in 1775 22,000,000 square miles of colonies. When the Congress of Vienna met, in 1815, this whole system had gone to pot. The settled colonies over which Europe had control had sunk to less than 8,000,000 square miles, even when one added the desert waste of Siberia, and the waste, desert and deserted, of Australia and British

North America. The total colonial area in 1815 was not much over one-third of what Europe had controlled when the embattled farmers at Lexington refused to accept the colonial system of their day.

Between 1815 and 1878, from the Congress of Vienna to the Congress of Berlin, the total colonial area of Europe increased some four million square miles in sixty-three years. Between the Congress of Berlin in 1878, and the breaking out of the present war, the area of the colonies of Europe more than doubled, gaining 13,000,000 square miles, reaching 26,000,000 square miles, and left nothing which was worth having in the future except three great areas—the Ottoman Empire, the Empire of China, and Latin America, from the Rio Grande, south, in round numbers about 8,500,000 square miles. This was about all that was left when the present war broke out as a possible field for exploitation, and of these two fields one the United States had guarded under the Monroe Doctrine, and it had pledged its efforts to preserve the "administrative entity" of China. In other words, the future of German colonial exploitation necessarily led along paths which would bring it into collision with the United States at two of the most important points in our foreign relations. This was inevitable.

If one great liberty-loving power is steadily bent, as President Wilson declared of the United States, and as has been our national policy, on preserving all small states, giving them a chance for their future and their liberty, and another great autocratic power believes in their exploitation it will inevitably result that the autocracy will be led into situations where it faces, and is certain to come to the verge of, a collision with a people loving freedom for itself and for all the world.

The first collision came early. In 1889 a difference arose as to the possession of the Samoan Islands. A harbor was ceded to us in 1872, and in 1878 this concession was confirmed. In 1889, the fleet of the German Government, three vessels, a single American vessel under odds of three to one, disputed the administration of Samoa. Suddenly in spring, there flashed around the world from Auckland the message that collision had come. To those who knew Captain Leary, of the *Adams*, it seemed extremely probable that he would look on the odds of three to one as about a fair fighting chance between a German squadron and an

American crew, commanded by an Irish-American.

THE SAMOAN CASE

The Information Bureau of the Navy Department made a careful examination, and its chief told me that this left no doubt in his mind that the report originated after a launch from Samoa had reached Auckland, and its crew given no shore leave until there had been twenty-four hours of cabling with Berlin, when the crew ashore spread the report because Berlin wished to test American feeling. Those with keen memories will remember that the whole country flamed from San Francisco to New York, and the German-American press was as explicit as any part of our newspapers in declaring that there was only one course for the United States, and not the one which Berlin had hoped would be taken.

Here was Germany, which had been our earliest friend in Europe under the Great Frederick, to whose universities thousands and thousands of our students had gone, so that our higher education is more influenced by Germany than any other; which had contributed to our population from the early German immigrants two centuries ago to the present time next to Britain and Ireland, whose heroes we had harbored, whose literature we had read and studied earlier than England, whose art in the Düsseldorf School personally influenced us for fifty years, and towards whom every American had an affectionate regard, coming to the very edge of collision with us twenty-eight years ago by methods carefully recorded in "A Footnote of History," by Robert Louis Stevenson.

IN THE FAR EAST

The beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century (1890-1900) saw the partition of Africa, and the last time that the nations of the world looked out on a peaceful prospect was when, on the completion of this partition about 1893, Lord Salisbury pointed out that for the first time in the history of the world a continent inhabited by savages unable to govern themselves had been divided without war or collision—an omen, he prophesied, of lasting peace. He had hardly said this when there came the war between Japan and China, ending in the collapse of the latter, and Germany, departing from its previous policy of abstention in the East, began negotiations which brought Russia, Germany, and France to-

gether for the last time, disappointing Japan of the fruits of war, and reorganizing Manchuria on a basis which was certain sooner or later to bring war between Japan and Russia. So the first entrance of the German Government in East Asia was a preparation for hostilities. War between Russia and Japan became inevitable and came a decade later, in 1904. France was left with distrust of both Japan and China. Aggression on China was encouraged. Germany, in 1897, seized Kiau Chau, came into control, in part, of two hundred square miles and nearly two million of people, and laid a future claim to Shantung, as reprisal for two German missionaries,—the highest ruling quotation for missionaries, as the *Paris Temps* said, since St. Paul left Damascus to begin missions. In 1900, after the Boxer disorders were over, the embassies at Peking safe, and the other powers were seeking peace, Germany, at Pau-ting-fu, inflicted a horrible "punitive expedition" which preceded and exceeded all the Belgian horrors.

"Has there not been," said an American general in Peking to the ranking officer in command of the German troops, "a recrudescence of medieval atrocities?"

"Recrudescence? You may think so," was the reply; "they have never ceased in Europe."

The Kaiser had told his troops as they went to leave their mark on China. From this time the whole influence and power of the Government of Germany has been used to disorganize the Chinese Empire, and the last record of the policy of an autocratic power, always opposing the development of free institutions, has been the proof within a month that the attempted restoration of the Manchus was financed from Berlin in order to make East Asia unsafe for democracy.

ARMENIAN MASSACRES UNPUNISHED BECAUSE OF GERMANY

This is the necessary position and action of a great autocratic power to whom freedom, wherever it exists, present or prospective, is perilous. In the fall of 1895 there came the first Armenian massacres in Turkey. The massacres in 1860 in Mt. Lebanon and Damascus, and in 1876 in Bulgaria, had been punished by Europe. The Treaty of Berlin pointed the way and named the method, a police force organized by the European concert and officered by some lesser power, to preserve order and secure justice. The major crime of the Armenian was not

that he was a Christian in a Moslem community; but a man who had been taught by American missionaries and in American colleges to love liberty and seek it. To the amazement of the world, Sultan Abd-el-Hamid went untouched.

When Dr. George Washburn, the great American who, as president of Robert College at Constantinople, had created free Bulgaria, asked Lord Salisbury why nothing had been done the Premier of England answered that he had to choose between a general European war or leave the Armenian massacres unavenged because of the position of the German Government, and when he thought of the loss of life such a war would bring he stayed his hand, terrible as it was to leave unavenged the slaughter of fifty thousand men, women, and children.

DEMOCRACY UNSAFE IN THE NEAR EAST

The descendant of Lord Burghley, who had faced the might of Spain to protect the Netherlands from massacre, only postponed the European war to be waged by a Kaiser grown in power and the officers of that Kaiser, who had befriended the worst and most bloodstained tyrant of our day, have in the past two years suggested, watched, and abetted the deportation and death of 800,000 Armenians, whose one crime was their obstinate support of liberty and their loyalty to their ancient faith. While the Turkish Revolution stood for freedom, Berlin opposed it. When the Turkish Revolution became a venal military despotism whose massacres of Armenian, Syrian, Arab, and Greek outdid the worst of a long succession of Sultans, the German Government was its friend, ally and supporter, furnishing army, officers, and treasure. Nothing could so thwart the policy of an autocratic imperial German Government as to have the territory of the Ottoman Empire become safe for democracy.

This territory holding the channels and the coasts of the East Mediterranean is today the most valuable derelict drifting on the sea of current history. It has the only coal on the Mediterranean, the largest undeveloped oil wells in the Kerkuk fields, a vast store of copper and iron ore, the one territory near Europe which could raise at least 300,000,000 bushels of wheat, possibilities of cotton not elsewhere seen, and the control of the commerce of the East.

German capital, representing the alliance of Junker and banker, gave Baron Hirsch the railroads of the Balkans. In 1900, when

England needed the Kaiser's good-will to prevent interference in the Boer War, the concession for the railroad from Scutari, opposite Constantinople on the Bosphorus, to Baghdad and Bussorah was extorted from a reluctant Sultan. England yielded here and Russia was unable to resist. A treaty between the German Government and England, just before war came and only recently known, confirmed this concession and retained for England the terminus on the Persian Gulf.

To carry out this dream of an interlocking territory, German, Austrian, Hun, Bulgar, and Ottoman, from the Baltic and North Sea to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, holding the Black Sea, the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, able in due time to wrest the Suez Canal from England by a land attack and "hold the East in pawn," Armenians were massacred in 1895 and in 1915. In 1897 Greece was goaded to war to find the Turkish army had been drilled and prepared for victory by Marshal Von der Goltz, sent by the German Government. Every plan for a gendarmerie, as provided by the Berlin Congress, to keep Macedonia in order was frustrated by the German Government. Austria, in 1908, made Bosnia and Herzegovina integral parts of the dual Empire, the Balkans for twenty years were full of ravage, rapine, rape, battle, murder, and sudden death, and the four small self-governing sovereign states, Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece (each about as large and as populous as our larger American States), which, twenty-five years ago, gravitated towards union, were finally brought to the double wars from 1911 to 1913, marked by many signs that the German Government's plan was to bring them to 1914 exhausted, and force action by Russia which would precipitate a general European war. All this because the German Government could not afford to have democracy safe in the Balkans, unaware in the judicial blindness of autocratic ambition that the end was to be that democracy would be made safe in Russia.

Wherever freedom drew near, there the German Government stood ready to smite. Our first collision came in Samoa. Through the decade that followed, the policy of the German Government had destroyed American college buildings in Turkey and opposed all our efforts to secure the preservation of the "administrative entity" of China and its "Open Door," guaranteed by treaty and agreement between Japan and England, Rus-

sia, France, and the United States—the last by an exchange of notes—but not by Germany, because the robbery of Kiau Chau in peace was unrepented and therefore unforgiven.

THE GERMAN FLEET AT MANILA

When Admiral Dewey's fleet was in Manila Harbor, in 1898, after taking the city, the only fleet which did not salute our flag was the fleet of the German Government. It was heavier, gun for gun, than the American. Its attitude was so threatening that the English fleet under Admiral Chichester anchored between the two, ready to act. It was not the last time English and American fleets were to act together in defense of Freedom. In the judgment and on the authority of one of the few of those then on the ground and still living, who held high positions, no doubt existed in our fleet, our army or our civil administrators, that the Kaiser's fleet had instructions to use any opportunity for action. The German Government extorted from us the Caroline Islands, now in Japanese hands, a serious addition to our future perils of the Pacific.

When President McKinley came to a final decision on our retention of the Philippines, he was powerfully influenced by a personal message from Lord Salisbury, not through the usual channels, that he hoped the United States would keep the archipelago, because, if we did not, this German Government would take them and a general war would follow, since Japan and England would act. I say this on the authority of my life-long friend and for thirty years my beloved chief on the *Philadelphia Press*, the late Charles Emory Smith, then Postmaster-General.

A "DEFENSIVE POLICY"

Under President Roosevelt, the fleet of the German Government was so near seizing a port in Venezuela that Admiral Dewey was ordered to protect it at all hazards and the German Government given forty-eight hours in which to submit its claims to arbitration. The island of St. Thomas had been the subject of negotiation by the German Government and we therefore bought it. Brazil was apprehensive last January that in the end Holland would yield its unprofitable share of Guiana to the German Government and therefore her fleet to-day acts with ours. The Cuban rebellion was the work of the agents of the German Government. The note of Zimmermann, the Foreign Minister,

to Mexico, is recent and familiar. Chile, the only Latin land not finally friendly to the Allies, has the least of democracy in its administration of any South American state. Not even in Latin America, protected by us so long under the Monroe Doctrine, is the German Government willing that democracy should be made safe.

This is the record of the German Government. Even our effort at the Algeiras Conference to give Morocco one last chance for independence and development by a Swiss gendarmerie to preserve order, was opposed in the conference and later was frustrated by the subsequent policy of the German Government. This policy harried France, humiliated her before Europe, forced the resignation of Delcassé, the Foreign Minister, who foresaw this war, and used every means at home and abroad to persuade the world that democracy had failed in the French Republic. No one to-day doubts that the Imperial German Government was fomenting strife and paying for sedition through all the stormy years before the war in which France was diligently seeking to develop a more efficient and prosperous democracy. Our sister republic stands to-day the glorious proof of what democracy can do in war as well as in peace. The Imperial German Government could not afford to have democracy safe in France, and during peace mined its very soil and laid its concrete gun emplacements on French territory to destroy French democracy. Wherever liberty and self-government appear, the world around, the Imperial German Government has been its foe for a quarter of a century. Even in our land it has spread its net of espionage to bring disorder, violate law, and discredit democracy.

When the collision came at last in 1914, the preparation of the German Government to destroy self-government was clear. With 30 per cent. of the population of warring Europe, the Teutonic alliance had 45 per cent. of the fighting force. For a "defensive" war, it had ready 12,500,000 rifles, kits, and uniforms, or three times the number in Russia, France, and England. For five years 60 per cent. of the nitre of Chile had come to it for explosives. The capacity of the munition works in Germany was equal to that of all the rest of the world,



THE PRUSSIAN SPHERE OF INFLUENCE
(The black portion shows Prussia and the shaded portion lands now under Prussian domination)

and Austria, less in the public eye, was preparing the guns which destroyed Liège and swept a path through Belgium. Preparations were made in this country by Germany on which I am not now at liberty to speak.

"The world must be made safe for democracy." Belgium held the gate while France made ready. France gave England time and the two gave the Republic of the West time to prepare. It was because we had to choose between making the world safe for democracy with allies or fight the last great battle alone, that we entered the conflict. We had good reason. The German Government ordered us off the seas our fathers crossed to find liberty, and we are sending their sons across that sea to bring liberty to all the world. It would be little to win this war. We enter it confidently looking to a League to Enforce Peace in which the world's self-governing lands shall for all time "make the world safe for democracy."

In that task a new Germany, which has found again its soul in the failure and defeat of autocracy at the hands of the German people, will share, and we shall see again the vision which may dawn at any hour of this night of war, the Germany of Kant and of Goethe, dedicated to a free mind in free states, the world around.

A NEUTRALIZED WORLD

BY J. RUSSELL SMITH

THE United States *is*—so we say. Not long ago we said the United States *are*. The change in thought came rather quickly. Economic changes made it come. We are now greatly in need of similar change in thought whereby we shall think in world terms. As we have recently added national thinking to state thinking, so we need a geographic imagination that we may add to ourselves world thinking, world feeling, and world acting.

The war is making us think that way, whether we will or no. It has shown us that on the economic side we are already doing world living and we are rapidly waking up to the rest of the idea—that we must also do world thinking and world governing.

We have spent a century building up a world trade and a world interdependence, until finally it has got to the point where not only our comfort, but actually our physical life, depends upon continued access to the sea and lands oversea. Witness Belgium, where, with access to the sea cut off, the population is saved from starvation only by the charity of governments and individuals working through the highly organized Belgian Relief, depending upon the future for its pay. The fate of Belgium would come even more quickly to New England under the plan of conquest laid down by the German General Staff, which is to cut America in two parts along the natural defense lines made by the Potomac, the Susquehanna, the Hudson, and Lakes George and Champlain.

Grant continued trade, as of 1913, and the population of our western world can yet increase several times over. But it all depends on access to the sea and sea trade. This means that access to the sea and peaceful trade is the greatest thing in the world, for upon analysis the object of everything is a chance to live, a chance to live a more abundant life. If one life is precious, ten lives are more so, ten million much more so, and one hundred million yet ten times more so. Block a people off from the sea and they perish. Two generations hence, with increased numbers, they would perish

even more quickly. Therefore, the preservation of the life of peoples and the utilization of this earth as the home of man depends upon the uninterrupted flow of goods across the sea, the world highway which connects the many parts of the world and makes it one.

A people should have no more question about their access to the sea than a man has about access to the street. And any particular nation should have no more control of the sea than a man has of the street.

We thought this fine new thing, this world trade, was guaranteed by a set of precedents and gentlemen's agreements that we called international law. It proved on test to be a mere scrap of paper. What next? Government, real government. The world must have one. The independence, the comfort, nay, the life of all depend upon it.

The question now is, "Shall the ruling power be one nation acting with the irresponsible power of a dictator, or shall it be the better way, by agreement of several nations, acting through some kind of international government or super-state?"

Government has been gaining ground of late; witness the United States. In 1789 thirteen independent nations became one nation and peace has prevailed, save during the period of the Civil War, from 1861 to 1865, when certain parties tried to break up the league by appealing to armies rather than to votes. Italy, which was recently a group of independent kingdoms, has become one kingdom. Germany, a group of states of various sizes and kinds, has become one empire, a belated follower of France and of the United Kingdom in the process of unification. We need but one more step in the unification, and seven or eight powers can keep the peace in the world as easily as the United States keeps the peace among the forty-eight States of this country. The Civil War, 1861-1865, was really a struggle to see whether the bullet method or the ballot method should prevail in this league of States. It was a war that settled something and settled it in favor of the more orderly method.

For such a world government, for such a league of peace all constructive pacifists must resolve to fight just as they would fight defensively to save the organization of their villages, their townships, their counties, and their States from anarchy.

It is a peculiar fact that such a league of peace will be peaceful just as long as its members are resolutely warlike and not divided into nearly equal camps. The nation which is sure it has to fight the rest of the world will keep the peace. Hence the importance of public opinion. If some strong nation is uncertain as to world opinion, it might be willing to undertake a war for its own ends. Granting that Germany started this war (as most of us believe she did), it is reasonably safe to assert that she thought she was dealing with a chaotic, disunited world that she could conquer piece by piece. It is scarcely to be supposed that the German administration would have precipitated or permitted war had it been able to foresee the world aligned against it as at the present moment. Therefore the object of American public policy at this time should be to bring the world to such a condition that any nation starting a war unauthorized by the group would find itself the enemy of a world even more hostile than that in which Germany now finds herself.

We must make an end of the right of national conquest as we have made an end of the right of personal conquest—highway robbery. The little peoples, the small nations must be as safe as a lame man in Boston, and the big ones must be as orderly as is a big potential bully on the streets of that city. As the lame man and the pugilist have equal access to the streets of Boston, so the land-locked peoples must, like the great peoples, have free and untaxed access to the all-important sea.

The price to be paid for this Utopia is the resolute willingness to fight for it, to fight at the drop of the hat; that is to say, at the sending of an ultimatum such as Austria sent to Serbia, threatening national war for national ends, without being authorized by a decision of court after investigations of the facts. Perhaps such an attempt to control society may result in one more great war. If so, it, like our Civil War, will settle something. Such war can only occur if by calamitous cosmic accident the league should happen to divide along nearly equal lines.

Who should oppose such a world organization? Only he who wants to gratify the lust of conquest. How does it fit the needs of Teuton, ally, and neutral? Take the Teuton. The league guarantees to fight him if he tries to conquer. To fight for him if someone tries to conquer him. It also guarantees him free and untaxed access to the sea. Under these conditions Germany has no more need of Holland and Belgium or Bulgaria than Canada has of New England in January, when her trade goes out through Boston and Portland, or than the United States has of Ontario and Quebec in June, when our trade goes so freely down the St. Lawrence.

Grant such conditions and there is no excuse for a great German army, for "Deutschland Ueber Alles," or for "Britannia Rules the Waves." Deutschland could not be *ueber Alles*. Britannia could not rule the waves. The league would be over all and would rule the waves. Under such conditions the Germans could resume their plowing, their chemistry, their music, and their schools; so could the English and French, so could the neutrals. The little nation would no longer have to live under arms for fear of being eaten alive. Nor would they have to beg piteously for bread as giant combat closed the arteries of trade.

All this is not so revolutionary as at first glance it may appear. One example will prove my point and also the next point—the proper treatment of the disorderly, the anarchistic.

The examples of Haiti and San Domingo are most opportune. By the Monroe Doctrine they have been protected from foreign conquest. By the interventions of the United States forces they have been protected from some of the extremes of internal disorder—private conquest from within. The so-called republics of Haiti and San Domingo have been through a course of treatment that is strikingly analagous to that of a delinquent family in any well-ordered municipality. They are excellent exhibits, as to method, for the world organizer.

The example of Haiti needs but to be extended to another hemisphere, made somewhat more judicial, and the small nation is protected from both conquest and chaos. It can go on with the great service of social experiment, and man, whether his country be big or little, can begin to live.

"TRICKS THAT ARE VAIN"—IN CHINESE POLITICS

BY STANLEY K. HORNBECK

IN the fall of 1915, Yuan Shih-kai, who had been elected President of the Chinese Republic two years before, made the grave mistake of his career as a statesman by entertaining—whether it was his wish or not—the thought that the moment was ripe for the restoration of monarchical government.

The announcement that the return to monarchy would be effected precipitated a second rebellion—this time not confined to the South—against Yuan as an individual. The Vice-President, Li Yuan-hung, who had led the forces of the Revolution which established the Republic, refused to take sides. General Tuan Chi-jui, who, after leading the Northern forces which defended the Manchu monarchy, had become Chief of Staff under the Republic, refused to support the attempt to establish a monarchical government. General Feng Kuo-chang, who had also commanded an imperial army, now fought for the Republic, and was a candidate for the presidency. Liang Chi-chao, who had stood for constitutional monarchy until after the Republic had become a fact, and who had then accepted office under the new régime, opposed Yuan's attempt to make another change.

Within three months, Yuan was beaten and forced to declare that the Republic would be maintained. Not satisfied with this alone, the leaders of the coalition opposition demanded that Yuan retire from office. The "Great President" had drafted his resignation, when suddenly his death cleared the political atmosphere.

THE SUCCESSOR OF YUAN SHIH-KAI

Li Yuan-hung, the Vice-President, thereupon succeeded to the presidency, June 6, 1916. In August, the Parliament confirmed the appointment of General Tuan Chi-jui as Premier and endorsed the cabinet which he had selected, which was made up largely of liberal and able men. It also, in October, by a large majority, elected Feng Kuo-chang Vice-President.

It appeared at the opening of the present year that a capable and satisfactory group of men were in office and that a period of freedom from civil strife might be expected. It is permissible to hope, but it is not safe to predict, with regard to contemporary Chinese politics. Certain facts must ever be kept in mind: neither have the people nor have the politicians of China had long experience of republican government; a permanent constitution has not yet been adopted; and a general agreement as to what is desirable and what is required to make a republican government workable is conspicuously lacking. Elements making for instability are numerous. Perhaps most dangerous of all is the existence of a number of military groups, each consisting of a body of soldiers substantially independent, the whole spoken of as the Chinese army, but in organization more nearly resembling separate armies of feudal retainers each under its own chieftain.

THE BREAK WITH GERMANY

When the United States severed diplomatic relations with Germany, President Wilson directed the American Ministers and Ambassadors to neutral countries to attempt to secure similar action by the governments to which they are accredited. In China, Minister Reinsch went actively about his task, with the result that on February 9 the Chinese Government followed the American lead and protested to Germany against the submarine campaign. President Li had opposed this action. He believed that Germany was certain to win the war. Vice-President Feng at first opposed. Premier Tuan and the conservative generals were undecided. A group of the younger generals and many of the young China politicians sensed the larger aspects of the opportunity which was offered. The opposition of the conservatives was beaten down by the insistence of the keener visioned group, aided and abetted by foreign advice.

The next question was: Should China break off diplomatic relations with Germany? The Premier and the Vice-President favored this and the cabinet decided unanimously for the breach. The opposition of President Li led to Tuan's resignation (March 5) and immediate departure from Peking. When the President learned that Tuan had the support of the entire cabinet and of practically all the Parliament leaders, he promptly changed his mind and sent Feng to recall Tuan. A reconciliation was effected and the President promised that he would not henceforth refuse to do what the cabinet had agreed on; while Tuan, on his side, pledged himself to take no further steps without the consent of Parliament.

After a spirited debate, Parliament voted, by a very large majority and in spite of the appeals of prominent leaders of the Kwo-ming party, among them Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Tang Shao-yi, to approve the decision of the cabinet. On March 14, the German Minister was given his passports and the declaration severing diplomatic relations. The Chinese Government at once dismissed the German consuls, seized German vessels in China ports, renamed the German concessions, revoked German extraterritorial rights, repudiated the German share of the Boxer indemnity, suspended payment on German loans, dismissed all Germans employed in the administration, and practically eliminated German interests. The Dutch Legation took charge of remaining German affairs in China. (Is there any relation between this and the fact that General Chang Hsun has now taken refuge in the Dutch legation?)

CHINA HESITATES TO ENTER THE WAR

Then came the question: Should China declare war on Germany? The cabinet favored taking this step, but apparently planned to do so on its own authority and under the tutelage of Japan. President Li was still reluctant and apprehensive. China's Japanese, American, and English advisers urged that China enter the war. They suggested that it would enhance her prestige and give her the right to sit in the Peace Conference. It appeared by this time that the Entente Powers were desirous of China's coöperation in order that her iron and coal, her arsenals, her supply of laborers, and perhaps even of soldiers, might be at their disposal. China naturally inquired what she might expect as a *quid pro quo*, and it has

been suggested that she might reasonably ask for the assurance that payment of portions of the Boxer indemnity be at least deferred, that she should ultimately be granted relief from the present tariff restrictions, that she be given financial assistance, and that the question of the removal of foreign railway and legation guards be considered.

Liang Chi-chao, the most effective political publicist in all China, came out with all the force of influence and argument in favor of declaring war. Under the caption, "Wanted—a Cavour," he presented a remarkably forceful exposition of the advantages which might accrue to China from casting in her lot with that of the Allies. He contended that China must substitute action for passivity in her foreign relations. He declared the present her "last opportunity to become a member of the family of nations." China has nothing to lose, for if Germany should win the war she would conquer China sooner or later, even though China had remained out. But, he declared, Germany's last chance to win has disappeared. When the Allies are victorious, China must have a seat in the Peace Council, and to gain this she must have contributed, and she must have the friendship of Japan and the United States. Liang will long be remembered for his earlier declaration of political principle in the words: "Better perish as jade than be saved as brick."

The Ministry signed a declaration of war on March 29, this to be promulgated as soon as approved by the provincial and military governors, the Parliament and the President. The governors promptly declared for war. The Parliament appeared to favor, but was slow in acting. The President was still in doubt.

OPPOSITION IN THE COUNTRY

Toward the end of April a conference of military governors assembled in Peking and it seemed that a declaration of war would be made shortly. There was, however, a strong minority opposition. The opposition developed along several lines and on several issues. It was not confined to one party nor has it shown unanimity of motive. There has been a group of out-and-out pacifists, opposing war on humanitarian grounds. There has been a group with pro-German leanings. There has been a group seeking, by use of this issue, to force the Premier from office and to thwart the alleged plans of the "militarists." There has been a group willing to enter the

war, but objecting to the methods of the cabinet, which it alleges would betray China into the hands of Japan.

A CABINET CRISIS

Premier Tuan insisted on a declaration of war. Parliament, though the majority of its members apparently favored war, refused to vote the declaration at Tuan's bidding. The military governors demanded that Parliament be dissolved. The Houses of Parliament were surrounded by Tuan's men. The President declared that coercion was being attempted. After a riotous session, the Houses voted that they would not declare war while Tuan's cabinet remained in office. The *Peking Daily News* declared that Tuan had "sold out to Japan." Tuan arrested the editor. The President declared that he would not countenance coercion and that the government must be conducted according to the constitution. On May 23 he dismissed Tuan and appointed Wu-Ting-fang Premier. The military governors thereupon left Peking in a body.

The principal complaints against Tuan appear to have been: that he was organizing a militaristic despotism, that he was permitting corruption, that he defied Parliament, that progress under him was impossible. It was alleged also that his cabinet was pro-Japanese.

A MILITARY REVOLT

The generals at once demanded Tuan's reinstatement. Within a week they began mobilizing their armies. The revolt which followed was not, as had been those of 1913 and 1915, a movement originating in the radical South; it was an act of the military leaders—representing both conservatives and progressives, and it was directed against the obstructionist tactics of the Kwo-ming and other politicians. The majority of the provinces contributed to a movement in force against the President and the Parliament.

It appears that President Li, at this juncture, asked General Chang Hsun, the most powerful of the generals, commander of the army at Nanking, to come to Peking with the object of effecting a compromise. Chang proceeded to Tientsin, and then it was announced that the generals had set up a provisional government, with Hsu Shih-chang, a monarchist and one-time guardian of the Emperor, as dictator.

An ultimatum was sent by the generals to President Li, demanding that he dissolve

Parliament within forty-eight hours and call for a new election—and that the reelection of present members of Parliament be forbidden. At this turn, several of the Southern provinces declared their independence.

President Li at first refused to dissolve Parliament, but he appears ultimately to have yielded on that point.

In the midst of this tangle, the American Government had officially declared to the Chinese "its sincere hope that factional and political disputes will be set aside and that all parties and persons will work to reestablish and coördinate the government and secure China's position among nations."

Though President Li was virtually a prisoner in Peking, it was announced that he would continue the government until a new election could be held, and that the first business of the new Parliament would be to deal with the question of declaring war. Li Ching-hsi was appointed Premier, and he chose a coalition cabinet. The Southern provinces declared their acceptance of the new administration.

CHANG, "THE VILLA OF CHINA"

On July 2 the world was startled by the news that General Chang Hsun had informed President Li that he must give up the presidency, as the Monarchy was to be restored in the person of the Manchu Emperor Hsuan-tung. This move Chang obviously made upon his own authority. Chang Hsun is "the Francesco Villa of China." Illiterate and with no military training, he was twenty years ago a *mafoo* or groom. He was a member of the party which accompanied the Empress Dowager in her flight to the West in 1900. After the return to Peking he was made an officer, and by 1911 he had attained the position of Tartar-General at Nanking. There, during the revolution, he earned the sobriquet, "the butcher of Nanking." When he evacuated Nanking under the attack of the revolutionary forces he moved northward on the Tientsin-Pukow railway and established himself at Hsu Chow-fu, where he has since gradually accumulated a following of some thirty or forty thousand men. So powerful has he been that the government has never dared attempt to dislodge him, but on the contrary has purchased his support, finally conferring on him the rank of Field Marshal and making him Inspector of the Yangtse Provinces. He is said to have accumulated a fortune of several million dollars and

he has undoubtedly been the most feared of the military leaders. He has no respect for parliaments and no sympathy with republican ideals or aspirations.

Upon Chang's declaration that the Republic was at an end, President Li took refuge in the Japanese legation. Chang assumed the post of Grand Secretary and in the name of the Emperor announced the policy of the administration.

THE ABORTIVE ATTEMPT TO RESTORE MONARCHY

This monarchical *coup* resulted in the aligning of all the theretofore contending forces in common opposition to Chang. Pacifists and militarists, Southerners and Northerners, radicals and conservatives, Tuan, Feng, and the leaders who had opposed them, all threw their forces together to resist the establishment of Chang's dictatorship under the mask of a Constitutional Manchu Monarchy.

From his refuge in the Japanese Legation, President Li ordered Feng Kuo-chang to assume the presidency and establish the government at Nanking and to reinstate Tuan Chi-jui in the Premiership. Tuan took command of the armies which gathered to attack Peking. Sun Yat-sen was put in command of the navy. Feng was elected President, with governmental headquarters at Nanking and subsequently at Tientsin. The Republican armies promptly surrounded Peking in overwhelming numbers and Chang's soldiers began to desert. With the few that remained loyal he undertook to resist, shutting himself up in the imperial city, but a heavy bombardment and the shelling of his headquarters by aeroplanes soon convinced him that the game was up and he took refuge in the Dutch Legation. Before yielding, Chang had asked the Japanese Minister to mediate between him and the Republican forces. This the minister had refused to do. The Japanese Government has declared repeatedly that it has had nothing to do with the movement and has not taken sides or assisted in any way.

The Monarchy has, of course, fallen. The twelve-year-old Emperor abdicated twice

within the week during which Chang held him on the throne. Before Chang was overcome, the Republicans declared it their intention to banish the Imperial family from Peking—where they have been entertained as the guests and virtually the prisoners of the nation since the abdication in 1912. This they may or may not do.

Tuan Chi-jui is again in authority. Li Hung-chang is apparently discredited. It remains to be seen whether Feng Kwo-chang will continue in the President's office. The generals are in power, Parliament is out, the recalcitrants are beaten.

Two things definitely may be supposed to have been accomplished in domestic politics: Chang Hsun, the most lawless of all the military chieftains, the least amenable to republican ideals, is probably eliminated; the question of possible return to monarchy under the Manchus is probably answered forever in the negative. It is interesting to speculate as to whether Chang was lured from his impregnable position in the South—whether he was in any way encouraged by other generals to proceed, with the deliberate hope that he would hang himself.

In international relations, it may reasonably be expected that a declaration of war will come promptly and that this will accomplish a third result in domestic affairs, namely, that it will put an end for the present to pro-German propaganda in China.

With Chang Hsun removed and his army scattered, it may be possible for Tuan to unite the forces of the various generals and make of the Chinese soldiers a real national army. If this could be accomplished, China would have gained enormously, even though it be at the cost of the establishing of a military régime such as his opponents have alleged Tuan has been trying to create.

China's government must be that of the strong man, and it must, for the time being, be founded upon force—force so directed and so far sufficient that it can maintain order and carry out the mandates of the central authorities. Not until order and respect for law is assured can progress in the direction of constitutionalism be expected.

ENOUGH—AND NONE TO SPARE

BY HUGH J. HUGHES

IN the food situation with which we have to deal the master fact is that while there is a sufficient total of food to meet all the requirements of the United States and its Allies, there is a world-wide impending shortage of the wheat supply necessary to feed the Allied peoples and their armies.

This shortage may be somewhat closely measured. The import requirements of the Western Allies are placed at approximately five hundred million bushels. Apparently only about one hundred million bushels can be made up from the Southern Hemisphere, and Russia is excluded from our calculations from the Northern. It follows that the two remaining wheat-producing nations of the Northern Hemisphere, Canada and the United States, must furnish the balance. This they cannot do. The net result is, therefore, a deficit.

Just how large this deficit is it is impossible to say. The 1916 reserves have already been discounted, but the 1917 crop is still in the making. We know that conditions have been unfavorable to the winter wheat crop and we know, too, that the spring wheat area was from ten days to two weeks late on July 20. We know, further, that optimistic reports of the spring conditions are not borne out by careful observation. Neither the acreage nor the prospect of yield per acre is sufficient to warrant any expectation of a full normal crop. The American yield at its best may run up to seven hundred million bushels, but 625,000,000 would be a more conservative estimate of the present crop, and this on the basis of six bushels per capita for consumption and seed, would leave us virtually without an exportable surplus.

Canada follows closely after the United States as to crop acreage and conditions. The unseasonable weather has retarded the crop, and on both sides of the International line a retarded crop means, as a rule, a crop inferior both in yield and in quality. The exportable Canadian surplus will, of course, be very considerable. A total export crop of from 200,000,000 to 250,000,000 bushels for the two nations is not outside the

range of possibilities. But it must be remembered that a certain percentage of this total yield will meet the natural result of lateness and will be either shrivelled or frost-bitten, consequently correspondingly low in bread-making quality. After making all due allowance for these varied factors, it looks as though an estimate of 200,000,000 bushels exportable from North America is not far out of line. This, added to the 100,000,000 from Southern sources, leaves western Europe with a deficit of 200,000,000 bushels, giving England and France approximately three-quarters of their normal bread requirements.

And since these estimates sum up the total known resources of the Western world so far as wheat-bread supply is concerned, the rest of the problem becomes one of distribution and use.

Various methods of conserving the wheat supply of the United States have been suggested, many of which would no doubt work, if—

The "if" that stands in the road is the failure of the individual to realize that this problem of bread is his own personal problem, and until he does realize this fact it is going to be hard to bring about those measures of economy that would assure bread for all concerned. In centers of over-supply there is at all times both waste and a too free use of bread, while in places of under-supply there is danger of under-nourishment and malnutrition owing to the shortage.

Curtailement of our bread ration would not be necessary if the wastes could be prevented. Suggestions that we mill a larger percentage of the wheat carry with them dangers of loss that may out-balance the good. The keeping quality of the flour would be lowered and the absorption of the by-products now used largely by dairymen would cause an ultimate increase in the price of dairy products—milk and butter. However, the larger use of cottonseed meal and the legumes—clover and alfalfa—would largely rectify this situation.

So it is not clear that much can be gained in this direction. Better results would ac-

crue if the public generally were to use more largely graham and other coarse products in the food ration without disturbing the standard of quality of the flour now in use.

The American public is not a large consumer of either rye or of corn flour, yet both of these could be somewhat added to the ration, and if the total addition of corn and rye and the coarse by-products and wheat milling were sufficient to offset the bread consumption of the American family one day in the week, it would mean the addition of nearly 100,000,000 bushels of wheat added to the available export volume, and this would narrow down the margin of absolute requirement on the part of our Allies to approximately 100,000,000 bushels—a gap that could be filled in large measure by the use of wheat substitutes.

That it is not impossible to bridge this gap is made clear by the fact that according to the best information at hand the current year's per capita consumption is more nearly five bushels than six, and if America can maintain itself for the period of the war on the same per capita basis the deficiency in Allied supply nearly if not entirely disappears.

Consequently, as I view it, the situation is serious but not alarming. The thing we must first do is to grasp clearly in our minds the essential fact that the feeding of the armies and the munition workers of our Western Allies is our first patriotic duty, and that second only to this is the duty of assuring an equitable distribution of bread throughout the entire Allied group.

So the problem passes from one of production to one of distribution—from an agricultural to a railroading problem. Fortunately for America and with equal good fortune to her Allies the system of storage, transit, milling and distribution beyond the mills to the consumer has reached a state of efficiency in the wheat and flour business not excelled by any other line of trade. The losses enroute from the wheat field to the consumer are nominal. The weak links in the whole efficient chain are those of securing for the farmers adequate harvest and threshing help, and, for the shipper, cars in which to move his grain to market. The country storage and terminal elevator capacity is entirely adequate to take care of the existing situation. The mills are able to grind the grain, and the channels of distribution are well worn and adequate.

The labor situation is doubtless acute, but only somewhat more so than in preceding

years. After a fashion, with local individual and neighborhood losses, with some delays, with a good deal of bickering between farmer and transient as to wages, hours and food, the harvest will be gathered and threshed.

Somehow, too, the cars necessary for the shipment of grain to market and for the further shipment of the finished product to the distributing centers and to our seaports will be secured. This matter is in the hands of an able national council of railway managers and will receive first consideration at their hands. This is not saying that cars will be easily found or even be found adequate for a time to the situation; but a relatively slow movement of grain from the fields to the terminal elevators will be no handicap, but rather an advantage, since such slow movement will have a tendency to maintain a normality of price level throughout the entire year, avoiding the usual September-November glutting of the great wheat terminals.

So my conclusion is that we are situated fortunately rather than otherwise with regard to the essential problem of bread. But the margin at best is very narrow. A little miscalculation can do an inestimable amount of damage; a little selfishness can work hardship. A little delay in speeding up the machinery of the distributing system may result in lack of efficiency great enough to extend the battle period for months—serious enough to call into the trenches hundreds of thousands more of our young men than would actually be needed were these detail matters of food supply properly adjusted and in time.

There must remain before us a cold, clear vision of the years to come. Eagerly as we hope for peace, our calculations for the future must be based upon the fact of war, and further upon the fact that farming is and must remain during the war and for some time thereafter an exceptional industry, not second to that of munition supplying. We should take the precaution to guarantee our wheat acreage for 1918 and possibly for 1919 by assuring the farmer at this time that wheat-growing for these coming years will be a profitable business. Indeed, the whole situation points in that direction, but so far the farmer has borne all the risk of the possibilities involved in an unexpected peace in addition to those incident to his business through the vagaries of the weather and the fluctuation of the crop yield.

GREAT BRITAIN ABANDONS FREE TRADE

By J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F. S. S., F. R. G. S.

[Mr. John Castell Hopkins is one of the most distinguished publicists not only of Canada, which is his home, but of the British Empire. He has published many important works and is the editor of the *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*. The present article, in which Mr. Hopkins shows that Great Britain and the British Empire are to become aggressively protectionist, and to wage economic war after the present war is over, will be read with interest in the United States because its facts must have an influence upon the policies of this country.—THE EDITOR.]

DURING the past two years there has been an evolution going on in British lines of thought and policy which is as truly revolutionary as are the drastic and violent changes in Russia which recently have held the attention of the world. It also is very important to the United States in an economic and fiscal connection. These changes have been the silent workings of necessity, the results of a stern awakening to real conditions in a real world. Many of the theories and beliefs of a century, the prejudices of a lifetime, the faiths which had become fetishes, have disappeared in the whirlpool of war. The end of the war will mean the opening out and evolution of a new world—in military, economic, diplomatic, and social conditions alike.

WAR CHANGES NATIONAL CONCEPTIONS

The tremendous impact of the struggle already has destroyed the aloofness of England and made her one in policy with some of the great nations of Europe; it has absolutely changed the British viewpoint of Russia and her ambitions; it, for a time, shattered the confidence which the English masses had in the friendship of the United States, though later events have revived the feeling that American coöperation in days of stress is a matter of course; it has brought classes and masses together for a time which no one can say will be short or long, but is presently obvious; it has removed a dim cloud which stood before the eyes of the people in looking at the growing greatness of their own empire; it has given a vital shock to the ideal of England standing alone in free-trade policy without a fiscal weapon to protect herself or control her rivals.

This latter point became a vital one last year when so many things were laid away

and buried at the Paris Economic Conference of June 14-17, where France, Russia, Italy, Belgium, Japan, Portugal, Serbia, and the British Empire were represented. The resolutions of that great gathering were largely devoted to plans and principles for trade and fiscal unity between the nations involved, and the following clause indicates their policy in careful diplomatic language:

The Allies decide to take the necessary steps without delay to render themselves independent of enemy countries in so far as regards raw materials and manufactured articles essential to the normal development of their economic activities. These measures will be directed to assuring the independence of the Allies, not only so far as concerns sources of supply, but also as regards their financial, commercial and maritime organization. The Allies will adopt such measures as seem to them most suitable for the carrying out of this resolution according to the nature of the commodities and having regard to the principles which govern their economic policy.

ENGLAND'S ALLIANCE WITH PROTECTIVE COUNTRIES

On the surface this did not mean much; in reality it was extremely significant. It meant the close alliance of free-trade Britain with three great protective nations; it meant that behind the proceedings of the congress and the British delegates was a movement initiated years before by Joseph Chamberlain which had now found its day of victory and was coming into its own; it meant that Australia and Canada, represented at the meeting by Premier W. M. Hughes and Sir G. E. Foster, respectively, as protective Dominions, were in accord with this policy. It was followed up by the appointment of committees in France, Russia, Italy, and Britain to further the proposed action. That of Great Britain was appointed by the Prime Minister, on July 19, "to

consider the commercial and industrial policy to be adopted after the war, with special reference to the conclusions reached at the Economic Conference of the Allies, and to the following questions: (1) What industries are essential to the future safety of the nation, and what steps should be taken to maintain or establish them; (2) what steps should be taken to recover home and foreign trade lost during the war, and to secure new markets; (3) to what extent and by what means the resources of the Empire should and can be developed; and (4) to what extent and by what means the resources of supply within the Empire can be prevented from falling under foreign control."

The committee was composed as follows: Lord Balfour of Burleigh (chairman), Arthur Balfour—not the Foreign Secretary—H. Gosling, W. A. S. Hewins, M. P., Alfred Illingworth, M. P., Sir J. P. Maclay, the Rt. Hon. Sir A. Mond, M. P., Arthur Pease, R. E. Prothero, M. P., Sir Frederick H. Smith, and G. J. Wardle, M. P., together with the heads of various government committees on associated subjects. It sat for months, consulted many and varied interests and, in its decisions as below, made public in March, 1917, represented the revolution in fiscal thought which was coming to the United Kingdom:

1. In the light of experience gained during the war, we consider that special steps must be taken to stimulate the production of food-stuffs, raw materials, and manufactured articles within the Empire wherever the expansion of production is possible and economically desirable for the safety and welfare of the Empire as a whole.

2. We therefore recommend that H. M. Government should now declare their adherence to the principle that preference should be accorded to the products and manufactures of the British Overseas Dominions [the self-governing countries of Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland] in respect of any customs duties now or hereafter to be imposed on imports into the United Kingdom.

3. Further, it will, in our opinion, be necessary to take into early consideration, as one of the methods of achieving the above objects, the desirability of establishing a wider range of customs duties which would be remitted or reduced on the products and manufactures of the Empire, and which would form the basis of commercial treaties with Allies and neutral powers.

INCREASE IN BRITAIN'S FOREIGN TRADE

There was no doubt as to the serious nature of the economic problem. The United Kingdom had, before the war, become a hive of Germanized trade and industry with such

vital things as chemical articles, dyes and tungsten, and such important trades as the toy industry, optical and electrical apparatus, almost entirely in German hands; the great metal interests of Australia had got completely under German control and so with a number of South African and Canadian interests—more in the latter case than was generally known. In many branches of supply to India the Germans had acquired a monopoly and were steadily ousting British industries. It had been a peaceful penetration equivalent to economic warfare. Was all this and more to continue in, perhaps, still greater degree, with still cheaper competition, after the war, together with still higher German and other tariffs against British goods? Steadily, but surely, in three years of war the conviction has grown in the British mind that this could not be, that there must be a change in British policy. It is not because of decreasing trade—the figures show a wartime total of imports of £696,635,113 during 1914, £851,893,350 in 1915, and £949,152,305 in 1916, and in exports of £430,721,357, £384,868,448, and £506,545,443, respectively.

The astounding increase, in this period, of £252,500,000 (equivalent in American money to \$1,262,500,000) in imports and \$379,000,000 in exports—despite the loss of all Teutonic trade—is a clear proof of the commercial virility of the British people and of the protective power of the British Navy. But it is obvious, also, that much of it was due to special conditions and that to retain it in total, if not in detail, would require immense after-war adjustments in business methods, national customers and tariffs. One of these changes would be in the reconstruction and upbuilding of Europe, as to which the United States Foreign Trade Council has made an estimate of \$6,000,000,000 in immediate requirements. Another would be found in meeting the enormous loss of shipping which—Allies and neutrals alike—Germany had deliberately undertaken to bring about and which amounted, at the end of 1916, to about 5 per cent. of British shipping and as much more of the other countries and has increased during 1917 at a tremendous rate.

ECONOMIC WAR PROPOSED

The nature of this change as it developed in British fiscal thought can be easily traced, but is little known in the United States and not fully appreciated in Great Britain itself.

Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, and a vigorous free-trader in theory, said in the Commons on January 10, 1916: "An economic war should be well within the range of our powers. How long that economic war is to be waged is another matter. At any rate we must see to it that having ended this war victoriously we do not give Germany a chance of reconstructing her commercial position."

Sir Alfred Mond, one of the most vigorous old-time members of the Cobden Club, followed with the admission that: "It will be to our interest, and probably necessary for political reasons, to take steps which some may consider economically unsound in order to tie ourselves and our Allies closer together." It is probable that few men in England more visibly represented in the public eye the old-time school of free-trade, at any price, than did these two men.

A TARIFF TO PROTECT BRITISH MANUFACTURERS

On February 2 a parliamentary paper was issued giving the report of a committee appointed by the government to inquire into measures for securing certain branches of British industry after the war, and it included many detailed recommendations—amongst them the declaration that government departments and local authorities should buy only goods produced within the Empire, and the following tariff statement:

We are of opinion that where the national supply of certain manufactured articles, which are of vital importance to the national safety, or are essential to other industries, has fallen into the hands of manufacturers and traders outside this country, British manufacturers ready to undertake the manufacture of such articles in this country should be afforded sufficient tariff protection to enable them to maintain such production after the war; and that (after the war) it will be necessary to impose some widely spread import duties, and we are, therefore, prepared to recommend that a larger proportion of the revenue should be raised by reasonable import duties. We are of the opinion that such import duties would go a long way toward satisfying the requests for special protective treatment for the industries which we have had under consideration.

The members of the committee were Sir Algernon Firth, president of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of England, A. J. Hobson, Stanley Machin, E. Parkes, M. P., and Sir Alfred Spicer, M. P.—the last of whom preferred a wider scheme to a "piece-meal tariff" dealing with selected industries.

The tariff rates suggested applied to paper-printed matter, silverware, cutlery, fancy leather goods, glassware, china and earthenware, toys and brushes, and ran from 10 to 33½ per cent. *ad valorem* with, in two cases, prohibitive duties.

The Associated Chambers of Commerce of all Britain met in London on February 29 and passed resolutions declaring it desirable to make provision (1) for preferential reciprocal trading relations between all parts of the Empire; (2) for reciprocal trading relations between the Empire and the Allied countries; (3) for the favorable treatment of neutral countries; and (4) for restricting, by tariffs and otherwise, trade relations with all enemy countries, so as to render dumping and a return to pre-war conditions impossible and for "stimulating the development of home manufacture and the consequent increased employment of native labor." Then came the Paris Conference already referred to.

DEMANDS OF LIBERAL LEADERS

The following quotations indicate still further the growth of the protective sentiment and they are selected from the standpoint of personal and political significance—it would be superfluous to quote Conservative or Unionist leaders:

The Earl of Rosebery—Liberal and free-trader:

There are two points on which I think we should be prepared to disregard pre-conceived notions. One is the question of tariffs, as to which we shall have to reconsider, I suspect, many of our previous formulas, and by which we cannot be hampered in the prosecution of a successful foreign trade. The other is this. As you are aware, the Foreign Office has always had the greatest antipathy to their consular agents engaging in promoting commerce of particular firms in foreign countries. I think the *laissez aller* policy will have to be abandoned.—At Edinburgh, January 20, 1916.

Rt. Hon. John Hodge, M.P.—labor leader and free-trader:

It appears to those with whom I have spoken, as it does to myself, that we cannot permit Germany the freedom of our markets which she had in times past. It, therefore, behooves those who formerly held Free-Trade opinions to make it known to the Coalition Government that all those notions have been placed in the melting-pot, and that we are prepared to reconsider the position free from the trammels of party.—In *The People*, February 27, 1916.

It must not be thought that, powerful as is this movement for a new policy, there is no opposition to the proposed changes. That would be inconceivable in a country where every living man has been born and bred in

the ideal of Free Trade as a gospel of fiscal liberty, a source and mainstay of cheap production, distribution and prices, a doctrine involving purchase in the cheapest market and sale in the dearest—even when the only cheap market was China and the only unprotected one his own! As was inevitable a vigorous opposition was led by the *Manchester Guardian* and *London News & Leader* and by such men as the directors of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce—of whom thirty out of thirty-three had resigned when that body repudiated Free Trade, early in 1916.

OPPOSED IN FREE-TRADE STRONGHOLDS

In the *Daily News* on July 6, 1916, there was published a letter signed by a number of prominent freetraders and recording the emphatic opinion that no reason existed for changing the fiscal policy of Britain: "This war has proved the strength of Free Trade and the weakness of protection at home and abroad. After the war Free Trade will be more needful than ever to Great Britain and the British Empire, for it is only by returning to cheap production and unfettered intercourse with all nations that we shall be able to resume our commercial and manufacturing superiority, and to find from our incomes the huge revenue necessary to pay pensions to the victims of war and interest on a dead-weight debt of unexampled magnitude." Amongst the signatories were Earl Beauchamp, lately a member of the government; Lord Ashton of Hyde, Sir Hugh Bell, a great industrial magnate, Earl Brassey, Viscount Bryce, so well known in the United States; Lords Courtney of Penwith, Farrer and Eversley, the Earl of Loreburn, ex-Lord Chancellor of England; Sir John Simon, M. P., Rt. Hon. John Burns, the labor leader; F. W. Hirst and H. W. Massingham, well-known journalists; Lord Wear-dale, and ten not very well-known members of Parliament. The fact of only a dozen members of the Commons signing the appeal was more significant than all the signatures put together—influential as many were.

FISCAL IMPERIALISM

Behind much of this changed viewpoint is the idea of an Empire trade and fiscal policy—the old Chamberlain scheme in fact. Mr. Bonar Law, Colonial Secretary, put this clearly in a speech on June 23, 1916: "The value of a change in fiscal policy in the past has always depended, in my opinion, on

its use as a means of securing a closer union of the British Empire." As the issue developed he further amplified the view which Mr. Chamberlain had first presented to the people and, in addressing the Unionist National Association of Great Britain on August 9, said: "There may be a fight (on the fiscal issue) but I ask you to remember what is always present in my mind, that behind any trade question in connection with this there is a bigger question. Behind all there is the question of the closer union of the British Empire."

This phase of the fiscal issue had been dealt with in the Commons on January 10, 1916, when W. A. S. Hewins moved a resolution, which passed unanimously and stated that "with a view to increasing the power of the Allies in the prosecution of the war, His Majesty's Government should enter into immediate consultation with the governments of the Dominions in order, with their aid, to bring the whole economic strength of the Empire into coöperation with our Allies in a policy directed against the enemy." It was pointed out during the debate that in 1913, before the war, Germany had sent 48 per cent. of her exports, or \$1,026,000,000, to Britain and her Allies. In many discussions and speeches and press editorials throughout the following months this Empire coöperation in war and trade was accentuated until at its close the calling of a War Council brought the matter to a climax, and resulted during May, 1917, in the breaking of all traditions and customs by the Prime Ministers of Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Newfoundland, and Canada sitting in the British Cabinet and dealing with issues of war, trade, and peace.

Another sign of the times was the official proposal—report of a government Committee on Financial Facilities for Trade—to establish a British Trade Bank under royal charter with a capital of \$50,000,000.

Such is the position which has developed in Great Britain as a result of world-wide and world-war conditions which have reflected themselves in the changed convictions of a nation. This acceptance of protection by the United Kingdom is as great and sweeping a change as would be the acceptance of Free Trade by the United States and the bringing together here of these steps in the process of evolution may be of interest to many in a kindred community who now, also, are facing the issues of war and a world-policy.

CANADA'S TROUBLES AND TRIUMPHS

BY HARRY C. DOUGLAS

IT is now more than a century and a half since Louis XV of France signed over to Great Britain the Dominion of Canada with the light remark: "Oh, well; it's only a few acres of snow."

One cannot help wondering what his thoughts would have been could he have had a vision of the Canada of to-day and the part she is playing as an ally of his countrymen of the twentieth century. Out of a population of some seven and a half millions Canada has given 440,000 fighting men to the war. At the end of last year war orders totalling \$1,095,000,000 had been placed with her, while this year's munitions orders are expected to exceed \$700,000,000—or about \$100 for every man, woman and child. At the beginning of this year 630 factories were working on munition contracts, the country's output being now more than that of any European nation except Germany before the war. Wooden ships, steel ships and submarines are being turned out, and on this account and that the Imperial Munitions Board is spending annually more than two and a half times as much as the Federal Government spends in a normal year. Anxious European allies await the grain and flour of the Canadian prairies as eagerly as ever the populace of Ancient Rome looked for the corn ships from Sicily and Egypt. And if the province of Alberta alone were cultivated on the same intensive scale prevailing in pre-war Belgium it would support an agricultural population of fifty million—or half the entire population of the United States.

All this and more has been done; yet it is felt that not nearly the best national effort has hitherto been put forth. The present Conservative government at Ottawa is tottering to its fall beneath the belaboring of opponents—and a good many political friends—who feel that it essentially has not been a "Win-the-War Government." The voluntary enlistment system, despite the half-million men that it would shortly have seen with the colors, seems doomed to ultimate,

if not immediate, abandonment in favor of conscription. A nation-wide campaign for a feverishly intensified program of shipbuilding is being carried on. And, gravest of all, the fiery testing of war has revealed that Canada, like the Motherland, has a "Home Rule" problem.

I propose to deal with conscription and its concomitant crop of knotty questions first, because it has come first in the attention of the entire Dominion since the last week of April, and since it has precipitated an internal crisis of the most far-reaching potentialities, potentialities that, in the words of the Mayor of Montreal, point directly to civil war. I was in Australia when the conscription issue there was to the fore; the results in both cases have been the same—dissension, unrest, quarrels, bitterness, even between members of the same family and between neighbors whose friendship previously had extended over years. The situation in Canada has been further complicated and envenomed by the presence of racial feeling, due to the fact that the French-Canadians, numbering approximately one-third of the entire population, for the most part are inexorably opposed to any form of compulsory service, while the rest of the people are bitterly upbraiding them for their small part in the war.

In many phases there is a remarkable parallel between the Dominion's problem regarding Quebec and Great Britain's problem regarding Ireland. In both cases the difficulties are complicated by religious differences; in both cases the smaller nationality is clamoring for secession and complete liberty to develop its own national genius independently; in both cases the greater nationality is loath to grant absolute independence for reasons of strategic safety and commercial self-interest; in both cases the situation has been embittered by being made political and press capital of; in both cases the burdens of war have brought long-smoldering fires of discontent to open blaze.

Thus, *La Croix*, a Québec publication

with a circulation almost confined to the Roman Catholic clergy, frankly demands separation from the rest of the Dominion, though it would have the autonomous colony thus created remain loyal to the British Crown—another Newfoundland, in a way. Said an article in a June issue of *La Croix*:

From being the pioneers of this beautiful country we have become the valets of a race which pretends to be "superior." What advantage, minimum though it be, have we got from Confederation [i. e., the federalizing of Canada]? We have worked hard and it has all gone to enrich the Anglo-Saxons. Our faith, our language, our schools, the future of our children . . . the mission which Providence seems to have confided to our hands to sow on the shores of the St. Lawrence a truly Christian civilization appears to be passing away. . . . We are already crushed by an enormous debt, and to-day they wish to impose by force a law as unconstitutional as it is anti-Canadian, which will send our sons and brothers to the European butchery like so many cattle. . . . And no one speaks of breaking the odious régime which binds us to the chariot wheels of the conqueror. . . . No one suggests the breaking of this tie. . . . How sweet . . . to live in a Lower Canada separated from Upper Canada, yet subject as at present to the British Crown! The qualities of our race would then develop normally . . . in a country extending from the Ottawa to the Atlantic, administered by a French-Canadian majority possessing the power to make all our laws, to treat freely with foreign countries, to fix our customs tariff, to control our immigration, our navigation and our . . . transportation.

I have just crossed Canada from coast to coast as I crossed it a year ago. I have lived in the country at intervals for the last ten years: *and never yet have I heard the native-born Canadian speak one good word for the French-Canadian.* I am talking now of the frank opinion you get from your fellow man in the smoking cars on trains, in the rotundas of hotels, and places where men congregate; I am not referring to the expressions for special consumption flung out from time to time by politicians with axes to grind, of the sympathy of a few international thinkers or poets (as Dr. Drummond was), of the careful, vague generalities of business men with one eye on their customers. The race feeling has always been there—as strong on one side as the other: the war has merely accentuated it, brought it in fact to a crisis. I do not propose to go into the underlying causes of the trouble or expatiate on the respective merits of the rival nationalities: I merely present the facts as they stand, without comment and without prejudice.

For Americans to arrive at a truer appre-

ciation of this problem of Canada's, I would suggest this: Imagine a reorganized, prosperous, orderly Mexico under United States rule; allow the Mexicans to perpetuate their own laws, religion, language and customs; permit them their own schools where the children grow up to the use of the Spanish tongue; have all government papers and documents drawn up in Spanish as well as English; apportion to Mexico a proportionately equal representation in Congress, with members from south of the Rio Grande allowed to deliver their congressional speeches in Spanish, though they understand English perfectly; imagine a President—a Mexican—elected to office for term after term; realize that for the most part the Mexicans would not have mixed or intermarried with Americans; and on top of all this, try to think what would happen if the recent conscription law passed by Congress had been made to apply to Mexico against the almost united will of the people of that country . . . then you have some glimmering of the problem now confronting the Dominion. Substitute in the foregoing hypothetical case "Quebec" for "Mexico," "French-Canadian" for "Mexican," "Canadian" for "American," "French" for "Spanish," and you have an almost exact parallel.

"Why are we hostile to the French-Canadians?" was one of the typical statements made to me. "Why shouldn't we be? Well, we're up against it now, good and hard. We've raised over 400,000 men, and the French-Canadians, although they number a third of our people, have only contributed something like 12,000—and that's giving them all the best of it in face of official figures. Is conscription really aimed at them? You bet your sweet life it is: we don't like it any more than they do, but if that's the only way to get 'em out with the colors . . . all right."

In his speech in the Ottawa House, asking that the conscription issue be put to the plebiscite, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, himself a French-Canadian and for many years Premier, admitted that recruiting in Quebec had not been what it should have been, adding that better results might have been attained had the government sent men of their own race, tongue and sympathies among the people of French Canada. He pointed out that enlistment proceeded reversely in proportion to the length of time men had been in the country: British-born had contributed the largest number, Canadian-born of Brit-

ish stock a smaller proportion, French-Canadians—who had been in the Dominion longest of all—the least.

Always has the racial feeling operated against any real unity between the two nationalities, nullifying the dreams of the fathers of Confederation. Yesterday it was bi-lingualism in the schools; to-day it is conscription; to-morrow—who knows?

Le Devoir, the organ of Henri Bourassa, the Quebec Nationalist leader, said recently that while reserving a sincere affection for France, their country of origin, French-Canadians did not feel obliged to fight for her any more than the European French would feel called upon to fight for them were they attacked by "the United States or Japan, or if civil war broke out." As for England, they felt held to all duties resulting to them from the British Constitution and from the relations between the Imperial Government and that at Ottawa—but nothing more.

At a meeting held in Montreal at the end of June, Mr. Bourassa stated that Canada entered the war as a slave, "the servile satellite of England," adding that if Canada were in any danger then it must be danger of annexation by the United States "brought about by the economic conditions due to borrowing." He concluded:

"The Dominions have lost more of liberty since this war began than they gained in the century preceding."

On July 1 this year the Dominion of Canada celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of Confederation. Three days before that, Mederic Martin, Mayor of Montreal, said in the Ottawa House, referring to the government's conscription measure:

"If you pass this bill, you are entering the realm of civil war. You are deliberately provoking the people."

Conscription in Canada is also opposed by the class that defeated it at the Australian referendum last October—organized labor. The unions demand that Premier Borden do as his colleague, Hughes of Australia, did—submit the matter to the people. Alphonse Verville, Liberal-Labor member for a Montreal constituency, said in the Ottawa Parliament on June 28 that organized labor in the Dominion had been ignored since war began, although in the United States President Wilson had consulted it to gain its coöperation. He threatened a general strike all over the country if conscription were enforced without a referendum. Trade unions

from the Atlantic to the Pacific have made the same threat, a recent resolution of Calgary unionists to that effect being couched in the strongest and most unmistakable terms of menace.

J. C. Watters, president of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, whose position is somewhat similar to that of Samuel Gompers in the United States, has issued a statement which says in part:

Until the government gives proof that conscription . . . is the only measure to preserve the existence of the state and of the institutions and liberties we enjoy, organized labor has every warrant in seeking its defeat by both their economic and political power. If the government is sincere in its determination to "consecrate the power of the nation" to the cause of the Allies and democracy, the conscription of man power will follow, and not precede, that of wealth and the nationalization of every industry necessary for the prosecution of the war. . . . The statements made by the Premier, taken in conjunction with information I gleaned in Washington . . . all went to demonstrate that the need of the hour was not men at the front so much as food for the people of our Motherland, France and Italy, the means of transportation of the same by overcoming the submarine menace, and the manufacturing of all war supplies and the building of ships. I consider it my duty to sound a note of warning to the organized workers not to permit themselves to be shackled with the chains of conscription.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, at convention in Winnipeg during June, showed a marked desire for the government to nationalize the railroads.

On the Pacific Coast opposition to conscription is all but as bitter as it is in Quebec. In British Columbia, moreover, the measure is opposed not only by union labor, but by earnest-minded men and women of the classes that elsewhere in the Dominion are generally in favor of compulsion. They fear it for reasons which, if local and incidental, are also cogent and fraught with limitless potentialities. They point to the fact that there are probably 50,000 Asiatics—Chinese, Japanese, and East Indians—between the Pacific and the Divide; that in addition to these aliens there are thousands of others—Swedes, Galicians, Ruthenians, even Austrians and Germans—working in the lumber camps and mines of British Columbia, not all of whom are loyal to Canada in particular or the British Empire in general.

"Our best men have left us under the voluntary system of their own free will," these Coast people said to me in effect. "If you

forcibly take most of the rest of our able-bodied males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five from us by compulsion, you will be handing over this province to aliens—and aliens with Asiatics in the ascendancy at that. Our women are getting uneasy about that. Our men are wondering what is to become of white and highly-paid labor—both now and after the war—if you allow Asiatic and cheap European labor to get more of a grip here than it has already got . . . and we feel none too comfortable about it as it is. Even the most ardent supporters of conscription say that it is aimed principally at Quebec: let them see to it that in striking at Quebec they do not hit us."

So strong has public feeling become that women have been recruited this year for fruit-picking in British Columbia instead of the work being practically left to Chinese as in times past.

That is how the conscription issue stands in Canada. Voluntary enlistment is dead, or nearly so. There is a widespread feeling

that in raising 440,000 men out of a total population of seven and a half millions, Canada has contributed her share, of man power at least. If the government adopts the Laurier amendment and submits the matter to a referendum it will probably be defeated—overwhelmingly. If it passes the bill without a referendum there will be trouble—civil war, say the most violent French-Canadian leaders, passive resistance to the last ditch, say the more cautious ones—in French Canada; there will be trouble throughout the country with organized labor; there will be trouble in British Columbia with organized labor and many people unaffiliated with any trade unions. The mere passing of the bill probably will not evoke more than a verbal outburst; it is when the enforcement of it begins that the real crisis will be at hand. And it is proposed, if the bill pass, to put it into force some time later—perhaps after a last desperate effort to get the men required by voluntary enlistment—by proclamation.

SHIPBUILDING IN CANADA

One of the most interesting reactions of the war upon Canadian industrial life is that which has caused a recrudescence of shipbuilding.

The Imperial Munitions Board, on behalf of the British Minister of Shipping, has undertaken a program of steel vessel construction in the Dominion. A sub-commission to direct the turning out of wooden vessels in British Columbia also has been appointed and is now actively at work on the Coast. The provincial government is guaranteeing 55 per cent. of the cost of this auxiliary fleet.

By the end of June, from one firm's yards in North Vancouver, seven wooden schooners, equipped with twin auxiliary Diesel engines of 320 horsepower, burning crude oil, and measuring 260 feet over all with a 44-foot beam, already had been launched from the ways, and five others are under construction. One and a quarter million feet of lumber—British Columbia fir—are used for each ship, and each ship takes out on its voyage 1,500,000 feet of lumber as cargo; so that it needs no special knowledge to grasp the immense fillip given the Coast lumbering industry by this new war undertaking. In fact, before the program was begun the saw-mills of the province were everywhere clos-

ing down. As I write this—in the early days of July—the first of the auxiliary schooners has just reached Sydney, Australia, after a voyage of seventy-six days. This time will be greatly cut down later, as the initial trip was really by way of an experiment; in fact, the vessel had to put in at Honolulu for engine adjustments, after which her behavior gave all-round satisfaction to master and owners.

Vancouver is situated on a strip of land between the Fraser River and Burrard Inlet; between these two bodies of water, running up into the city like a clawing finger, is False Creek. Six months ago there was a small machine shop on the shore of False Creek. The concern that owned that machine shop is now building six standard steel steamers to the order of the government, the vessels to be delivered in fourteen months at a contract price of \$8,000,000.

Such is the story of shipbuilding—wartime shipbuilding—in the Dominion; and the country is only at the beginning. I cannot help thinking that perhaps Masfield spoke a little too soon when he said:

The schooners and the merry crews are laid away
to rest,
A little south the sunset in the Islands of the
Blest.



FRENCH INVALID PRISONERS OF WAR AT MEIRINGEN

SWITZERLAND, THE GOOD SAMARITAN

BY MARIE WIDMER

IN the early days of August, 1914, when the furies of war descended upon Europe, Switzerland realized that it would be her lot to act as angel of mercy to the war sufferers and prisoners of her belligerent neighbors. The little Alpine Republic was herself obliged to arm against possible violations of her territory; she was forced into an economic neutrality which demands ever-increasing sacrifices, and which at this present time has become an issue of utmost importance. But notwithstanding her own heavy burdens and the serious food problems confronting her, Switzerland has not for one instant paused in her charitable activities on behalf of suffering mankind; for she is proud and grateful that such a high and noble task has been allotted to her.

Switzerland, the home of true Democracy, is moreover the land where that most benevolent institution, the Red Cross, had its foundation.

THE CRADLE OF THE RED CROSS

Surgery and medicine did not come into use on the battlefields before the last decade of the 18th century. Before that time wounded soldiers were either carried to the rear by their comrades or left unattended to and exposed until the fighting was over. Surgical assistance did not reach the battlefield until the day after the engagement or even later and for many of the wounded it was then too late.

In 1792 Baron Dominique Jean Larrey, of the French army, introduced his system of "ambulance volantes" or flying field hospitals, capable of moving rapidly from place to place. They gave primary surgical treatment and removed the wounded quickly from the field. Napoleon warmly supported Larrey, and the system was quickly brought to a high state of efficiency in the Grand Army.

The actual founder of the Red Cross society was Jean Henri Dunant, a philan-



BRITISH INVALID PRISONERS OF WAR ARRIVING AT CHATEAU D'OEX

main purpose it is to act as intermediary between the prisoners of war and their families and friends. The undertaking was modestly started with six assistants, but as soon as its existence became known its activity assumed such gigantic proportions that the city of Geneva permitted it to establish itself in the spacious, newly renovated Musée Rath, where some 1200 voluntary workers, belonging to all stations of life, have since been assisting in sorting and forwarding the mail of prisoners of war of all nationalities and in answering the multitude of enquiries as to their whereabouts. The agency receives lists of casualties and of prisoners taken from all the combatant countries and these lists are indexed and the information made available for future enquiries.

thropic citizen of Geneva, Switzerland. On June 14, 1859, he chanced to be present at the battle of Solferino and was an eye witness to the vast amount of unnecessary suffering that resulted from the inability of the regular surgical corps for the thousands of wounded who lay upon the field.

Three years later he published a book on his experiences at Solferino and advocated an international convention to provide for the aiding of the wounded in war. This convention, which took place at Geneva in 1863, neutralized the surgical corps of hostile armies and volunteer societies caring for the the wounded. As a compliment to Switzerland the Swiss flag in reversed colors, i.e., a red cross on a white field, was to be adopted universally and worn on arm bands by all members of the neutral staffs. Geneva has been since that time the headquarters of the International Red Cross society.

CONNECTING WAR PRISONERS WITH THEIR FRIENDS AND FAMILIES

On account of the immediate mobilization of her army on August 1-3, 1914, Switzerland was unable to dispatch Red Cross ambulances to the belligerent countries as she had been wont to do in previous wars. However, the International Committee of the Red Cross under the brilliant chairmanship of its president, Mr. Gustave Ador, one of Geneva's foremost citizens, was not long in finding some other way to become of service to suffering mankind. It founded the Agency for the Prisoners of War, whose

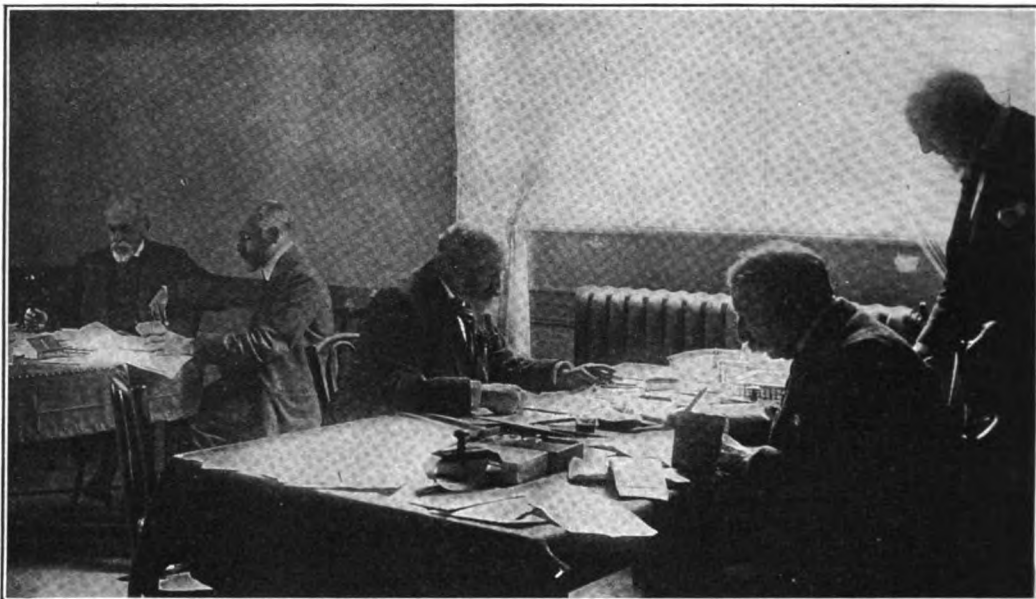
From October 15, 1914, to June 30, 1916, the agency sent over 470,399 letters with information to families of prisoners; it received more than 78,713 callers who came personally to ask for information; it transmitted more than 1,994,000 francs and 30,665,331 packages, to which 776,505 packages must yet be added which were dispatched directly from Geneva.

COMFORTING CIVILIAN SUFFERERS

Soon after the outbreak of the great conflict came those pitiful armies of war sufferers: evacuated civilians, homeless French and Belgian refugees, and interned civilians, when an exchange had been finally arranged for the latter. Red Cross workers took



ASSISTING FRENCH FAMILIES, EVICTED FROM THEIR HOMES, AS THEY PASS THROUGH GENEVA



ADMINISTRATION OFFICE OF THE PRISONERS OF WAR AGENCY AT GENEVA

(President Gustave Ador, of the International Committee of the Red Cross, at the left; next in order to the right are Paul Des Couttes, Emile Ador, Adolphe Cheneviere, and Leopold Favre)

charge of these unfortunate travelers within the Swiss boundaries; they were welcomed, fed, clothed, and cheered upon their arrival at Geneva or Schaffhausen. At Zürich, Berne, and Lausanne and many smaller stations en route the Swiss vied with each other in bringing food and clothing for those passing through. In the depth of winter there were kindly Swiss women at the railroad stations in the middle of the night, just to comfort the miserable travelers with hot coffee and bread.

INSTANCES OF SWISS BENEVOLENCE

While the railroad fare for these war sufferers was paid by the French and German Governments, every other expense involved with their transport was borne by the Swiss people, whose charity has never drawn any distinction between the nationality of these unfortunates. In Schaffhausen, immediately adjoining the German border, there have been German-Swiss mothers who practically stripped their own children at the railroad station to alleviate the suffering of some half-starved, insufficiently clad French and Belgian children and in Geneva, where the German interned civilians arrived, there was just the same indiscriminating display of loving sympathy. "Vive la Suisse" or "Hoch die Schweiz" has ever been the enthusiastic farewell of these travelers on leaving Swiss soil.

PASSAGE OF THE "GRANDS BLESSÉS"

The next phase of the melancholy procession was the passage of the Grands blessés, German and French prisoners of war so seriously maimed and injured as to be of no further military use. An exchange of such men was agreed upon early in 1915, and at intervals ever since have the splendidly equipped Swiss Hospital Trains traveled between Constance and Lyons, loaded with dying, permanently crippled, or insane prisoners. Swiss physicians and Red Cross nurses superintend the loading and unloading of the patients and accompany the trains, and the generous populace is ever on the lookout for these sad transports in order that they may cheer those most unfortunate of all war victims with floral greetings and various little gifts. Suitable refreshments are also provided.

CLOTHING AND FOOD FOR PRISONERS OF WAR

Relief Bureaux for the prisoners of war were also established soon after the outbreak of the great conflict and while separate funds were created for each country, the committees in charge are guided by charity only. Eatables and articles of clothing are forwarded to different camps for prisoners and interned civilians, and the individual requirements are duly investigated and reported by a man of confidence nominated by each camp.

The little mountain republic also allows free postage not only to letters, packages and money orders destined for prisoners of war, but to all correspondence addressed by the prisoners and the interned civilians to their relatives and friends in other countries.

FREE POSTAGE FOR WAR PRISONERS

The mail matter which has thus been transmitted gratuitously since the outbreak of the war mounts into many millions and statistics covering the period from September, 1914, to March, 1917, indicate that through the mediation of the Swiss federal post-offices at Berne and Basle nearly 250,000,000 letters and postal-cards and 13,000,000 small parcels have been taken over and reforwarded to the countries at war.

In the same period 48,335,153 parcels, some weighing up to eleven pounds each, were forwarded to prisoners of war of all countries. Up to the end of March, 1917, 4,186,660 packages of bread were sent by post from Switzerland to Germany, weighing a total of 7,785,438 kilos, and other huge consignments of bread were forwarded by rail. From September, 1914, to March, 1917, 6,681,063 money orders for prisoners of war were received and reforwarded by the Swiss post, amounting to a total of \$93,697,749.10.

AIDING STUDENTS AND LOCATING HOSTAGES

Another benevolent organization is the Swiss Academic Relief Association whose purpose it is to furnish students who are

now prisoners of war with scientific books and periodicals, so as to enable them to continue their studies during captivity.

A Swiss Relief Commission for War Hostages was also founded in the city of Basle as early as October, 1914. This commission undertakes to locate the hostages and to put them into communication with their families and friends; it also makes constant efforts to alleviate their sufferings.

NURSING INVALID WAR PRISONERS BACK TO HEALTH

But among all the numerous charitable undertakings which Switzerland maintains on behalf of the war sufferers, none has claimed the world's attention as much as the hospitalization of invalid prisoners of war in the various health resorts of that country.

While it seemed improbable at first that the belligerent countries would permit any of their men to stay in a foreign health resort during the war, the continued and combined efforts of the Swiss Federal Council and the Pope on behalf of the sick and disabled prisoners of war resulted in an agreement to the effect that sick German prisoners held in France and sick French prisoners held in Germany could be transferred to Switzerland for a cure. A most successful start was thus made in the spring of 1916, and the arrangement has since also been extended to British invalid prisoners held in Germany and sick German prisoners held in England.



GERMAN AND FRENCH ORDERLIES MEET IN PEACE AND HARMONY AT THE LUCERNE FIELD POST, AS THEY CALL FOR THE PRISONERS' MAIL

The Teuton prisoners of war have been distributed among certain health resorts in Eastern and Central Switzerland; the French among health resorts in French Switzerland, the Bernese Oberland, and in the district of the Brünig route, and the British are assigned to Château d'Oex and environs.

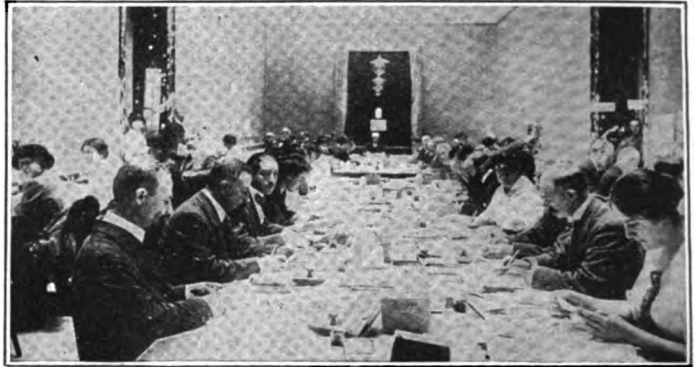
The three states concerned hold themselves responsible for the expenses, and specially reduced and uniform terms have been agreed upon by all the Swiss hotel establishments involved. The rate is six francs per day for officers and four francs for privates.

Many wholesome distractions are constantly provided for these convalescent prisoners. Realizing also that they all must be longing for some occupation as soon as their state of health is somewhat improved, the Swiss Political Department has issued regulations relative to the providing of suitable employment for them, if such is available without detriment to the native workers.

A further humane act must be credited to some 300 Swiss hotelkeepers, who, in spite of bad business, were generous enough to offer a gratuitous sojourn of three weeks to more than 2000 war nurses.

COURTESIES EXTENDED TO AMERICANS

It may not be generally known that Switzerland has also had the privilege of ex-



READING THE MASS OF INCOMING MAIL AT THE PRISONERS' AGENCY

tending courtesies to many thousands of Americans who were staying there or had fled to the little Alpine Republic at the outbreak of the war. Americans who found themselves in that position at that time have since often enthusiastically related how the Swiss hotelkeepers threw open their doors, welcomed and fed them without any question as to payment. They accepted post-dated checks and promissory notes which were not regarded of value in other countries, simply relying on the good faith of their guests, and they even went so far as to accommodate some of these travelers with a small loan.

And when the thinly clad, hungry members of the crew of the *Yarrowdale* set their feet upon the soil of Switzerland they were royally fed, fêted, and pelted with flowers. Remembering their bitter experiences with German military authorities, some of these hardened seamen were moved to tears of gratitude.

It will soon be three years that Switzerland has acted as the Good Samaritan of the war stricken nations. The kindly ministrations by the Swiss to those who have felt deeply the storm and stress of war has been one of the beautiful by-touches of the tragedy that has borne down on so many lives. In the turmoil of nations Switzerland has been called the "Island of Peace." In its regard for the humanities it knows no nationality, is swayed by no prejudice. "We are for those who suffer" connotes the spirit displayed by the Swiss.



SWISS SOLDIERS UNLOADING THE WAR PRISONERS' MAIL AT THE BASEL STATION

(Many packages, damaged in transit, are wrapped up again)

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

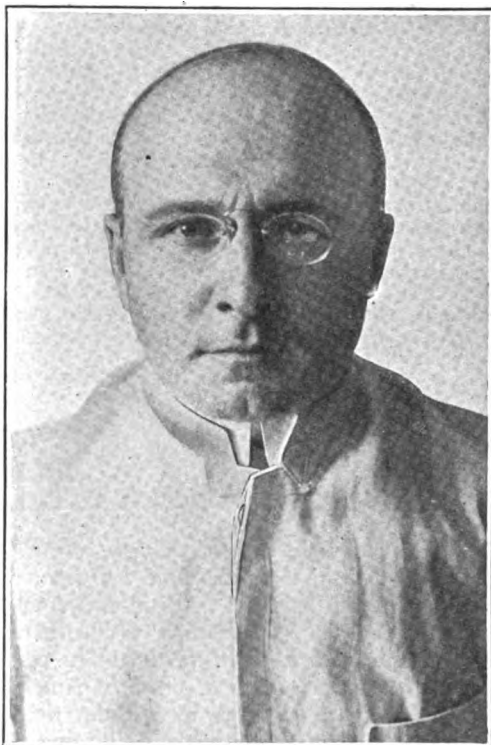
THE FIGHT AGAINST INFECTION

DOCTOR W. W. KEEN, the veteran surgeon, who himself served during our Civil War, adds his testimony, in the *North American Review*, to the great value and importance of the Dakin-Carrel method of treating infected wounds. In this article Doctor Keen makes it clear that the surgeons of to-day are not satisfied with the mere prevention of infection but are seeking its actual conquest. It is admitted that in the present war infection has been more widespread and malignant than was ever witnessed by surgeons in previous modern wars. The old preventive methods have utterly failed. Immediately after the war broke out, many new methods, both aseptic and antiseptic, were tested, but nearly all were quickly abandoned. The only efficient antiseptic that has been found is hyposulphite of soda, once known as "Labarraque's solution," which has been employed with great success by Doctors Dakin and Carrel, who were associated first in New York and later collaborated at the hospital in Compiègne. Both surgeons are in the service of the Rockefeller Institute.

Depage, the foremost Belgian surgeon, has mastered the Carrel-Dakin treatment at the hospital of La Panne, and from these two centers the treatment is being diffused all over the world. In a temporary hospital erected on the grounds of the Rockefeller Institute in New York City, Doctors Carrel and Dakin, now on leave, are teaching American military surgeons and civilian doctors the details of this treatment.

Doctor Keen refers to the observations of Doctor C. L. Gibson, of New York, at La Panne. This physician saw eighty cases of compound fracture of thigh. Each one was dressed before his eyes and not a drop of pus was to be seen. Doctor Keen says that in any hospital in peace times he would have regarded this as "an unexpected and almost an unattainable triumph."

The detailed method pursued by Dr. Car-



© Paul Thompson

DR. ALEXIS CARREL

rel and Dr. Dakin is described as follows:

The wound is thoroughly cleansed; X-ray pictures and a most careful examination are made to ascertain whether foreign bodies are still in the wound, for if a bit of shell—or still worse, of clothing or skin—is present the wound will never heal until this has been removed. If the missile has passed completely through, thus providing a "counter-opening," this is closed in an appropriate way. A reservoir containing Dakin's fluid is hung one meter (39 inches) above the level of the wound. From this reservoir one large tube controlled by a pinch-cock leads to a glass tube with several branches like the teeth of a comb. From these multiple tubular teeth several small rubber tubes are so disposed as to reach every part of the wound. The far ends of these small tubes are tied, but the fluid escapes through several very small holes one millimeter (1-25 of an

inch) in diameter in the sides of the tube, and so is kept constantly in contact with the entire internal surface of the wound.

Every two hours day and night for only one or two seconds, the pinch-cock is opened and a little more fluid is sprinkled in minute streams through the side holes of the small tubes to every part of the wound. It is not intended that the fluid shall run over and soak dressings or the bed. It is only intended to fill the wound in every possible recess, and to keep the antiseptic fluid in contact with the entire inner surface of the wound all the time. By this means, wherever there are any bacteria in any part of the wound the antiseptic fluid is constantly at work destroying them. The aseptic technic must be perfect. Not even a gloved finger is allowed to touch the wound. Everything, dressings, tubes, etc., all are handled by thoroughly disinfected forceps.

Every second day a microscopic examination of the discharge from the wound is made in order to count the number of the bacteria. At first they are innumerable. From day to day they diminish and in a short time but few are found. When they have practically disappeared for several days the wound, which so far has remained open, is closed by sutures, and it quickly heals. In four hundred cases Dehelly, one of Carrel's assistants, said that all but six had healed perfectly!

This venerable surgeon's recollections of

Civil War practice point a striking contrast with the methods of to-day:

We knew absolutely nothing about bacteria and their dangers or about real infection and real disinfection. Anything which covered up a bad smell we then called a disinfectant. We thrust our undisinfected fingers into wounds, cut with undisinfected knives, tied arteries and sewed wounds together with undisinfected silk and dressed them with undisinfected cold-water dressings—until pus began to flow—and then dressed them with infected and infecting flaxseed poultices! Is it any wonder that pyemia had, to our shame, a mortality of 97.4 per cent.?

In future the surgeon may expect to save many limbs from amputation, for 80 per cent. of amputations at the present time are the result of infection. From a military point of view the resulting gains will be incalculable. Wounded men will return in a steady stream to the fighting lines instead of going back to civil life mutilated and largely incapacitated to earn a living. Not only will the evils of war be greatly lessened by this conquest of infection, but it is a permanent gain for humanity for all time.

THE LAFAYETTE FLYING CORPS

THE Lafayette Flying Corps of the French Army is by this time well known to all readers of the war news in this country and abroad. Its record of brilliant achievements and the high quality of its personnel are matters of great pride to Americans. Hardly a day goes by without news of some daring exploit performed by one of these plucky fliers.

The Lafayette Corps—composed entirely of American volunteers—has an interesting history. Originally it was called the Franco-American Flying Corps, but protests from this country through our State Department, on the score of neutrality, resulted in the change of name to Lafayette.

An account of the organization of the Lafayette Corps and its method of recruiting and financing is given in the July issue of *Flying*. The men instrumental in organizing the Corps were Dr. Edmund L. Gros, an American physician, who has lived much in Paris; Frederick H. Allen, a New York lawyer identified with relief work in France, and Col. Thomas Bentley Mott, now military attaché with the Root Commission.

There were Americans fighting in the Foreign Legion, but their identity was lost in this body; they were simply units in a tremendous group. Dr. Gros and his associates dreamed of some other form of service in which Americans might participate as Americans, even though the flag of the United States might not officially be carried into the war.

The idea was constantly before them, and, when they found that among the Americans already in France and already anxious to help as best they might, were men who had learned the art of flying in this country, the plan for a special American flying corps was conceived and developed.

But many obstacles had to be overcome before the scheme could be realized. The French Government had to be won over, and various conditions met, including the passage of a special law to enable Americans to be received into the French aviation service.

Finally, in March, 1915, the Franco-American Flying Corps was created. Patriotic Americans in France supplied funds, and the French Government undertook to train the men. The first recruits were secured from young Americans in France. Among these early members were William Thaw,



AN EARLY PHOTOGRAPH OF A GROUP OF THE AMERICAN AVIATORS IN FRANCE

(Reading from left to right: Kiffin Rockwell, Captain Thenault, Norman Prince, Lieutenant Delaage, Sergeant Elliot Cowdin, Victor Chapman, J. R. McConnell, Sergeant Bert Hall)

now a lieutenant; Elliot Cowdin, and Norman Prince. Prince has since made the supreme sacrifice in the performance of his duty, followed by Kiffin Rockwell, Victor Chapman, and J. R. McConnell. The letters of Chapman and the book by McConnell, both recently published, give an intimate and graphic description of the personnel and the daily work of the members of the Lafayette Escadrille.

For all the fame its members have brought it, the Lafayette Flying Corps has been the Ku Klux Klan of French fighting units in the secrecy which has covered its organization, its methods, even its personnel. Yet since the beginning of the great war the Escadrille 124, as the Lafayette force is officially known, has been composed almost exclusively of Americans, and these, for the most part, have been recruited in this country.

They have been drawn from all ranks, and there is no requirement, as in the United States force, that a flier must have a college education or its equivalent. There are university men and professional chauffeurs in the Lafayette Corps, and practically the sole demand made on candidates, except the necessary one that they be mentally and physically fit to fly, is that they be qualified to take their places as officers and gentlemen. The test of these qualities is made solely by observation, but it is made by men who instinctively recognize the absence or existence of them.

Aug.—6

The corps now numbers about 200 men and is being recruited from this side at the rate of about twenty-five a week. Applicants are subjected to preliminary examinations by Mr. J. F. McElhone, a representative of the corps in New York City, one of the requirements being that they must have no German parents or grandparents. (This is a French Government condition.) The candidate is then sent to the Curtiss School at Old Point Comfort, Virginia, where Captain Baldwin subjects him to certain tests in the air. If the report on this examination is satisfactory, the aviator-to-be is then sent to France. After being accepted by the French authorities, he begins his six-months' course of training at the aviation school and begins to draw his pay of five cents a day from the government.

The Corps pays its members \$30 a month in addition to the government pay, to provide extra living expenses, and also gives prizes for various feats accomplished in the course of service. For instance, for bringing down an enemy flier the aviator receives a cash bonus of \$250 and two days' leave in Paris. A number of the American fliers have already brought down half a dozen or more German machines, and the record of the Escadrille as a whole is brilliant.

THE ARGENTINE AND THE ALLIES

AT the present writing very great interest is centering upon the attitude of the South American Republics towards the war. Brazil has already come out openly upon the side of the United States and her allies. The Argentine Republic on July 6 demanded satisfaction from Germany for the sinking of two of her ships, and it seems probable that at no distant date she will follow the example of her sister republic. This view is supported by the letter of which we furnish the following abstract, written to Henri Michel, president of the Latin Union, and *Sénateur des Basses-Alpes*, by a well-known Argentinian, Professor José Pacifico Otero, of the National School *Mariano Moreno* at Buenos Aires:

I believe that one of the most difficult problems in social psychology is the penetration and discovery of the sentiment which inspires a nation. The problem becomes even more serious if the people to be analyzed is characterized by ethnic complexity. It may happen that the diversity of the factors may disconcert us and falsify our judgment. But if this be a possible peril in the examination of cosmopolitan peoples, it disappears when the cosmopolitanism has not been able to absorb even partially the life of a government.

After having broken the chains of colonial domination, the Argentine has consecrated itself utterly to the work of internal organization. For this it has more than once poured forth its blood; intestine struggles have retarded the dawn of a prosperous future; but as soon as it had mastered itself, eloquently taught by its own misfortunes, Europe, attracted by the fertility of its soil and the liberality of its laws, began to send it her sons. . . . They have been wise enough not to mingle in our political conflicts . . . and it is for precisely this reason that today, despite its cosmopolitanism, the Argentine soars independently inspired by its own sentiments above the varying aims of its various foreign colonies.

The present war has put to the proof this ethnic constitution of our young nation. The old world has wished to know the trend of sympathy in Latin America. . . . To its questions we have replied: Re-read our history, observe our psychology, note how our political ideals were born, and you will find the answer obvious.

The phenomenon of sympathy is no arbitrary thing. Two entirely opposite temperaments cannot be unified in the pursuit of a common goal. . . . Will this law find its application in friendship with the Central Empires, or with the Allied nations? I believe, and I affirm from the depths of historic consciousness, that the sympathies of the Argentine people, even outside the present war, gravitate by natural instinct towards the nations which, like France, Italy, and England, play a preponderant rôle in this crisis of civilization.

I mention France first, because it was she who

first came to our aid in our struggle for liberty, with her doctrines and her example of epic bravery. To overthrow the former régime we had need of a liberal philosophy, and the men who made the Argentine Revolution found this in reading the Encyclopedists who proclaimed the sovereignty of peoples above the sovereignty of kings, the rights of man above the rights of monarchy. All the literature of our revolutionary cycle is impregnated with this new philosophy. The thirst for justice is evident above all. We acclaim liberty, equality, fraternity, to oppose them to tyranny, privilege, and social inequality. The France of the Revolution was for the Argentine nation its political Sinai. . . . Our idol is Liberty. To defend her from hostile attacks we created as by a miracle armies which in their heroism rivaled those of Valmy. A pleiad of poets chanted the charms of her beauty . . . and the Argentines make this ideal, this creative and revolutionary force, their *raison d'être* in the continental concert.

Professor Otero adds that another bond of union between his people and those of France lies in their communion of taste in matters literary and artistic, declaring that Argentine literature is entirely dominated by French masters. He says finely that if Spain has made them her heritor for the sentiments of honor and of courage, they are indebted to France for their love of justice, saying:

For us, she is the mother of our democracy; and as we develop in progress this debt of love becomes all the dearer to the consciousness of a people whose social and political rhythm is in harmony with that of France. . . . And was she not the first nation in the world to accord to us her material and diplomatic aid?

Though writing with less of lyric enthusiasm as regards England, the writer gives her grateful credit for the solid financial aid with which her capitalists have not only supported government loans but have backed such big enterprises as railroads, navigation, ports, tramways, banks, cold-storage plants, electrical and insurance companies, etc., etc. Of Italy he says:

It is the arm of the Italian which has been most potent in developing the richness of our soil. By the sweat of his brow he has conquered the important position he holds in our national life. He has known how to adapt himself to the conditions of our climate and the methods of life in our rural districts. Upon our farms he collaborates with the sons of the country, and in public works his spirit of industry has assisted in our progress. . . . The land of Cincinnatus has been lavish of her fecund daughters, sending them in response to our appeal to mingle their race with ours. At various times the Italians

have fought by our sides on the field of battle. They have founded numerous families and now partake with us the benefits of our national good fortune.

Asid  from these practical reasons for sympathizing with these three nations of the Allies, there are more sentimental ones, says the writer, in its love of justice and its horror of "the scourge let loose upon the world by the arrogance of a mystical emperor." He continues:

If the Argentine nation has not come to the defense of justice against iniquity by taking up arms, it has done so by its literature, its gold, its compassion, its democratic and anti-Prussian soul. It desires victory for France because the triumph over secular foes will be at the same time the triumph of beauty, art, justice, and the philosophy whence our Revolution drew its liberative

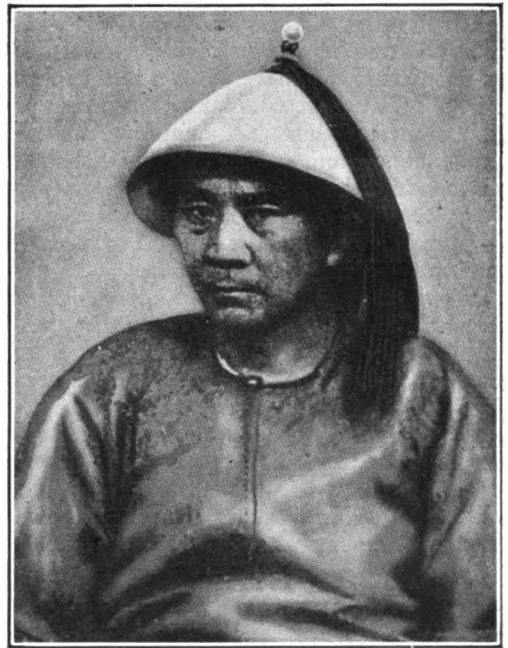
force. It wishes England to punish the Kaiser, because the Kaiser, in unchaining war upon Europe, has flouted our civilization, and finally it hopes that the soldiers of Cadorna may descend victoriously from the ramparts of the Alps because, once she becomes empress of the Adriatic, Italy will revive her glorious past, the era when her cities, her circuses, her thermal baths, and her senates formed the cradle of Latin civilization. The Argentine people is not ignorant that a German triumph would be the greatest of misfortunes for occidental civilization.

The road of progress has never been over the Bosphorus or over the Baltic Sea. The current of civilization by which we are profiting at the present moment flows over the waves of the Atlantic. Next to the Mediterranean, that ocean is the Latin Sea par excellence; and for the Argentines it is a question of life and death to live in perfect amity with the nations which dominate it with their fleets and their commercial enterprises.

CHANG HSUN, "THE BULLY OF CHINA"

THE recent attempt of Chinese reactionaries to reinstate the Empire, gives special timeliness to a vividly-written narrative of the tumultuous career of Chang Hsun, the leader of this movement, in the *Sunset* for August. The article is contributed by Carl Crow, a well-known writer on Chinese affairs. Mr. Crow describes Chang as "the representative and self-appointed leader of the entire queue-wearing, foot-binding, head-chopping, anti-progress party of China." In all the reform that has been going on in recent years, Chang is the only old-time Chinese leader who has "never surrendered, never reformed and never compromised."

Chang probably believes the old Chinese theory that the world is flat and square, with China in the middle of the square and surrounded by minor barbarian nations. Certainly he has little consideration for the power of foreign nations. When the Japanese wilfully invaded Chinese territory in their attack on Tsingtau, he proposed to go and drive them out and was with difficulty dissuaded from declaring war on China's powerful neighbor. He can't understand why Peking should pay so much attention to these foreigners and is highly displeased at the adoption of foreign customs. Only around Hsu Chow Fu will one now find the pig-tails and the old-style Chinese dress as they were in the Manchu days. He is especially bitter against the Japanese, though in demanding that parliament be dissolved he is ignorantly playing Japan's game for her. Japan does not want China to enter the European war because that would enable China to speak for herself at the end of the war and Japan wants to do all the speaking for all the Far East. A Chinese representative at the peace conference might tell some unpleasant things



CHANG HSUN, THE CHINESE REBEL

about the invasion of Shantung and might present some just but very embarrassing claims. The dissolution of parliament must greatly delay—perhaps prevent—China's entry into the war. But of course Chang doesn't believe there is any danger from Japan. He thinks he could run over there some week-end with his pig-tail troops and entirely subdue that upstart nation.

The prominence of a man so brutal, wicked and ignorant as Chang brings into prominence many of the weaknesses and difficulties which present-day China must contend with.

THE KING OF SPAIN AND THE RELIEF OF WAR DISTRESS

IT is refreshing and gratifying in this cruel welter of war to read of the tireless efforts of the King of Spain in behalf of its suffering millions. In celebrating his birthday last January—writes Carlos de Pedroso in an interesting article in the *Correspondant* (Paris)—Spain deliberated which among its insignia it could present to him. "Let us offer our King," cried an humble alcalde from the Biscayan Mountains, "the grand cross of benevolence. The humanitarian work conceived and carried out by him of search for the missing on the battlefield, the relief of prisoners of war, the promotion of charity and justice among the war victims in foreign lands, merits our admiration and attachment." And the entire nation acclaimed his suggestion.

The writer recounts in detail the vast labor involved in the task which the King has set himself to relieve distress in a variety of ways. All those who know not whom to address turn to him. A hundred, a thousand, examples might be cited of his beneficent efforts—the missing found, the happy news, the deliverance, the supreme joy. Thousands of letters bear witness to it all—letters of gratitude, of admiration.

In order to gain a personal knowledge of the work being accomplished, the writer visited the royal palace at Madrid, where the King's secretary, Señor de Torres, initiated him into its complex machinery.

The special offices of his Majesty formerly comprised two or three rooms; they extend now along a whole series of apartments, while a large force of secretaries, nearly all pursuing a diplomatic career, are engaged in the ceaseless labor required in obtaining information concerning prisoners and the missing, as well as in carrying on a correspondence with persons in the occupied territories.

The essential peculiarity of this work of gathering information and of search is that it is the personal effort of the King. It forms no part of the government; it is wholly due to his personal initiative. That is why its seat is in the palace and has been confided to his special secretary, Señor de Torres, assisted by the Count of the Union.

Here are some figures conveying an idea of the intensive labor of the officials. From 300 to 400 letters are received daily on an

average; following great military operations, the number has risen as high as 3,000. By the close of 1915, the King had already concerned himself with 150,000 prisoners or missing French and Belgians. If we add the civilians, the number would mount to 200,000. From January 1, 1916, to the present time an additional group of over 74,000 are recorded as missing. Add to this about 25,000 inquiries concerning civil residents of the invaded regions, plus 25,000 messages and 150,000 francs sent in small sums to relatives or friends on the other side of the front.

To gain some idea of the endless toil demanded by such a task, it may be mentioned that every petition requires at least three documents. Each inquiry is classified and consigned to the proper room, names and other data being inscribed on cards. The writer named a missing man at random, and found, an instant after, his name, birthplace, and the battlefield whence he never returned.

England's interests have not been confided to Spain, yet we find many British names—since the King responds to all who address him, and the first inquiries for English missing came from families of the Queen's XVth regiment, of which he is the colonel.

Every letter receives an immediate reply. Those letters are touching by their simplicity, their tone of entreaty, their genuine grief: all humble and eloquent, for they are written with the deepest emotions of the heart—the emotions inspired by the last chance of hope.

Among the numerous daily letters laid on the secretaries' desks, many bear the simple superscription: "To the King of Spain." His Majesty orders an immediate reply, expressing his intention of having the request attended to at once by communicating with his Ambassador at Berlin, adding: "You are well aware of his Majesty's sentiments concerning the valiant French soldiers and their families, and may thus be convinced that the King is sincerely anxious to send you a favorable reply"—or some similar response.

The news, if good, is communicated on pink paper—only a few words. Unfavorable news, on the contrary, takes more space; one would say that the King hesitates to impart the sad tidings.



Photo by Paul Thompson

THE KING OF SPAIN (AT THE RIGHT) IN HIS OFFICE WITH THE PRIME MINISTER

In case of search for the missing, all the information sent by the family is codified. The various items—name, age, regiment, etc., are noted on a card in French, English, and German. One card is retained by the secretaries, and a copy is sent to the Spanish embassy at Berlin, with a blank space for the required information. That being obtained and sent, and a duplicate left with the German Government, the King's secretary promptly informs the family concerned, the message, if German, being translated into French.

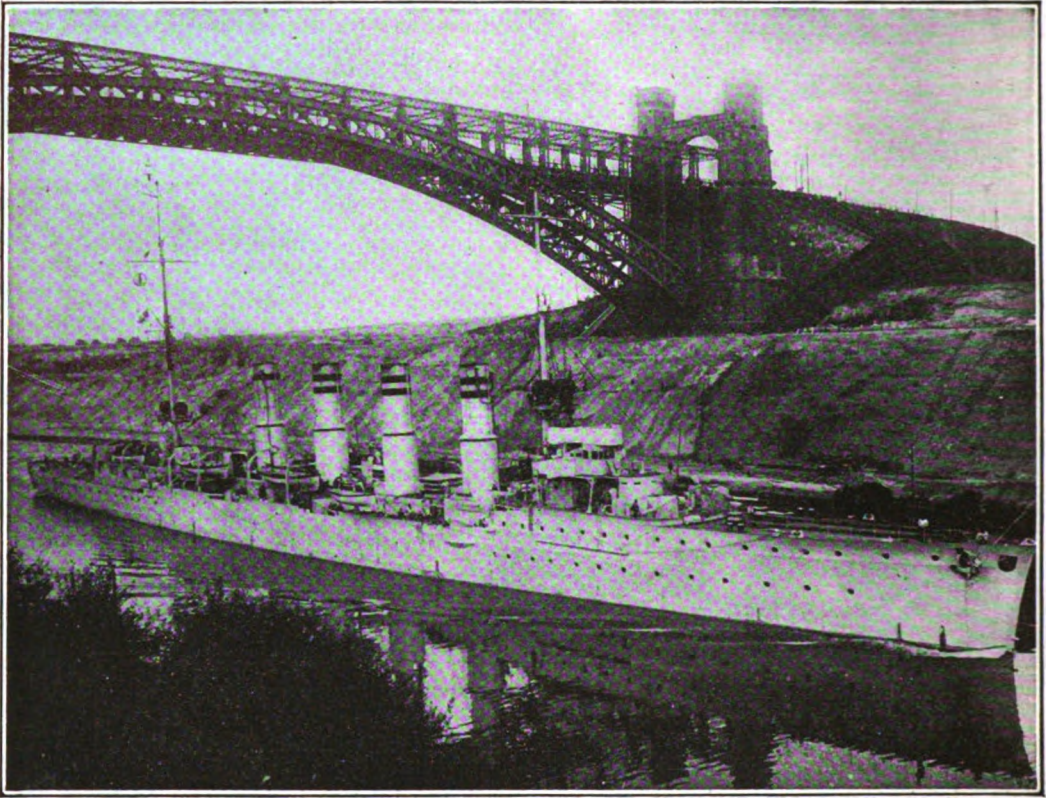
Communication with the residents of the invaded regions is one of the triumphs of Alfonso XIII. Everyone knows how impossible it was at first to obtain news of those surrounded by the enemy, imprisoned in their own country. The requests addressed to the King were so numerous that he conceived the ingenious idea of having a system of special cards. Thenceforth, relatives and friends could communicate with each other, very briefly, it is true, but at least dependably. Needless to add that this correspondence is wholly at the King's expense.

But that is not all. The relatives of those unfortunates in the invaded territory often wish to send them money. The King accepted this new task. All the sums sent him are despatched once a week along with the diplomatic portfolio to the Spanish Ambassa-

dor at Berlin, who sends them to the indicated address, demanding a receipt, which is then expedited to the sender. In order not to incur too heavy a responsibility, Señor Torres prefers not to send above 300 francs at one time to the same destination.

But the hardest duty devolving upon the secretariate, and the most important, is assuredly that concerning the prisoners of war—a delicate task, dealing not with search and communication, but a sort of protection, of supervision, of those who have fallen into the enemy's hands.

Most of the prisoners suffer from a host of moral grievances—absence from family, friends, their country; a life entirely new in a strange land; anxiety for dear ones, for their native land; inability to follow their bent; inevitable submission to the enemy; and if physical suffering be added, it is with dread that one contemplates such sorrows. In order to assuage those griefs and ameliorate the condition of the prisoners, the King established commissions of inspection, subject to the orders of the Spanish Ambassador at Berlin, privileged to come into personal contact with the prisoners. These delegates visit the camps and hear all the claims and grievances. These are sent to the King, who, on his part, sends them to the German Government.



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A GERMAN CRUISER IN THE KIEL CANAL

THE GERMAN NAVY AND THE WAR

WITH the attention of the entire world fixed on the activity and accomplishments of the German submarine, little thought has been given, outside of naval circles, to the formidable High-Sea Fleet, and its possibilities for action; nevertheless, many critics believe that the present lull may be the prelude of great, and possibly decisive, developments in the naval area. Accordingly, in a recent issue of the *Engineer* (London), the present strength of the German Navy is discussed, and the theory that the main battle fleets are being effaced, as regards the decisive results by submarine operations, legitimate and otherwise, is vigorously opposed.

Although the actual nature and extent of the work accomplished in the German dockyards since August, 1914, is a sealed book, nevertheless British authorities have been able to form a fairly accurate idea regarding the construction of the larger types of men-of-war. Notwithstanding, the admittedly great facilities of the German shipbuilding indus-

try to turn out a vast tonnage, it must be remembered that the construction of battleships, even under most favorable conditions, cannot be urged beyond a certain definite rate. Furthermore, it is also well known that many German shipyards, government as well as private, have been busy with the construction of submarines and submersibles in extraordinary numbers, and latterly of extraordinary size.

Taking these circumstances into consideration, British authorities, starting with the known compositions of the High-Sea Fleet at the outbreak of the war, have been able to make conservative estimates as to its present composition. In February, 1915, the *Kronprinz*, the fourth and last unit of the "Koenig" class, was added to the list, and some time in 1916 the *Ersatz Wörth* and *T* were doubtless completed, while progress doubtless had been made on the battleship *Ersatz Kaiser Frederick III*, projected in 1914, before the war began.

In August, 1914, the German fleet included thirty-seven serviceable battleships, with three others building; of these, twenty belonged to the pre-Dreadnought era, while among the Dreadnoughts themselves there were five classes of battleships represented.

TABULATION OF THE FLEET

The *Pommern* was sunk at the Battle of Jutland, but otherwise there have been no losses among the battleships, so that, as regards battleship strength, the German High-Sea Fleet, on June 1, 1917, as regards tonnage, speed, and armament, could be tabulated as follows:

Ships	Tons	Knots	Guns	
3	28,000	21	Eight	15-in.
			Sixteen	6-in.
9	24,700-25,800	20-23	Ten	12-in.
			Fourteen	6-in.
8	18,900-22,800	19-21	Twelve	11-in.
			Twelve	6-in.
			Twelve	12-in.
9	13,200	18-19	Four	6-in.
			Fourteen	11-in.
10	11,150-11,800	18	Four	6.7-in.
			Four	9.4-in.
			Fourteen	6-in.

The present war, as well as modern naval theory, has given increased importance to the battle-cruiser, and this division of the German Navy was reported to have suffered severely at the Jutland Battle. At the same time, from the outbreak of the war a number of new battle-cruisers undoubtedly were available for active service. The *Derfflinger* was finishing her trials in August, 1914, the *Lützow* was planned for completion in April, 1915, and the *Hindenburg-Ersatz Hertha*, which had been commenced in July, 1913, was probably completed, while the *Ersatz Victoria Luise* should have been finished in 1917. The *Bismarck*, a sister-ship of the *Hindenburg*, was reported launched in April, but this vessel may have been confused in the reports with the original *Ersatz Victoria Luise*.

In the Battle of Jutland, the Germans suffered the loss of the battle-cruiser *Lützow*, but in addition, naval authorities on the side of the Allies also believe that among the ships destroyed or put out of service were the *Seydlitz*, the *Derfflinger*, and the *Von der Tann*. The actual loss of these vessels is not positively confirmed, so that to be on the safe side, the critic retains these ships in his list and gives the present battle-cruiser fleet as follows:

	Tons	Knots	Guns	
<i>Von der Tann</i>	19,400	28	Eight	11-in.
			Ten	6-in.
<i>Moltke</i>	23,000	28	Ten	11-in.
			Twelve	6-in.
<i>Seydlitz</i>	25,000	28	Ten	11-in.
			Twelve	6-in.
<i>Derfflinger</i>	26,600	26.5	Eight	12-in.
			Twelve	6-in.
<i>Hindenburg</i>	28,000	28	*Eight	12-in.
			Twelve	6-in.
<i>Bismarck</i> (?)			Twelve	6-in.

* Armament only approximate. Both ships have been reported as carrying 15-in. guns, but this cannot be confirmed.

Germany has suffered heavily in the older type of armored cruisers, and but one effective ship, namely the *Roon* of 9,500 tons and 21.5 knots, armed with four 8.2-inch and ten 6-inch guns, is now carried on the list, although two older ships, the *Prinz Heinrich* and the *Bismarck*, with little if any fighting value, still remain. Fifteen of the thirty-four light cruisers available at the beginning of the war have been lost, but British advices are that most of these have been replaced and the present total is placed at thirty by a conservative estimate. These vessels range from 4,350 to 5,500 tons with speeds of from twenty-six to thirty knots, and a battery of 4.1-inch guns. Their armament naturally is weak, and is inferior to that of the British light cruisers which, ship for ship, have little to fear from this class.

From 149 destroyers in the summer of 1914, the fleet has grown so that notwithstanding losses, there are to-day between 160 and 180 boats available. The latest destroyers are of a much more powerful design than the type of 1914, and have a speed of at least thirty-five knots. They are also heavier armed, carrying three 4.1-inch, 35-pounder guns, and four or five torpedo tubes.

If the German Navy has retained the same organization that it had on the outbreak of the war, and was divided into five squadrons, the High-Sea Fleet is now composed substantially as follows: 39 battleships (two in reserve), 6 battle cruisers, 27 light cruisers, and about 180 torpedo-boat destroyers.

The critic in the *Engineer* believes that the outline given above is in no way an exaggerated statement of the massed strength of the German fleet. He says:

Its main force consists of twenty dreadnought battleships, the oldest of which was launched in 1908. Their displacements range from 18,900 to

28,000 tons, and they carry between them 214 heavy guns of 11-inch to 15-inch caliber. In the matter of armor protection their figure of merit is, in general, rather higher than that of contemporary British battleships, though the latter have a slight advantage in the speed average. The six battle-cruisers, assuming all of them to be afloat, represent a total of fifty-two guns of 11-inch and 12-inch caliber. They do not compare well in armament with our corresponding types, and their speed appears to be somewhat inferior, but they are more heavily armored, and are reputed to be extremely steady gun platforms. Of the nineteen pre-dreadnought battleships named in the tables, the nine which comprise the *Braunschweig-Deutschland* class must still be considered useful ships, for a squadron of them was present at Jutland, the *Pommern*, a unit of it, being sunk in the night by destroyer attack. In armament, protection, and speed they are certainly equal to any of our battleships previous to the *King Edward* class. The fighting value of the ten older ships which form the *Kaiser Friedrich-Wittelsbach* class is considerably less, but in all the essential tactical elements they will bear comparison with our *Majestics* or *Oceans*.

He believes that the High-Sea Fleet is not a feature that can be safely ignored, for it is the last card of Germany, which will not be played, in the opinion of many, until the failure of the submarine campaign. Furthermore, a military defeat of magnitude might require a naval operation to restore

the war-weary spirits of the German people. He believes that the German fleet has an extremely robust construction, and is capable of giving a good account of itself in action. Opposed to the High-Sea Fleet are the British squadrons in the North Sea, which are on perpetual duty and cannot be maintained at their maximum strength, on account of frequent relief. Consequently, the increased sea service must be offset by a certain amount of wear and deterioration of machinery which is not experienced by the German fleet, anchored at harbor, or tied up at docks.

This British critic believes that the German sailors, while highly trained, will not maintain their discipline under heavy and disastrous fire. He claims that this was demonstrated at the Battle of Jutland, where under effective fire they lost their nerve, became flurried and inclined to panic. This was further indicated by a sudden falling-off in the accuracy of the German fire whenever their line was "straddled" by British salvos. Possibly before these lines are read a decisive naval battle may have been fought, but it is interesting to record a hostile view of the strength and efficiency of the German fleet.

A GERMAN VIEW OF THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE

ALTHOUGH the waters of strife in the World War are still running so high, there is visible a distant gleam of hope in the fact that already the publicists of even the belligerent nations are concerning themselves with the economic problems that face their respective publics when peace comes. In Germany a noteworthy book upon this subject has been recently published, *Probleme der Friedenswirtschaft*, by Dr. Walther Rathenau, one of the most remarkable personalities in Germany, of whom it was said before the outbreak of the war that he was one of the 300 men who best knew their Europe and in whose hands lay the direction of the economic destinies of the continent. The *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne) quotes the following description of him as he appeared to Georges Bourdon in 1913, when he met him in Berlin:

forehead, a short beard, a chipped mustache, his eyes piercingly keen and scrutinizing . . . with an air of intelligence and decision.

Even then Walther Rathenau was noted for his various activities and interests as a financier, an industrial, and as being at once a man of affairs and a man of broad culture. He was formerly a co-director of one of the biggest financial concerns in Germany, the *Berliner Handelsgesellschaft*. He was also director, together with his father of the famous A. E. G., an electrical company known all over the world. It is said that he belonged to no less than seventy administrative councils and belonged to more than 300 societies or associations.

Early in the war he assumed the directorship of one of the most important of the departments of organization, that of Raw Materials for War Industries, and after ably launching this he resigned it in order to give his attention to other things.

Tall and slender, about forty-five years old, refined, elegant, and well-groomed, with a broad

He became a writer and publicist. He set forth all the problems which he had met and solved during the preceding two years and a half in a work called *Deutschland's Rohstoffversorgung* ("Germany's Provision of Raw Materials"), which, according to specialists, is one of the most valuable sources of information to be found upon economic organization in the present war. Dr. Rathenau has not only a practical mind of rare power, but a philosophic brain which seeks to trace origins, determine laws, and derive general ideas from the study of facts. This is what he has just accomplished in another work, in which, already foreseeing the economic, moral, and social political consequences of the war, he seeks to prepare his compatriots for the tasks of to-morrow, the "Economic Problems of Peace."

It is a current saying that the present gigantic struggle is a struggle between two principles, that of liberty and democracy on the one side, and on the other the strengthening of the idea of the state and of organization under a single authority. Rathenau adopts this classification, and believes that whoever the victor in the war may be, the principle of authority and organization will dominate the new society. And this will be a triumph for Germany. Has not this power, in fact, already constrained her adversaries to imitate her methods? She went to war to organize the world, and behold, before its end the world has organized itself in her semblance. Even individualist England has been obliged to sacrifice her liberties and deliver herself bound hand and foot to a dictator. Will it be possible for her ever to go backward?

What use can she make of her liberties so dearly conquered, when there comes, after the war of arms, the most formidable economic war the world has ever known?

It is for this economic war, the inevitable consequence of the other, that Rathenau wishes to prepare his compatriots. As a political fealist, he would put them face to face with realities. He tells them that a fifth of the national fortune will have been swallowed up in this war and that when peace is signed Germany will find herself just where she was at the beginning of the twentieth century . . . that she will have an enormous debt and will find herself confronted by two classes: her creditors and her debtors.

Rathenau's observations upon these two classes are of peculiar interest in America, for already there is an ominous muttering in this country with regard to the unholy wealth of the profiteers and the undue hardships of the proletariat. Speaking of the creditors and debtors, he says that the first, comparatively few in number, will be enriched by war industries, while the latter, the vast majority of the nation, will be in

a cruelly hard position. He continues:

Whatever our optimists may think, Germany will not be able soon to resume commercial relations with her former enemies, and it is within herself that she must find all necessary resources.

In consequence there will be a triple task before her: (1) To rebuild the national wealth; (2) to liquidate war debts as rapidly as possible *by taxes laid upon men of means upon the principle that just as noblesse oblige so does richesse oblige*; (3) to reorganize her life upon new economic bases. As regards this last point, he says that the system inaugurated in a time of distress for the purposes of using all the forces of the country to secure the general good must be continued in times of peace, words which hold a double significance for the United States. He writes:

Organization can no longer remain a private affair; it must be the *res publica*, a thing belonging to the entire community. . . . There will be no question, doubtless, of interference with art, science, philosophic speculation, religion; those are things outside all economic organization, having their own laws and their own peculiar aims. But we may imagine a new order which shall, little by little, absorb the energies of sound and vigorous men, whose production, moderate in the ideal world, shall be largely utilized for material purposes. And if, by reason of this, we have a few less amateurs study-

ing the history of art or of philosophy in the universities, and if we have fewer landowners and aesthetes, preoccupied, the one with increasing their money; the others with increasing their collections, the evil will not be insupportable.

Expressed in brief, Rathenau's program is as follows: Regulation of production, regulation of consumption, utilization of all the vital strength of the nation to enlarge the common wealth. The writer in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* thus comments upon it:

Here is food for reflection for foreign countries, especially if one considers that in its external application it implies the reinforcement of that aggressive protectionism which, by its combative custom-house policy, its abusive combinations of tariffs, its prizes for products designed for foreign commerce, with looked-for internal losses, its dumpings and cartels, has disturbed the free play of commercial relations among nations. A Frenchman, M. Henri Hauser, has already sounded the alarm: "Vanquished or vic-



Photo by Press Illustrating Co.
DR. WALTHER RATHENAU,
GERMANY'S FOREMOST
ECONOMIC EXPERT

tor, the harvest will be Germany's." More than ever do we need to repeat the warning, "*Caveat Consul!*"

The June number of the same magazine contains a brief notice of a still later volume from Rathenau's pen, "The Things of To-Morrow," wherein he does not hesitate to express advanced ideas as to the more and more pressing necessity for the democratization of society, saying:

We see to-day in every nation a powerful plutocracy which holds the balance of power, disposes of the law and the constitution to suit itself, decides the question of peace or war. But this plutocracy is nothing more than an association of interests of the basest kind, that of material interests, the most contemptible of oligarchies—one inspired by no loftier ideal.

These words are doubly significant as coming from a man reputed to be very close to the Kaiser.

HOW THE GERMANS TRY TO INFLUENCE OPINION IN INVADIED FRANCE

TWO French writers, signing themselves X and Y, contribute a highly interesting article to a late number of the *Revue de Paris*, in which they show how the Germans have sought to create by means of the journal *La Gazette des Ardennes*, a state of mind favorable to themselves—specifically to arouse a desire for peace. The paper published in the invaded region four times a week, is the only source of news accessible to the inhabitants.

We have been [the writers say] for some weeks in a part of France occupied by the Germans from August 28, 1914, to March 18, 1917, and it was our good fortune to arrive forty-eight hours after their departure. The little town where we are lodged has been less devastated than the neighboring localities, doubtless because, being close to the French lines, it could not be destroyed without our soldiers being advised sooner than necessary of the intended retreat of the invaders. When we arrived, the walls were still placarded with commands and threats . . . and in our hospitals, as in all the quarters used for the soldiers, we still see caricatures, portraits, inscriptions, mottoes, exalting Germany and turning the Allies into ridicule.

On beholding the traces of the occupation, of the German discipline, on hearing those who were its victims, one gets a realizing sense of the régime of moral oppression which the Germans exercised in that unfortunate region for thirty-two months; but to acquaint oneself accurately with their calculated and persistent efforts to dominate opinion one must read the *Gazette des Ardennes*. The writers found complete files of that paper, published from November 1, 1915, "thanks to the beneficent and active interest of the German authorities."

The *Gazette*, which has, it seems, a wide circulation—it claims over 100,000 readers

to-day—in the invaded regions, was in danger of having none at all had it limited itself to defending the German policies. In order to secure readers it publishes lists of French prisoners in Germany, of the French dead, obtainable on the tombs at the Dardanelles; war bulletins of the contending nations; brings an echo of what is passing in France and the rest of the world.

Once enticed by the allurements of news, the point is not to alienate its readers by offensive articles; accordingly, the *Gazette* assumes an air of moderation and impartiality. While violently attacking French public men and French journals, it affects to speak of France invariably with respect, with regret of the awful misunderstanding which divides her from Germany to-day. Without denying its very obvious connection with Berlin, it wishes to be the friend of the invaded populations, to enlighten them on their real interests, lead them to desire an honorable peace with misunderstood Germany, which has always wished them naught but good. To attain that result it has laid out a program which may be summarized as follows:

To show its readers that the real enemy of France is England, which exploits and exhausts her in a war in which it took the initiative and by which it will be the sole gainer, if, should the impossible happen, the Entente should be victorious. The *Gazette* invents an England which perfidiously led France into war. Now, all the world knows that if there was one power unprepared for war it was England. But such a trifle does not disconcert the *Gazette*. Is it not certain that England has always borne France a deadly hatred?

Should its readers say: "What matters

it if we serve others' interests as long as we shall recover our lost provinces, if victorious?" the *Gazette* replies:

Even if you regained Alsace-Lorraine through victory, it would be at too heavy a cost. But you can not be victors. You count upon our economic exhaustion. Now, Germany abounds in alimentary reserves; she has unlimited resources. If you doubt it, look at our illustrations showing German tables almost as plentifully laden as in peace times, etc., etc.

But England would not have drawn France into this fatal war, and France would not persist in it, without the treachery and blindness of their public men. Eulogy of Germany is the natural counterpart of attack upon England and France. The *Gazette* repeats, untiringly, that Germany did not wish the war, that she was forced into it by the jealousy of the Allies, that she only wanted to live laboriously and peacefully. But what it specially delights in is to collect testimony—and French testimony, if you please!—regarding the fine spirit manifested by Germany in the occupied countries.

The German is good and humane; take the word of the *Gazette*; look at its pictures; do you see those soldiers of the Kaiser holding French children on their knees?

As for the sufferings of the interned prisoners in Germany, the paper lends ears only to those interested—the prisoners; and those quoted speak in terms of praise of the German treatment. But the most favorable account is furnished by a Frenchman living in Germany. He assails the Paris journalists, "sowers of lies and hatred," and violently attacks the cruel treatment of German prisoners in France; a people, like the German, he concludes, which carries the respect due a soldier to such a point, which replies to the obloquy and threats hurled against it for two years with words of wisdom and moderation—does not such a people offer an example in this tempest of unchained passions, of grandeur, of nobility, of strength? The doctors add, with grim humor, that they should like to make the acquaintance of this Frenchman who lives in Germany.

For two years and a half the *Gazette* has served such literature to readers having no other source of information. What did it expect to accomplish? Even the blindest of journalists could hardly believe in the possibility of a peace which would leave the invaded region in German hands; it was not in order to win over the people's hearts,

then, that this work was undertaken. What they evidently wish is to create the impression that invaded France desires peace, that it repudiates the English alliance, that it deems all resistance futile or culpable.

Early in 1916 Berlin passed word to the *Gazette*, and it began to speak of peace. Up to the moment of Germany's peace proposal it does not cease to prophesy or demand peace through the pen of pretended Frenchmen. On one occasion a "Frenchman" of the occupied region speaks not only of peace but of an alliance with Germany. The "fact is," he says, "that all the people of the occupied territory deplore a policy which results in the opposition of two nations destined, in complementing each other, to decide the fate of the Eastern world."

The German peace proposal of December 12, 1916, and the Chancellor's speech are printed without comment, but the *Gazette* takes notice of the hostile attitude of the French, English, and Italian press. All that is of poor augury. But all is not lost. "The tone of the great Paris press," it asks, "is it really the expression of French sentiment? It seems rather to be dictated by England." Finally, "after three weeks' silence," the Allies refuse the Austro-German offer. One need but get the testimony of the invaded regions as to the good will of the Central Powers, their sincere desire for peace, and the culpable obstinacy of the Allies: that is the theme pursued without let-up in the *Gazette* of January and February, the last that came under the doctors' notice.

Without troubling to controvert the *Gazette*, the writers call attention to its being the sole source of news of its readers, and the circumstance that many of these are peasants with scant education, whose only defense against that flood of lies and sophisms lay within themselves. It was interesting to hear what they thought of the paper. The first days after the German retreat the liberated inhabitants were not chary of giving their impressions. To give a typical answer to the writers' queries: "The paper was bought on account of the list of prisoners; as for the rest, a paper written by the Boches! It was but too evident that its object was to disconcert us."

Speaking of the memorable day, January 6, 1917, when the Allies' reply was published, one woman recounted her feelings. The *Gazette* based hopes upon this answer; its readers awaited it eagerly, but, beset by

lies, they could not make out whether the Allies were strong enough to continue the war. The reply banished their doubts, and from early morning a murmur of joy ran through the little town: "They refuse

peace; we are the stronger!" What mattered all their hardships, the dear ones wounded, perhaps dead, what mattered anything, this joy has repaid all—as the poor woman exclaimed.



© L. A. Huffman, Miles City, Mont.

CAPTAIN L'ESTRANGE INSPECTING, ONE AT A TIME, A THOUSAND CAVALRY MOUNTS

AMERICAN HORSES FOR ARTILLERY IN FRANCE

EVER since the outbreak of the war, in 1914, there has been a steady demand for American horses to supply the needs of the French artillery. It is said that the first contract made for Western horses in September, 1914, came from France. In all, more than one million animals have been shipped to the Allies. Perhaps it is not generally known to how great an extent the light artillery, employed most effectively by the French in every important drive that they have made, has been drawn by American horses.

From an article by Grace Hegger, in *Sunset* (San Francisco), we learn that England has been the heaviest investor in horses, both in number bought and price paid. Most of her buying has been generally direct, not through contracts. France comes second, Italy third. The great horse market of the West is at Miles City, Montana. The contractors at that point assume all responsibility, and although the brand of the French

Government is on the horse, France does not pay for it until it has been shipped to the Atlantic seaboard, crossed the ocean, and has been five days on French soil.

A French army captain inspects all the horses offered for sale at Miles City. He is assisted by a veterinary, and experience has given him the ability to make quick decisions. Something of the *modus operandi* is thus described in *Sunset*:

Some one calls "2152" and another artillery horse is in the ring. A restless animal this. From one end of the enclosure to the other it drags the active youth who leads it. It is impossible to see its teeth to tell its age (only those from five to ten years are eligible); to get its height (fifteen hands one inch to sixteen hands one inch for light artillery, fifteen hands two inches to seventeen hands for heavy artillery); to make sure if that is a side bone or not, right there above the left hind hoof. If so, it will not do; it will be lame in no time.

The horse won't stand still.

"Bite his ear, Nat!" yells a bystander.

Nat, the acrobat at the end of the halter, taste-

fully garbed in an orange-banded black sweater and tan buttoned boots, slowly shortens the halter, all the time whistling confidently to the animal, and then a sudden leap at its head and his teeth fasten over a hairy white ear. The surprised horse snorts and rears, but Nat hangs on, swinging like a pendulum until his weight gradually causes the great head to lower. In those few moments of quiet, the Doctor is able to see the number of teeth, and the Captain, who has been quietly standing by, with crook stick hooked over his arm as nonchalantly as though about to stroll down the Rue Scribe to the Jockey Club, steps quickly forward, and with a deft movement transforms the stick into a measuring standard—like the magic sword cane—and the horse's height is taken.

Captain and Doctor confer for a few seconds; the horse is accepted; its full description is called out and transferred to a book.

"Brand him!" sings out Nat, the ear-biter. The gate of one pen swings open and the animal goes to the branding.

For this, the horse is driven into a stall which encloses it exactly on all sides. There it must stand while upon the right fore hoof is burnt "A" for light artillery, and the individual sales number (in this instance, 2152), and upon its right hip is sizzled the French army brand of this particular contract. Thus if mistakes are made the brands form an ineradicable tracer.

For years the Miles City horse-market has been a monthly institution. No other part of the United States has so many local horse-breeders as the Montana range country. In a single sale it is not an unusual occurrence to have \$225,000 worth of horses pass through the selling-pen.

SAVING MUTILATED TREES IN FRANCE

THE trees destroyed by the retreating German army in France were not all ruined in the same way, says a writer in *L'Illustration* (Paris). When the time was too short to permit use of the axe, dynamite cartridges were used. When the men had no cartridges, they cut deep into the trunks with hatches and pruning-bills; or stripped the bark off, girdling the tree to the height required to give it a speedy death. But the ingenuity of the nurserymen of France gives reason to hope that within ten years the mutilated trees will again bear fruit. The work of reparation was taken up in time and nature was given a chance to act. When the bark of the oldest trees was too deeply grooved to admit the passage of young sap, the old trees were eliminated, and trunks not exceeding 25 centimeters in diameter were left to send up shoots. Four or five of the most vigorous of the shoots will be used for grafting-slips next year.

Some of the trunks saved had been grafted even with the ground when planted, so the new growths, springing from the trunks at a height of 80 centimeters, will bear, above the graft, exactly the same kind of fruit that the tree bore at first. Other trees not the issue of grafts, but seedlings, whose bark has not been roughened by age, are expected to recuperate very rapidly.

When the mutilated tree did not measure more than 20 centimeters in diameter the "crowning" method has been used. This means that the trunk has been sawed in a slightly oblique direction to facilitate the course of the rain (figure 1), and then from three to six grafting-slips have been inserted all around the trunk, between the bark and the wood. For use by the "crowning" method, the grafting slips are prepared as shown in figures 2 and 3, and set in 8 or 10 centimeters apart, the space varying according to the diameter of the trunk (figure 4).

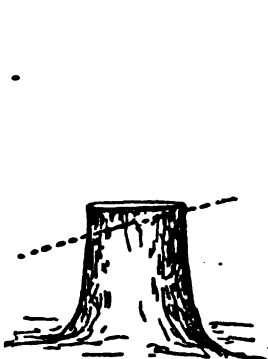


FIGURE 1



FIGURES 2 AND 3

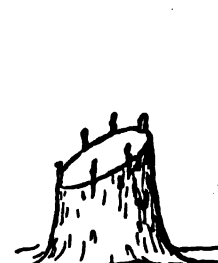


FIGURE 4

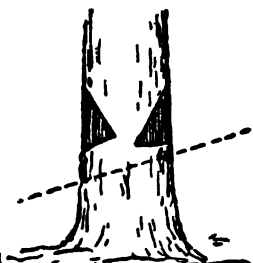


FIGURE 5

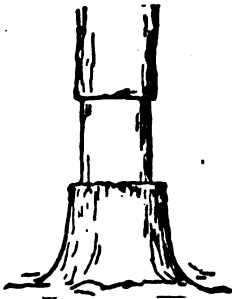


FIGURE 6



FIGURE 7

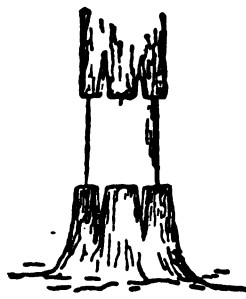


FIGURE 8

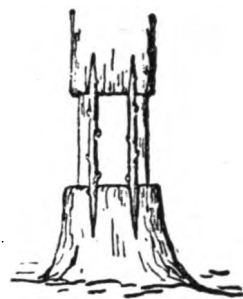


FIGURE 9

When set in place, the graft slips are ligatured, and the whole—wound, bark and ligature—carefully covered with grafting wax. The slips (which must be in a state of complete rest) will be found in France, growing in a crown around the top of the mutilated trunk.

If there are no slips with "sleeping eyes" (to use a technical term), or if an eye has appeared, then, the slip must be cut back down to the graft joint. As a result, a so-called "stipulaceous" eye will spring from the furrow, between the joint and the young sprout, to furnish one more branch. To prevent waste of sap, the upper part of the slip is covered with wax.

Trees hurriedly hacked with the hatchet have been treated by running cement into their wounds. The operation has been successful, even when the wound reached the heart of the tree. Plaster makes even a better filling than cement.

When two or three cuts join, leaving only a little wood to the tree, it is advisable to saw the trunk completely through, obliquely, and then to treat it as shown in figure 5.

If the pruning-bill, or the hatchet, has done no worse than to break the bark and penetrate a little of the wood, or if the bark,

though loosened, has not been stripped completely off, it must be bound to the trunk with wire and covered with wax. So treated, the wounds of a tree will heal of themselves.

Many of the trees mutilated by the retreating Germans were girdled to a height varying between 10 and 20 centimeters. In such cases the grafters have had a chance to accomplish the integral reparation of the tree. To give free course to the circulation of the sap, the trunks have been bridged vertically with grafting slips cut in flat bevels, the ends of the slips being notched to fit from top to bottom into incisions made in the bark of the tree for receiving them (figures 8 and 9).

Figure 6 shows how the Germans girdled the trees.

The treatment used for high trunks, for half-trunks, for trunks standing in fields, or in exposed places, is used for trees grown on or against an espalier wall or near houses. Such work is less difficult when the trunk of a tree is not large, and when most of the grafting is done close to the ground.

A great many of the trees doomed to die have been saved, but there was no time lost. The repairing work had to be done by the end of May.



FRENCH APPLE ORCHARDS AS THE GERMANS LEFT THEM
(Non-fruit bearing trees in the neighborhood were left untouched)

A DRAMATIC CRITIC OF THE OLD SCHOOL

WILLIAM WINTER, whose death, at the age of eighty-one, was announced last month, had been writing on theatrical subjects since 1854 and for an unbroken period of forty-four years had served as dramatic critic and editor on the staff of the *New York Tribune*. He was one of the brilliant group of writers who came to the *Tribune* in Horace Greeley's time.

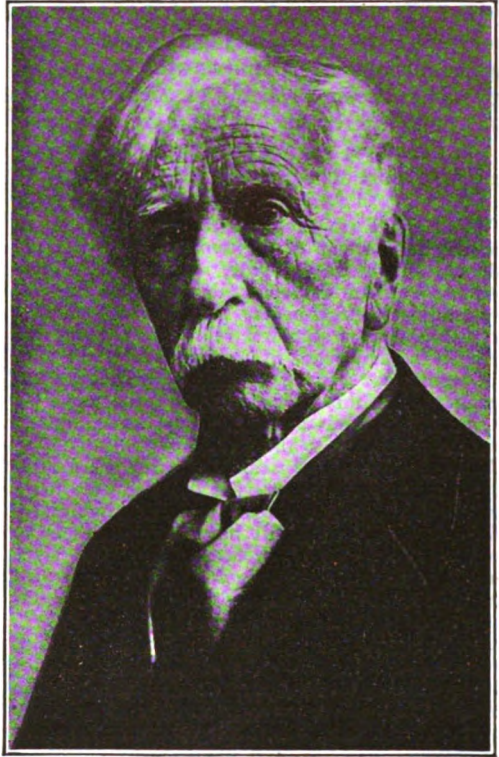
Mr. Winter's equipment for his chosen task has probably never been equaled in American literary history. Of this the *Nation* (New York) says:

He had a marked personality, which impinged upon many men of his time, and upon several fields of literary production. He was steeped in English literature and was himself master of a trenchant style which sometimes became mordant. His judgments of actors and plays and books and writers could not always be followed implicitly, but at any rate one always knew that they proceeded from ample knowledge. Mr. Winter was no improvisator in his art. Long and deep study, and the widest acquaintance with the history of the drama, gave him a background for all his opinions. There was nothing of upstart impudence about him. It was perceived that here was a man with something like fixed standards, deliberately arrived at after long study and thought and experience, and that he was applying them, like measuring rods, to the theatrical productions of the day. If this often made him seem a severe critic, the fault lay less in him than in the thing criticized! Of this intellectual integrity there was never any question; and even in the closing months of failing health he applied himself to his work with much of his old iron industry. In his generation he was an outstanding personage; and young writers, dramatic and other, would do well to make note of the qualities which caused him to be respected and that made him a real power.

It was as a student of the literary values of plays that Mr. Winter excelled, even more than in estimating the performances of individual actors. He was one of the ablest of Shakespearean commentators. As the *Nation* remarks:

His familiarity with the mere letter of the text was extraordinary, and he excelled most commentators, not only in his comprehensive grasp of the salient elements in the greatest characters of the master, but in the clarity and absorbing interest of his exposition.

It is well understood that Mr. Winter had little use for most modern plays or for the purely commercial theater of our time.



THE LATE WILLIAM WINTER

Since his death the *Outlook* (New York) has directed attention to his own explanation of his attitude; contained in his "Vagrant Memories":

I have no sympathy with any form of bigotry, and especially I repudiate the bigotry that would unduly extol the past in order, by invidious comparison, to depreciate and disparage the present. Nevertheless, when I contemplate the condition of the contemporary stage—a condition which I know to be in some respects degraded and deplorable, but which I believe to be temporary—I am impelled to cling, with a tenacity which I cannot deem unreasonable, to my stanch preference for that older and better school of acting in which impersonation and elocution were equally cultivated and exemplified, and for that affectionate, romantic popular feeling relative to the stage which once was widely diffused, but which is dormant now.

Mr. Winter's criticism of the American stage was of far more than transient importance. Much of it will live after him. In the long run commercialism will not silence it.

THE ECONOMIC MOVEMENT IN JAPAN

IN a recent number of the *Revue des Sciences Politiques* (Paris), Maurice Dewarin calls attention to the grave import of the economic situation in Japan. The changing conditions of manufacture, commerce, and finance being probably of greater importance and interest in our own country than even in Europe, we are glad to lay before our readers a portion of his article. He writes:

When the European war finally comes to an end the belligerents of the two groups will issue exhausted from the struggle; and it will be necessary for them to repair the ravages of that devastating scourge before they can contemplate the resumption of economic relations. Among the Allies it is our friends of the Far East alone who will come out of the conflict both richer and stronger—and this merely through the force of circumstances and although they have loyally fulfilled their duty to the Allies.

Their triple rôle of munitioners for the armies, of the coalition, of purveyors to their own markets, and of exporters to the countries habitually tributary to Europe, will have enabled them to accumulate enormous profits. Moreover, since they have suffered but insignificant military losses they will have the further advantage of an abundant supply of labor at low wages.

A portion of those gains are already being put to use. The stock of gold in Japan, guarantee of the fiduciary circulation of the country, has doubled in two years. The national treasury holds foreign securities and government bonds; the national debt has been lightened by amortizations and redemptions.

What is to be done with the surplus of capital thus amassed by individuals as well as by the public treasury? The Nippon Government, having general public welfare in view, has planned

the execution of a long program of public works in the after-war period, or even earlier, of which the reconstruction of the railway system will form but a small part.

The capitalists for their part have two objects in view—the lessening as much as possible of the economic tribute hitherto paid to foreign nations, and the development of both commercial and financial activities in foreign parts. To this end they are seeking to make available the natural riches as yet unexploited, not only of the Nippon Archipelago, but also of the annexed territories of the Empire proper. In fact, Corea, Manchuria, Karafuto (the southern portion of Sakhalia), the whole of this vast region washed by the waves of the Pacific, constitutes a realm comparable to our own Northern Africa, and the island of Formosa is in some sort a Japanese Corsica, at once richer and wilder than the European island.

Mr. Dewarin cautions his readers particularly against mistaking the attitude of Japan, observing that she is determined to be mistress of her own affairs, and stating that a year ago the *Japan Times* noted the growing tendency among her merchants and manufacturers to avoid transacting business through the intermediary European houses, and to deal directly with the buyers and sellers of other countries. He continues:

Moreover, they seek to extend their foreign trade as much as possible. A great London daily has acknowledged, not without bitterness, that England would have to struggle in India, after the war, against the lively competition of her Far-East ally. We are of the belief that this situation will not be limited to this English colony, nor be peculiar to Great Britain.

SHALL WE CONTINUE THE STUDY OF THE CLASSICS?

IN the opinion of many educators and statesmen it is desirable that the study of the classics should be continued in American schools and colleges together with practical education. There has seemed to come an awakening of the higher principles of personality through the study of the classics that could not be obtained by materialistic or scientific education. According to our best authorities, the old Greek principle of "nothing too much" must prevail, or our rush for efficiency will lead away to the dust heap of the nations that have fallen away from the inviolable ideals of human conduct.

At a recent conference on classical studies

in liberal education held at Princeton University, four American statesmen presented opinions in favor of classical studies. They were:

EX-PRESIDENT TAFT—I believe that the success of the continental systems of education and of that in Great Britain establishes the fact that the classical studies are important as an essential element in the best liberal education. In addition to the mental discipline which study of them affords, they are most helpful in the matter of correct English style, in laying sound foundations for grammatical construction and in furnishing a basis for the study of all modern languages.

EX-PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT—A cultural education must include the classics. Every liberally edu-

cated man should be familiar with Greek or Latin, and, if possible, with both, as well as at least one of the great modern culture languages and a wide sweep of general history and pre-history.

ROBERT LANSING—I am convinced that the study of the classics furnishes a man with mental processes which he cannot otherwise acquire, that it elevates him above the materialistic and gives him a loftier conception of the realities.

ELIHU ROOT—I am a firm believer in the value of studying Greek and Latin. Although in after life one may forget much that he has learned, he can never lose the influence on his character.

The *Classical Weekly* (New York) of May 21 quoted remarks in favor of classical education made by Dr. Albert Shaw before a meeting of the New York Latin Club on November 11 last. Dr. Shaw appealed to the classicists to vision their higher duty "towards the general and permanent standards of American scholarship and culture," the inculcation of classical ideals:

You understand the intrinsic nature of those ideals: the liberty of mind and spirit, the largest range of personal freedom for every man that could be made compatible with a like freedom of his fellows, the dignity of the human soul, the equality before the law of the highest noble and the humblest peasant, immunity from both economic and political oppression in every form, the dominance of intellectual and spiritual forces, and, above all, the power of knowledge and the right of every child to the heritage of the ages.

It would be tempting, if there were time, to identify the pursuit of these ideals with the fruits that they brought forth—their outward manifestations in distinctive objective forms. They give us codes of law, coming down from classical periods, enriched and revised as human society becomes ever more subject to right rules of living. They give us order and symmetry in a hundred ways as respects the general scheme of things. They give dignity to life, permanence to domestic institutions, form and stability to architecture. They express themselves in appropriate language, and with such breadth and depth of meaning that utterances thus made have permanence. And, behold! their literature has a quality that we call "classical." Their developed sense of symmetry and beauty creates forms that we call "artistic," and that so accord with the general ideas I have described as to have abiding recognition. And, also, we call them "classical."

But what has been the greatest mission in the world of the truly classical spirit? It has been the emancipation of the human mind and the uplifting of individual men and women to some kind of conformity with high standards. In the nature of the case, the ideal had to seek universal application. It had to find for men religious freedom. It had to work for their political emancipation. And not less did it have to seek their economic enfranchisement so that the spirit might not be crushed by toil and disease and poverty.

Nothing could be more certain than that stu-

dents of politics and society will never forget Plato, or abandon the study of antique life. And so in manifold ways science comes to the aid of classical study. All progress in knowledge and truth, whether scientific or typically cultural, rests purely upon the energy of the mind and the aspiration of the spirit. We must lay aside, if we can, the contentious attitude and seek to be ministers to real progress. The classical languages are an essential part of the history of thought and of civilization. It does not follow that they must be studied at exact ages, or by certain proportions of the very young. The study of mathematics as pursued is even more hopelessly out of keeping with educational psychology. There is such a thing as destroying the possibility of classical training in a given group of boys by the wrong way of enforcing that questionable tradition, the teaching of Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic Wars. We force Xenophon's military stuff upon boys, when Xenophon's delightful account of the boyhood of Cyrus might make any American boy willing to study Greek.

If I were teaching my thirteen-year-old boy Greek to-day, I would bring into the house our eloquently written New York daily Greek newspaper, and import current materials from Athens. I would set passages from the speeches of Venizelos alongside of passages from Demosthenes, in order to let the boy feel his way into the conception of the permanence of the Greek tongue. And then I would try to make him feel the marvelous persistence of those European standards of beauty and truth and philosophy that have come to us across the centuries, out of the best days of Greece. . . . The truth is that our literature, as well as our language, our way of thinking, our general aims and ideals, have all of them the classical impress. We are lifting a nation up to more equal standards of human life and welfare; and we shall have a better chance for classical study; and for thorough scholarship in all fields, in the days that are before us than at any time in the days that are past and gone.

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for June and July Professor Paul Shorey makes a vigorous rejoinder to those modern opponents of classical studies whose propaganda he terms "The Assault on Humanism."

To the argument that modern literature is not inferior to the classics he replies:

That is a consolation for those who cannot have both. But our contention is precisely that the boy who goes to college, or even through the high school, will understand modern literature better for knowing even a little Latin. There is no real incompatibility between knowing Latin and acquaintance with modern literature. The professors of classics would cheerfully stand a competitive examination on modern literature with the professional modernists at any time.

You must not argue that Latin is useless, without discriminating the various meanings of utility, the higher and lower utility, the immediate and remote utility, direct and indirect—and unless you are prepared also to abolish for high-school and college students all studies that are useless in the precise sense in which the term applies to Latin.

NATION-WIDE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

THE passage by Congress last February of the Smith-Hughes Act, providing federal aid for vocational education, may be looked upon as a pedagogical milestone quite comparable with the passage in 1862 of the Morrill Act, which established the land-grant colleges for higher education in agriculture and the mechanic arts. To quote a useful analysis of this new measure, published editorially in the *Experiment Station Record* (Washington, D. C.):

As a pioneer measure, the new legislation inevitably recalls the original Morrill Act. Primarily both laws were apparently intended to provide training in agriculture and the industries, the one in collegiate, the other in sub-collegiate, institutions. They were thus both designed to develop a type of education of the utmost importance to our country, but previously never directly supported by the Federal Government and to only a limited degree by the States and local communities. Likewise both acts involved the introduction of a new system of education into the existing system.

The new act may also be compared with the Agricultural Extension Act of 1914, which provided a large federal appropriation for "the giving of instruction and practical demonstrations in agriculture and home economics to persons not attending or resident in State colleges."

The principle of extending financial aid to education through the States rather than by direct appropriations to institutions is again adhered to, as is also that of requiring expenditures by the States or local communities on a dollar-for-dollar basis. The States may, however, if they desire, accept the benefits of the act only for agriculture or for the trades and industries, thereby receiving funds and assuming obligations accordingly. It would thus be unnecessary for States desiring federal appropriations only for vocational training in the trades and industries to maintain a system of vocational training in agriculture, or vice versa.

For years the movement in behalf of providing public instruction for handworkers in as liberal and systematic a manner as it is already provided for head-workers has been gathering strength in this country. It has had the backing of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, the National Education Association, the National Grange, the American Federation of Labor, the American Home Economics Association, the International Congress of Farm Women,

and other influential bodies. In response to this demand many systems of vocational education of a State or local character have been established. These will all now be linked up in a national system, which will, however, be elastic enough to satisfy sectional needs and ideas.

Under the new measure, federal appropriations ultimately aggregating over \$7,000,000 per annum have been made available for coöperation with the States in the promotion of vocational education in agriculture, the trades and industries, and home economics, including the preparation of teachers. The principle of federal aid through the States to education in institutions of subcollegiate grade has been established, and an additional set of administrative machinery has been devised to operate the new system of education which is provided.

The most radical innovation in the act deals with the method of its administration. Previous legislation along these lines has regarded the college of agriculture and mechanic arts as the state unit, whether for college instruction under the Morrill Acts and acts supplementary thereto, the preparation of teachers under the Nelson Amendment, the conducting of research in agriculture under the Hatch and Adams Acts, or the carrying on in coöperation with the U. S. Department of Agriculture of extension work in agriculture and home economics under the Extension Act. The administration of those measures dealing with college instruction has centered in the Department of the Interior, and of those dealing with research and extension work in agriculture in the Department of Agriculture. The vocational education act in both respects establishes a new administrative system.

As its head there is provided a Federal Board for Vocational Education. This board is to consist of seven members, including the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, and the U. S. Commissioner of Education, ex-officio, with three members to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, ultimately for terms of three years each. One of the appointed members is to be a representative of the manufacturing and commercial interests, one of the agricultural interests, and the third of those of labor. The board is to select its own chairman each year. An appropriation of \$200,000 per annum, available from the date of passage of the act, is made to the board for its expenses.

To coöperate with the Federal Board in carrying out the act, each State when accepting its provisions is to designate a state board of at least three members. The state board of education or some board having charge of the administration of public education or of any kind of vocational education may be designated as the state board, or an entirely new board may be created. The state board is to prepare plans for the approval of the Federal Board, showing the details of the work for which it is expected to

use the appropriations. In all cases the work must be conducted under public supervision and control.

The federal appropriations for teacher training must be divided among agricultural, trade and industrial, and home economics subjects, no one of these subjects being granted more than 60 nor less than 20 per cent. of the State's allotment for that year. After June 30, 1920, federal appropriations for salaries in either agriculture or in the industrial subjects can not be utilized unless the State is providing for teacher training in these lines.

The main initial appropriation for salaries in agricultural subjects is \$500,000. This is increased by \$250,000 per annum during the next six years and then by \$500,000 per annum during the next two years, making an appropriation of \$3,000,000 for the fiscal year 1926 and annually thereafter. Corresponding appropriations are made for the payment of salaries in the industrial subjects, but it is provided that no more than 20 per cent. of these appropriations may be used for the instruction in home economics. The main appropriation for preparing teachers and supervisors is likewise \$500,000 for the first year, but increases to \$700,000 and \$900,000 respectively for the next two years and then becomes \$1,000,000 per annum thereafter.

The basis of allotment to the States also varies with the different groups. For salaries of the school instruction staff, the basis for each State

is, for agriculture, the proportion which its rural population bears to the entire rural population of the country; for the industrial subjects, the corresponding proportions of the urban populations; and for the appropriation for preparing teachers and supervisors, the relative proportions of the total populations of the State and the nation.

Provision is also made, however, whereby each State, regardless of its population, may receive at least \$5000 per annum from each fund, and ultimately at least \$10,000. In order to provide this minimum allotment, small supplementary appropriations are granted, totaling for the entire country, when the system is in full operation, \$27,000 per annum for salaries of the agricultural instruction staff, \$50,000 for salaries of the industrial group, and \$90,000 for teacher preparation. Assuming that these sums are utilized in full and that the States accept the act in its entirety, the ultimate permanent appropriations under the act, including the maintenance fund for the Federal Board, may aggregate \$7,367,000 per annum.

The legislatures of several States have already accepted the act, and others have it under consideration. Educators are now awaiting with intense interest the outcome of what will be an experimental undertaking.

COMMERCIAL AERONAUTICS AFTER THE WAR

THE design, construction and operation of military aeroplanes do not, even now, monopolize the attention of aeronautical designers and engineers. Considerable thought is already devoted to the commercial developments that must follow the close of hostilities. This tendency, latterly, has been reflected in the technical press of Europe, and recently a lecture by Mr. Holt Thomas before the Royal Aeronautical Society of Great Britain, abstracted in *Engineering* (London), dealt with this theme.

It is said to be well known throughout Europe that Germany, in addition to keeping up its military strength of aeroplanes, is contemplating extensive aerial service between that empire and Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey, as well as more extended air routes throughout the world, as a means of building up the German Empire anew. Naturally the European War has brought numerous and striking developments in the design and wholesale construction of aeroplanes and their motors, while a vast number of skilled pilots and mechanics have been trained. As a result, in Great Britain, and France

also, commercial possibilities now are being considered far more seriously, though it is realized frankly that commercial conditions will prove vastly different both as regards machines and their operation, and that for the near future the problems arising are likely to prove special rather than general.

There have been developed for the battlefield, and for defense and observation, various types of aeroplane with different weight-carrying capacities and speeds, which seem to suggest a corresponding range in commercial service such as mail, parcel, and passenger transportation.

From the extensive experiences and records of aeroplanes in the different military services the running costs in air for aeroplanes of three leading types computed on the basis of machines averaging 100 miles per hour, may be stated as follows:

- A. Carrying a useful load, 1800 lbs., including petrol and fuel, 6½d. (13 cents) per mile.
- B. Carrying 1000 lbs., 5d. (10 cents) per mile.
- C. Carrying 450 lbs., 2½d. (5 cents) per mile.

On this basis there have been computed the costs of regular aeroplane service be-

THE NEW BOOKS

WORKS RELATING TO THE WAR

War Addresses. By Henry Cabot Lodge. Houghton, Mifflin. 303 pp. \$2.50.

This volume includes Senator Lodge's speeches on national defense and the Administration's war policy and on American relations with Germany leading up to the declaration of war in April last. In this one volume, we have in chronological order the most important deliverances of one of the leaders of the Senate who has from the beginning been the chief exponent of the minority party in Congress in its support of President Wilson on the issues of the war.

Our Part in the Great War. By Arthur Gleason. Stokes. 338 pp. \$1.35.

Mr. Gleason is one of the Americans who from the beginning has been most closely in touch with the operations of the Allies on the Western front. His experience in the ambulance service and his opportunities to visit the scenes of fighting qualify him to write with authority on war conditions and to make serviceable suggestions as to what America may do to cooperate most effectively with her Allies. His book is mainly devoted to telling what has already been done by the 30,000 Americans who have served France as soldiers, ambulance drivers, aviators, doctors, nurses, and stretcher-bearers. It is said that Mr. Gleason is the only person outside of the French and British governments who has seen the originals of the diaries of captured German soldiers. In his book he gives several extracts from these.

Food Preparedness for the United States. By Charles O'Brien. Little, Brown & Co. 118 pp. 60 cents.

Mr. O'Brien was aroused to the necessity of a food campaign in this country even before we entered the war. He was in Germany when the submarine warfare against shipping was inaugurated and he had studied the experiences of that country, where food control had been most highly developed. He does not pretend to say whether Germany will or will not hold out, but he believes that the only safe assumption for us now, as her enemy, is that she has sufficient men, munitions, and food to hold out and that the only thing for us to do is to try to overcome her by superior forces and superior brains. Mr. O'Brien proposes to take a leaf out of Germany's experience in rationing on a basis outlined by scientific nutrition experts who have estimated the minimum of food required to sustain the body in health, strength, and endurance. Therefore, in his little book he suggests ways in which the individual citizen may help in a national campaign of food preparedness.

The Marne Campaign. By Major F. E. Whitton. Houghton, Mifflin. 311 pp. \$4.

We are now getting professional military studies of the battles and campaigns of the war. In a series, "Campaigns and Their Lessons," Major F. E. Whitton describes the Marne Campaign. Such an analysis made at this time cannot, of course, be definitive as all the facts have not been, and cannot be disclosed until after peace is concluded, but such studies, as far as they deal with present conditions, must be useful to the soldier at the front, and at the same time they serve to give the general reader a more vivid picture of what has been going on in the theater of war than he can possibly get from detached narratives, such as appear in the newspapers and magazines from time to time.

The Battle of the Somme. By John Buchan. Doran. 264 pp. \$1.50.

John Buchan is a novelist who has some of the rare qualities of the accomplished military historian. He has studied the successive phases of the battle of the Somme, which must rank even higher than Verdun among the battles of this war, with painstaking care. More than thirty maps are inserted in the text and these enable the reader to follow in detail movements that would otherwise baffle understanding. Much official, documentary material is contained in appendixes and the vivid narrative is reinforced by numerous photographic illustrations.

The Expansion of Europe. By Ramsay Muir. Houghton, Mifflin. 235 pp. \$2.

This is a rapid survey, from the standpoint of British Imperialism, of the rise, growth and rivalries of the various "world empires" that have had their origin in European states.

England and the War. By Andre Chevillon. Doubleday, Page. 250 pp. \$1.60.

This is a French writer's frank comment on the earliest phase of England's war effort. Some of this comment has been made obsolete by later developments. This is true especially of the first English successes against the submarines. But, as a study of the English mind in contrast with the German, the book is interesting and it may also prove useful as a piece of friendly criticism. Rudyard Kipling declares that this analysis of the national mind—especially the chapter on the "Appeal to Conscience"—is nearer the root of the matter than anything that has yet been written by an Englishman.

Told in the Huts. Y. M. C. A. Gift Book. Introduction by Arthur K. Yapp. Stokes. 236 pp. \$1.50.

This volume, contributed by soldiers and war workers and published for the benefit of the

Y. M. C. A. Active Service Commission, is rich in entertaining sketches and stories. Many decorative drawings and several full-page illustrations in color embellish the book.

Papers from Picardy. By Two Chaplains, the Rev. T. W. Pym, C. F., and the Rev. Geoffrey Gordon, C. F. Houghton, Mifflin. 227 pp. \$1.50.

Two chaplains of the British army have written the papers that make up this little volume with a view to analyzing, in the light of actual experience, the question, "What effect has the war had upon the religious sense of the men in trenches?" One of these writers is unquestionably somewhat more optimistic than the other, but both are undeniably sincere and both have based their conclusions on facts that have come within their personal knowledge.

Brothers in Arms. By E. Alexander Powell. Houghton, Mifflin. 62 pp. 50 cents.

This appreciation by Mr. Powell might suitably serve as a memorial of the visit of Marshal Joffre and the other French commissioners to this country. Moreover, it is worth reading on its own account as an American correspondent's record of what he has seen and heard on the battlefields of France.

Letters Concerning the War. Between an American and a Relative in Germany, March-June, 1915. Privately printed.

Letters exchanged during the year 1915 by a prominent American of German birth and a relative in the old country. In this correspondence, the American, who is designated "Y," shows pronounced sympathy for the Allies and at the same time bitterly attacks the policy of the Imperial German Government. It is understood that Mr. Y. is a prominent financier of New York City.

War. By Pierre Loti. Lippincott. 320 pp. \$1.25.
An expression of unaffected sympathy with the victims of the war in Belgium and France. The translation from the French is by Marjorie Laurie.

The World at War. By Georg Brandes. Macmillan. 272 pp. \$1.50.

Georg Brandes, who is recognized the world over as one of the great writers of our time, treats of the war and the events leading up to it from the neutral standpoint. Several of the essays included in this volume, notably the remarkable "Foreboding" of 1881, were written long before the outbreak of the war. In his forecast of the terms of final peace, Brandes looks forward to the abolishment of militarism and to universal free trade.

German Imperialism and International Law. By Jacques De Dampierre. London: Constable & Co.

In this volume various official expressions of German imperialistic ambitions have been brought together for the purpose of showing how they conflict with the provisions of international law as recognized by the civilized world prior to 1914. As to the practices of the German armies since the outbreak of the war, evidence has been

cited from German sources and citations are made from the campaign diaries of German officers found on the field of battle and handed over to the French Staff. In separate chapters are discussions of "Violence as an Element in German Politics," "War and Spoliation," and "German Terrorism."

German Idealism and Prussian Militarism. By Charles William Super. Neale Publishing Company. 95 pp. \$1.

A brief examination of German literature which contradicts the position frequently taken, that Prussian militarism of to-day is the natural outgrowth of the German idealism of the early 19th century. The author finds in the ideals of Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing no warrant for the doctrine of the divine right of kings, which he regards as "an anachronism, an absurdity, and, as interpreted by the present German Emperor, a frightful obsession."

The German Terror in Belgium. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Doran. 160 pp. \$1.

A condensed, connected story of the punishments inflicted on the civil population of the country invaded by the Germans, from the very beginning of the war. This record is based on published documents, both British and German. It covers occurrences of a later date than those contained in the well-known Bryce Report.

The German Fury in Belgium. By L. Mokveld. Doran. 247 pp. \$1.

This book gives the experiences of a Dutch journalist during four months with the German Army in Belgium. The writer was an eye-witness of the events he relates. He does not attempt to give the history of the campaign, but he describes many of the lesser incidents that throw light on the character of the invaders. He became convinced that the German authorities had deliberately sanctioned a campaign of "frightfulness" and his investigations went to show that the stories of treacherous Belgian assaults and the mutilation of German wounded were quite baseless.

The Immediate Causes of the Great War. By Oliver Perry Chitwood. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 196 pp. \$1.35.

An attempt to summarize within the compass of a single volume the causes of the war as they are given in the published documents of the belligerents. In making this digest, the author's aim has been not to argue the case, but only to give and systematize the evidence—"not all the evidence on all the points, but only adequate evidence on the main points." Persons who do not have access to the various official statements of the governments at war, or do not have time to read the evidence therein presented, will find this summary convenient and useful.

Household Organization for War Service. By Thetta Quay Franks. Putnam's. 93 pp. \$1.

A book of suggestions for all women who have charge of households. Many of these suggestions are as sensible and helpful in peace times as in war.

NEW VOLUMES OF HISTORY

Breaches of Anglo-American Treaties. By John Bigelow. Sturgis & Walton Co. 248 pp. Maps. \$1.62.

A painstaking attempt to consider all the treaties, conventions, and similar agreements negotiated between Great Britain and the United States that may be regarded as broken by either of the contracting parties, to set forth and discuss the infraction in each case, and finally to summarize the records on both sides, with a view to the balancing of the accounts. About two-thirds of the volume is devoted to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850.

The French Revolution and Napoleon. By Charles Downer Hazen. Holt. 385 pp. Maps. \$2.50.

Events in the present world war have brought about here in America a revival of interest in French history and especially in the revolution and its immediate results. Prof. Hazen has dealt with these episodes not as chapters of French history merely, but more broadly in their relation to the general trend of European and world history of the nineteenth century. His style as a writer is well adapted to the purpose in hand and his method of summarizing essential facts and rejecting unimportant detail has resulted in a useful and valuable compendium of history.

A History of the United States. By Edward Channing. Vol. IV.: Federalists and Republicans, 1789-1815. Macmillan. 575 pp. \$2.75.

The fourth volume of Professor Channing's history carries the narrative from the beginning of the federal government under the Constitution, through the years of organization, the rise of political parties, the commercial warfare with Europe, and the war of 1812. Like the earlier volumes of this work, on which we have already commented in these pages, this account is clearly presented and well proportioned. There is an abundance of footnote references and bibliographical lists to assist the reader who wishes to push investigation on any special point. One episode treated in this history that has peculiar interest at this time is the anti-French excitement in the administration of John Adams.

Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860. By Rolla Milton Tryon. Baker & Taylor. 413 pp. \$2.

A subject on which most Americans of to-day have only the most superficial knowledge is the extent to which manufactures were carried on in the homes of our people in the early days. In the present volume an intensive study of this matter has been undertaken, with the result that a mass of detailed information is presented in a compact and coherent form. The products of the "family factory" in the colonial period and during the early decades of our national life are described in detail and there is a good account of the gradual transition that took place from family-made to shop- and factory-made goods. The

author gives a sort of conspectus of American household industries as they were brought over the Alleghenies and developed in Ohio and the Mississippi Valley.

Economic Development of Modern Europe. By Frederic Austin Ogg. Macmillan. 673 pp. \$2.50.

Earlier books by this writer have discussed the governments of Europe, as well as social progress in the principal European countries. The purpose of the present volume is to indicate the origins and to explain the nature and effects of some of the more important economic changes in Europe during the past 300 years. Professor Ogg has gone carefully over the ground and his book is a very good summary of the remarkable economic transformations that have taken place since the era of colonial expansion that ushered in our own history as a nation. The author's treatment of his theme has been modified to a certain extent by the course of the great war now in progress. He is compelled to use the past tense in writing about many things which until August, 1914, he says that he would have treated as matters of current fact.

Women in War. By Francis Gribble. Dutton. 342 pp. \$2.75.

The growing importance of the part played by women in modern warfare gives special point to this historical survey of the military achievements of women from the earliest times. Reading Mr. Gribble's pages, one can hardly realize that they record historical facts. The stories that he relates have all the fascination of fiction and they relate to women of diverse nationalities, from those of ancient Greece to the French heroines of the Russian campaign. In his concluding chapter the author pays a fitting tribute to "one name which is worthy to be set beside that of Jeanne d'Arc—that of Florence Nightingale," who, he says, is "better remembered and worthier to be remembered than any of the generals of the Crimean War."

British Exploits in South America. By W. H. Koebel. Century. 587 pp. \$4.

Perhaps Americans have not been fully alive to the British activities in exploration, adventure, diplomacy, science and trade in Latin America during past years. In this volume, Mr. Koebel, a well-known writer on South American topics, discloses a truly wonderful tale of British enterprise and aggressive pioneering in the southern half of our hemisphere. British trade with South America began in the sixteenth century, and although England never held more than an insignificant portion of the continent as her own, there has been no time when English capital and English manufacturers have not played an important part in the development of South American countries. The recent, somewhat unsatisfactory position of British commerce in those countries as contrasted with the rapid advance made by Germany before the war is frankly discussed in this volume.

VARIOUS IMPORTANT PUBLICATIONS

Agriculture After the War. By A. D. Hall, F. R. S. Dutton. 137 pp. \$1.25.

"Agriculture After the War," by A. D. Hall, F.R.S., a member of the English Committee on Food Production, presided over by Lord Milner, is one of the most interesting and important books of the month. It presents the whole case for the reorganization of agriculture in Great Britain in order to meet the actual normal needs of the country, and also of the situation created by the prosecution of the war. There is need for an immediate increased production of food and the greater employment of men on the land, to insure security of the British nation, and this must be accomplished regardless, at least in part, of the personal interests of the land-owners and the farmers. The writer does not think it unfair to the English farmer to state that a first-rate farmer pursuing his own particular welfare may yet be following a policy inimical to the necessity of the nation. The first chapter gives statistics as to the dependence of Great Britain on imported food. This is followed by a résumé of the decline of British agriculture, and the arguments for "arable land versus grass." Then Mr. Hall takes up possible developments, the capacity of the land, the dependence of arable farming upon food prices, and considers what action is at present practicable. Among the possible developments are industrialized farms, small holding colonies, the intensification of agriculture under the current system, the reclamation of land, and subsidiary agricultural industries, such as the production of beet sugar, flax, hemp fibre, utilization of timber waste, canning, etc. His summary places emphasis, first, on the production of food as a national insurance, and secondarily on the desirability of increasing the element of agricultural population.

The importance of agricultural preparedness to a nation either engaged in war or on the verge of conflict can hardly be overestimated. It deserves the most careful consideration from conservation enthusiasts, agriculturists, and from every man whatsoever his trade or occupation, inasmuch as the increase of food supply is of vital necessity to military operations.

A Year of Costa Rican Natural History. By A. S. and P. P. Calvert. Macmillan. Ill. 577 pp. \$3.

Exactly what effect the completion of the Panama Canal and its use by the ships of all nations will have on the countries near the Isthmus is not yet evident. Certain changes in the educational schemes, in industries and occupations, and an increasing enticement to progress can be fairly expected, therefore it is to the interest of natives of the United States to become more familiar with the topography, climate, natural products and manners and customs of countries lying adjacent to Panama. A book on Costa Rica, "A Year of Costa Rican Natural History," by Philip P. Calvert, Professor of Zoölogy in the University of Pennsylvania, and Amelia Smith Calvert, sometime Fellow in Biology at Bryn

Mawr, presents a complete picture of conditions in certain mountainous districts of Costa Rica easily accessible to the public. The object of the expedition of the authors in 1910 was primarily to make a scientific study of the larvæ of the living dragon flies (*Odonata*). This was accomplished together with researches in botany, the distribution of plants, animals and insects, and copious notes were made on the manners and customs of the people, methods of agriculture, historical ruins, volcanoes and earthquakes and matters of general interest. The illustrations include 46 views of scenery, houses and other buildings, 60 species of plants and 56 species of insects. The style in which this almost inexhaustible store of material has been presented renders the book readable throughout. An appendix with notes on the weather describes the admirable climate of average coolness found in the mountain regions of this tropical country. The authors were witnesses of the destruction wrought in Cartago, a flourishing city second in size in the Republic, in the spring of 1910. The value to science of this expedition is clearly shown both in the volume and in the lengthy list of papers that have been prepared whole or in part from the collection made by the authors in Costa Rica.

English Composition. By Greenough and Hersey. Macmillan. 379 pp. \$1.40.

A new, inspiring text-book which is the joint work of Chester Noyes Greenough, Professor of English in Harvard University, and Frank W. C. Hersey, Instructor in English in that institution. The main idea of the book is that a purpose, not a set of rules, should be the incentive to writing. Students should learn how to infuse their mental, emotional and spiritual qualities into writing through understanding that technique may be molded to suit individual purposes. With this in mind the technique of English composition will no longer prove a prison where the virile ideas of young students and literary aspirants languish behind the iron bars of a set of negative rules.

Therefore, there is no abstract discussion of the principles of unity, coherence and emphasis. Specific ways and means to a good style are given special attention. The book aims at the cultivation of positive virtues, flavor, spice tang, charm, surprise, and is the first work of its kind to bring the student ample descriptive extracts from famous writers illustrated with photographs of the actual scenes described by them. Among these authors are Hardy, Ruskin, Stevenson, Scott, Hawthorne, and Blackmore. In short, here is the scene, here is a famous description of it by a master. Now try your hand, set the stage, and arrange your own details. The authors call attention to the need of variety and rhythm in sentences, the value to a fine style of long, short, and medium sentences used in accord with the purposes in mind and the rhythmic values of the thought to be expressed. The sentences that best describe a peaceful landscape are not those suited to picture a battle "somewhere in France."

POETRY

WILLIAM WATSON'S patriotic poems, "The Man Who Saw," are of England and for England, but also for the "world made safe for democracy," for the ideals of universal brotherhood. They include a deep-toned dirge for the obsequies of the Emperor Wilhelm II, recruiting songs, commemorative sonnets, personal tributes to war heroes, and other patriotic lyrics. Through them all one hears the ominous roaring of the British lion quickened for battle, wounded but still sure-muscled and dangerous of fang. The energy of these poems will keep them alive long after many more tuneful echoes of the conflict are forgotten. The poet writes in hope of universal peace:

"May we yet
Give ampler range in fields of vaster marge
'Gainst war itself, when this war passes, let
Our bugles sound a charge."

It may perhaps seem a far cry to compare the poetry of Walter de la Mare with that of Edgar Allan Poe. Nevertheless, of all the younger English poets, he alone, although in a different vein, opens the door into Poe's universe. He is the conjurer among poets. To his rhymes arise the tricky spirits of the four elements, and at times he merely sweeps aside the curtain of reality to let us peer over the brink of the unknown. One might exhaust lists of adjectives and yet fail to bring the reader the flavor, the awe, the delight, the haunting terror of his collections of verse, "Peacock Pie"¹ and "The Listeners and Other Poems." The first contains rhymes that are both for children and for adults since the poet has seen that they have fundamentally the same appreciations. "The Changeling," "Bewitched," "Melmillo," and "All But Blind," from "Peacock Pie," give the feel of his quality. "An Epitaph," from "The Listeners and Other Poems," concentrates mortal grief over the evanescence of beauty:

"Here lies a most beautiful lady,
Light of step and heart was she;
I think she was the most beautiful lady
That ever was in the West Country.
But beauty vanishes; beauty passes;
However rare—rare it be;
And when I crumble, who will remember
This lady of the West Country?"

Another English poet, Ralph Hodgson,² leaves the inspiration of the war to other writers of verse and gives us lyrics that reveal twists and turns of surprise, new music and often a grandiose theme treated colloquially. Such a poem is "Eva," an interpretation of the temptation of Mother Eve, pronounced by the *Nation* the most fascinating poem of our time, "most musical, most tender, most strange." "The Bull," a remarkable poem of the collection, is an epic of the life of the leader of the herd. An old,

unhappy bull beaten, outcast from the herd he once led, is pictured hiding in the forest, dumbly facing the fear of death, the while he remembers the triumphs of his youth.

"See him standing dewlap-deep
In the rushes at the lake,
Surly, stupid, half asleep,
Waiting for his heart to break.

And the dreamer turns away
From his visionary herds
And his splendid yesterday,
Turns to meet the loathly birds
Flocking 'round him from the skies,
Waiting for the flesh that dies."

The two odes, "Flesh" and "Flower," which form the substance of Mr. Edward J. O'Brien's new book of verse, "White Fountains,"³ have certain flashes of splendor and an effortless beauty. The possibilities of the form were first suggested to the author by Synge's "Riders to the Sea," and Lord Dunsany's "Book of Wonder." The type arrangement, or line structure, used by Mr. O'Brien lessens the poetic value to the average reader. For purposes of comparison, take the Odes and contrast them to that page of Dunsany where "Hish the Lord of Silence creepeth through the forest." Then rewrite Mr. O'Brien's poetry in the form of this prose and you will see that its values are enhanced. The other lyrics of the volume are graceful and tuneful, in particular "The Piping Mountainy Man," "The Shepherd Boy," and "Hellenica."

Among the book-toll of summer there is no volume more inviting for an afternoon in a hammock than "The Poetic Year,"⁴ by William Stanley Braithwaite. The searcher after light summer reading need not be alarmed because this book is technically a critical anthology of comment on poetry, the chapters of which were originally printed in the Boston *Evening Transcript*. It is a lazy, delightful adventure in criticism, first the embarking on the rivers of song, then the lure of the current, the wayside flowers, the shadows of the bending trees, the hum of insects and bees, and at last heard through the sleepy gurgle of the stream, the sound of the sea whither all rivers flow. The three critics who are real people, bear the fanciful names of Psyche, Cassandra, and Jason. The fourth was the author. Mr. Braithwaite feels that the poet has always an original substance to deal with—experience. The critic's task is to discover how much of the secret and mystery of life wrung from experience, the poet has expressed in his art. Among the especially pleasing chapters are "The Idol-Breakers," a discussion of free verse; "Clotho, Lachesis, Atropos & Co.," an appreciation of Edwin Arlington Robinson, and "Magic Casements," which comments upon the poetry of Walter de la Mare, Lizette Woodworth Reese and Bliss Carman. About sixty poets and their work are discussed.

¹ The Man Who Saw. By William Watson. Harpers. \$1.

² Peacock Pie: a Book of Rhymes. By Walter De La Mare. Holt. 179 pp. \$2.

³ Poems. By Ralph Hodgson. Macmillan. 64 pp. 75 cents.

⁴ White Fountains. By Edward J. O'Brien. Small, Maynard. 113 pp. \$1.

⁵ The Poetic Year. By William Stanley Braithwaite. Small, Maynard Co. 403 pp. \$1.

ART, ARCHITECTURE, ILLUSTRATION AND HISTORY OF ART

THE *International Studio* for June, 1916, contained an article on the singularly beautiful line-drawings of W. Heath Robinson, the illustrator of Walter de la Mare's book of rhymes, "Peacock Pie." It is worth looking up, both for the text by Mr. A. E. Johnson and for the reproductions of Mr. Robinson's work. His drawings have a refreshing quality and have never in the many years he has been before the public showed signs of becoming a formula. His imaginative powers continually bring the quality of surprise into his work. With his medium, pen and ink, he is able to produce a great variety of tone and his illustrations of Don Quixote, Rabelais, Poe, Andersen, and Shakespeare achieve permanence in the field of art. His drawings for "A Midsummer Night's Dream" are considered the high-water mark of his work at the present time.

The special number of the *International Studio* for the winter of 1916-17 is devoted to aspects of British art in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.¹ The reproductions of the work of artists of South Africa show ashen and purple landscapes, gaily colored towns, exotic, and individual to the country, and by way of contrast the low-lying Dutch farmhouses of which Edward Roworth writes:

"These farmhouses give one a strange feeling of inevitability, and are extraordinarily sympathetic to the eye, dignified, austere, they yet blend with every soft outline and one cannot imagine any other kind of building in their place."

New Zealand has offered special advantages to landscape artists on account of the climate, which enables the painter to work in the open air all the year round. Australian art has progressed rapidly during the last few years and is comparatively well known, and Canadian art has freed its technique from British influence and is now filled with the spirit of Canadian nature.

"Spanish Architecture of the Sixteenth Century," by Arthur Byne and Mildred Stapley, is a rich find for students of architecture. It is the first work to appear on Renaissance architecture in Spain, and the first to make clear in what manner and to what artistic ends Italian art invaded Spain. Critical studies of famous Spanish buildings, discussions of the Spanish domestic plan, the isolated work in Castile and Estremadura, the architecture of Seville, Granada, old palaces, details of towers, carvings, brickwork, masonry stairways, etc., form the body of the work. One chapter deals with the influence of Philip II, who ruled from 1556 to 1598, and whose inflexible sternness of character left its imprint upon Spanish architecture in the form of "cold standardization." There are 220 illustrations from photographs, including eighty full-page plates.

John Keats immortalized in poetry the figures on a Grecian urn, the dancing procession with pipes and timbrels, the men and maidens with forest branches, the lowing heifer dressed in garlands. In "Douris and the Painters of Greek Vases," Edmond Potter, member of the Institute, casts in the form of a story all the main facts about painted Greek vases and their painters. Douris, or "Doris," was a celebrated potter and vase-painter contemporary with Euthymides and Euphronios in the fifth century. We have twenty-eight examples of his work which bear the words "Douris painted." Jane Ellen Harrison contributes a preface on the relation of Greek vase-painting to Greek literature and to Greek mythology. The excellent English translation is by Bettina Kahn Weiler.

¹ Douris and The Painters of Greek Vases. By Edmond Potter. Dutton. Ill. 91 pp. \$2.50.



STARVELING

DRAWING BY W. HEATH ROBINSON FOR "A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM (CONSTABLE)"

¹ Art of the British Empire Overseas. John Lane. Ill. \$2.50.

² Spanish Architecture of the Sixteenth Century. By Arthur Byne and Mildred Stapley. Putnam. Ill. 436 pp. \$7.50.

Tombs whereon man has lavished art in effort to commemorate that which in life has been transient, the flesh, and that which in life has been enduring, man's immortal ideals, have for the sympathetic mind a perpetual fascination. The Roman tombs of the Italian Renaissance are unequaled in the world from a historical point of view. Therefore they have been chosen by Professor Gerald Davies, Master of Charterhouse, as the subject of a monograph which records the results of forty years of research among these memorials for the dead.¹ The text is illustrated with eighty-eight cuts from photographs and includes chapters on the tombs of previous centuries from the year 1100.

"American Pictures and Their Painters,"² a new book on art by Lorinda Munson Pratt, well known for her writings on painting and sculpture, places America definitely before the public in a most entertaining volume that carries 230

¹ Renaissance Tombs of Rome. By Gerald Davies. Dutton. Ill. 381 pp. \$6.

² American Pictures and Their Painters. By Lorinda Munson Bryant. John Lane. Ill. 307 pp. \$3.



S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA, LATERAN
(From "Renaissance Tombs of Rome")



REPRODUCTION OF THE PAINTING "ERNESTA," BY
MISS CECILIA BEAUX, IN THE METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM OF ART
(Frontispiece to "American Pictures and Their
Painters")

illustrations. An excellent way for Americans to become Americanized is to study their own art and become familiar with its makers and salient characteristics. The text is delightfully written, with just enough chattiness to lift it out of the ruts of guide-books. One welcomes the chapter on ultra-modern art, inasmuch as upon the spirit of unrest manifest in it largely depends our artistic progress.

The noble paintings representing the Madonna and the Holy Family are the chief treasures of Christian art. One hundred and fifty masterpieces of the world's greatest painters are reproduced in "Blessed Art Thou Among Women,"³ a life of the Virgin Mother compiled by William F. Butler. The pictures are accompanied by the inspired writings telling the story of the Savior and the felicities attending His coming. The book is admirably printed on heavy white paper; the text is clear and enclosed in wide margins. The frontispiece is a cut of Murillo's great painting, "The Immaculate Conception," which is in the Prado Museum at Madrid.

"The Ideals of Painting,"⁴ a most useful book by J. Comyns Carr, will give the veriest tyro

³ Blessed Art Thou Among Women. By W. F. Butler. Chicago: Rand, McNally. Ill. 315 pp. \$1.50.

⁴ The Ideals of Painting. By J. Comyns Carr. Macmillan. Ill. 456 pp. \$2.

in art the ability to appreciate and to criticise intelligently the paintings of the various schools by revealing the mind of the epoch that produced the art. The ideals of Italy, France, Spain, Flanders, Germany, Holland, and England are portrayed in a vital and a scholarly manner suited to the average reader and the spiritual aims that have been perfected in the separate schools laboring under a dominating impulse supplied by some individual genius are compared and analyzed.

Mr. Carr was known as a critic and dramatist. He was born in 1849, was educated at the London University, and served as an art critic on the *Pall Mall Gazette*. He was the English editor of *L'Art* and director and one of the founders of the New Gallery. He has written widely on art and literary matters. He died in the summer of 1916, while his book was going through the press.

"Engravers and Etchers,"¹ by Fitzroy Carrington, M. A., contains six lectures delivered on the Scammon Foundation at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1916. They are not, as the author states, a history of engraving, nor a manual of "how to appreciate prints," but a sharing with his audiences and readers of certain appreciation, stimulus, and pleasure derived from the work of great engravers and etchers.

Beginning with the "Master of the Playing Cards," the earliest engraver known to us, he takes up successively the master spirits of German, Italian, French, and English etchers and engravers. Martin Schongauer, Raimondi, Dürer, Van Dyck, Rembrandt, Zorn, Daubigny, Haden, and Whistler are among those whose work he discusses. For the needs of persons to whom engravings and etchings are an unexplored region of art there is no better book.

It is beautifully printed and contains 133 well-executed illustrations.

Collecting Old Miniatures. By James H. Yoxhall. Doran. Ill. 75 cents.

"I wrote this book with delight," says the author, "for the sheer pleasure of writing about miniatures." This book is for the collector of taste, but of moderate means, who wishes to do his collecting personally, and for the beginner who needs expert guidance. Unlike most handbooks for collectors, it is a distinct pleasure to read because of the spirited manner in which miniatures are described.

Collecting Old Lustre Ware. By W. Bosanko. Doran. Ill. 75 cents.

What traveler has not stood longingly before a shelf of old lustre pottery and wished for knowledge wherewith to choose wisely and well? By the aid of this little volume and some study of museum treasures, the buyer is perfectly equipped to collect this beautiful ware.

Collecting Old Glass (English and Irish). By James H. Yoxhall. Ill. 75 cents.

For collectors who have a taste for old English and Irish glassware, and whose eyes fall enviously upon Jacobite, Williamite, and Georgian pieces, this book gives hints, rules, and warnings, and also shows that the collecting of glass is an eminently practical vocation, as there has been little research into the history of makes and names of makers and systematized collection has barely begun. Also there is the opportunity for the collector to discover things of a kind at present unknown and to attach his name to a history of old glass which shall some day be written.

NATURE BOOKS

"THE Way to Study Birds"² is a bird book of convenient pocket size and of sufficient comprehensiveness to be of actual use. Mr. John Dryden Kuser has prepared the manual for the beginner in bird-lore who wishes to go bird-hunting in the country without a dray-load of books by ornithological authors. It gives data about the most abundant birds of the region centering around New York City. The reader is taught the means of identifying not alone the fifty species described in the volume, but those not contained therein. Part first is devoted to permanent bird residents, the use of a bird-key, and a few songs; part second to summer birds, part third to transients, and part four describes our winter residents. In addition to this volume the author recommends the pocket edition of Reed's "Birds East of the Rockies."

Amateur growers of Sweet Peas have often been puzzled by failures with their crop when conditions of soil and fertilization had been the

same as in previous years when a profusion of bloom had rewarded their efforts. "The Culture and Diseases of the Sweet Pea,"³ by J. J. Taubenhaus, a worker who has devoted five years to a study of their diseases, will be welcomed by flower-growers. The author is a plant pathologist and physiologist in charge at the Experiment Station of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas. Prof. Melville T. Cook, of Rutgers College, commends the book as both practical and scientific, equally useful to the layman, the commercial grower and the scientist.

In "Success in the Suburbs,"⁴ a new book on the benefits attending a suburban life, the author, John R. McMahon, does not minimize the attendant difficulties of undertaking suburban house-keeping, but he urges with an eloquent pen that we cast off the spell of city influences and reappraise natural values. Suburban life, with its attendant health and gains in natural means to happiness, is now possible to the man of very

¹ Engravers and Etchers. By Fitzroy Carrington. Thomsen-Bryan-Ellis Company. Ill. 278 pp.

² The Way to Study Birds. By John Dryden Kuser. Putnam. Ill. 85 pp. \$1.25.

³ The Culture and Diseases of the Sweet Pea. By J. J. Taubenhaus. Dutton. Ill. 232 pp. \$2.

⁴ Success in the Suburbs. By John McMahon. Putnam. Ill. 355 pp. \$2.

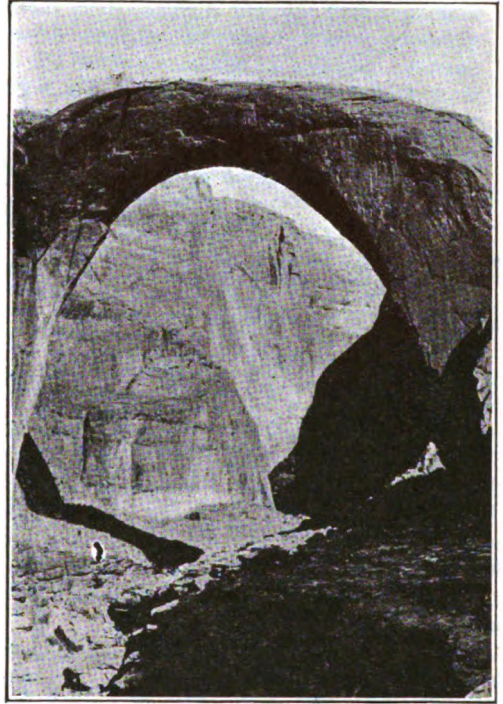
limited means. Practical methods of reducing the high cost of living are shown. The properly conducted suburban home can easily be self-supporting as to fruits, vegetables, eggs, poultry, etc. Many personal experiences are related which are of practical service to the novice in country life who needs sensible advice and added incentive to independence and successful living.

"1000 Hints on Flowers and Shrubs," by Mae Savell Croy, is an indispensable guide for the amateur gardener and home-builder, equally suited to the needs of those who have a large acreage at their disposal and for the person with the modest backyard or the narrow window-box. It is offered as an effort to speed the day when America shall adopt gardening as her special art.

A rosary of thoughts in a garden from the April season of crocus and snowdrop to the days of the bronze November chrysanthemum has been compiled by Agnes Edwards.² Poems in prose that endow flowers with personality and show us that our lovely sweet-petaled friends live and breathe and possess such untroubled consciousness that we may be much the gainers by communing with them and permitting their beauty to banish our sorrows and worldly perplexities.

¹ 1000 Hints on Flowers and Shrubs. By Mae Savell Croy. Putnam. 359 pp. \$1.50.

² A Garden Rosary. By Agnes Edwards. Houghton, Mifflin. 132 pp. \$1.25.



THE RAINBOW NATURAL BRIDGE
(From "Your National Parks")

AMERICAN SCENIC BEAUTIES

Your National Parks. By Enos A. Mills. Houghton, Mifflin, 532 pp. \$2.50.

There are now seventeen National Parks, which include within their boundaries many of the most interesting and wonderful scenic features of America. For many years Mr. Enos A. Mills, of Colorado, has given a considerable part of his time to the work of extending and popularizing these national playgrounds and for the creation of one of them—the Rocky Mountain National Park—he more than any other individual was responsible. This magazine has published from time to time illustrated articles describing these parks, and we are glad to refer our readers to this new work by Mr. Mills which embodies much detailed information that cannot be presented within the limits of a magazine article. For tourists who are contemplating a visit to one or more of these parks, the "Guide" of one hundred pages, prepared by Mr. Laurence F. Schmeckbier, of the Interior Department, will be found indispensable. In fact, the entire volume, with its pictures and maps, should be owned by every visitor to the parks.

An Old Town by the Sea. By Thomas Bailey Aldrich. Houghton, Mifflin. 128 pp. \$1.25.
Portsmouth, N. H., had been immortalized by

Thomas Bailey Aldrich long before it was chosen as the seat of the Peace Conference that formulated the treaty between Russia and Japan in 1905. It is one of the most picturesque of New England seaport towns, and the description by Aldrich is well worthy of a place in the series of "Visitors' Editions," souvenirs associated with the lives and writings of authors.

At the North of Bearcamp Water. By Frank Bolles. Houghton, Mifflin. 297 pp. \$1.50.

One of Thoreau's successors as a New England nature writer has celebrated the lakes and forests of the White Mountain region. These essays first appeared nearly a quarter of a century ago, and are now reprinted in the "Visitors' Editions" series.

Passaconaway in the White Mountains. By Charles Edward Beals, Jr. Richard G. Badger, Boston. 343 pp. \$1.50.

The author has visited the White Mountains for nearly a score of successive summers. His interest in the region has led him to make researches into its history, and the first one hundred pages of his book are devoted to the relations of the white settlers with the Indians in Colonial times.

FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—INTERSTATE COMMERCE DECISION AND RAILROAD INVESTMENTS

THE investor in railroad securities has seen the value of his stocks and bonds steadily slip down the price scale for a number of years. The decline in both classes has been rather precipitate in the last few months. Attention has been directed to it in these articles where the low quotations of a generation for standard dividend-paying shares have been noted. The climax came in July, when most of the 7 per cent. stocks sold close to par and some of them went below that figure. These are widely distributed among private individuals and are held to some extent by institutions.

The hope of the shareholder in "rails" has been that the Interstate Commerce Commission would compensate in its decision, set for July 1, for the higher wages under the Adamson act, the great advance in all character of supplies, taxation, and numerous other additions to the railroad cost-sheet by a generous grant of rates asked in the application of the carriers last spring. When the decision was first read it carried great disappointment and chagrin to the railroad managers. It seemed to deny the emergency and to refuse help. But it did not. Subsequent analysis brought the statement from Washington that the 15 per cent. allowance on coal, coke, and iron ore and the lifting of class rates between New York and Chicago, together with other readjustments in the rate classification, would provide over \$100,000,000 to the eastern lines. The roads in the South and those in the West were allowed to share in the 15 per cent. increase in coal and coke, but denied any relief on class rates. Together they may receive benefits amounting to \$15,000,000 or \$20,000,000.

Under other conditions this would have been considered very liberal treatment. The increase is twice the amount granted in the rate advance of 1915, and, in fact, the first big lift the roads have ever had from the Commission. Its relation, however, is to the percentages of increase in costs rather than to gross earnings. These costs may have reached their maximum. Probably they have. The largest single item among

them is fuel coal. This has begun to go down. Prices of iron and steel are likely to be less rather than more. The average will be high, very high, but not a rising one. So, with gross earnings going up and costs getting no higher, and possibly falling, those roads that have been able to earn a fair margin over their dividends will be fully able to continue them and those other lines that have paid no dividends will still pay none, but their interest earned for bonds will be sufficient.

The Commission's Findings

The report of the Interstate Commerce Commission has so close a bearing on railroad investments that some discussion of it is deemed advisable this month. This may determine whether the railroads are to be treated fairly and with consideration of their growing needs or limited by a narrow policy as to rates.

Owing to the death of Commissioner Clements the vote on the decision was four to two. Mr. Clements would probably have sided with the minority. The dissenting opinions contain the meat of the situation. They are wide apart. Commissioner Meyer took the ground that an "emergency" had not been established by the railroads and that, therefore, they were not entitled to an increase in rates. Commissioner McChord thought that inasmuch as the prime argument for higher rates for the carriers was cost of materials, the whole subject of costs ought first to be investigated by Congress. He regarded these prices as inordinate. Commissioner Harlan concurred in the grant of 15 per cent. on coal, coke, and iron ore, but he contended the commission ought to go still further and give the roads enough additional increase to raise their credit and permit them to finance their requirements of equipment and terminals.

For years the trouble in the railroad financial structure has been the overbalance of bonds. Fixed charges have been out of proportion to net earnings. This was due to the inability of many roads to sell stock when

they needed new capital. In some of the roads that went into receivership two and three years ago there was 75 per cent. and more of bonds to 25 per cent. or less of stock. After they could not dispose of their bonds to advantage they took to short-term notes. The inability to renew these notes led to default and reorganizations. Last year almost no new railroad financing was done. Investors would not buy bonds of transportation lines. Latterly roads that had cleared up their note issues and thought themselves on a sound financial basis again, with large general mortgages, found that they could not sell their bonds. So they are back now on the short-term basis. Some of them have recently borrowed at a cost of 7 per cent. It is this condition which makes the rate decision most important. The statesmanship view of this situation was taken by Commissioner Harlan. He said:

What the country as a whole needs, as all participating in this hearing seem to agree, is much larger terminals, more tracks, more cars, more locomotives. This enlargement of our facilities is not required merely to meet the exigencies growing out of the war, but to keep our transportation facilities up to the measure of the country's growing volume of business. We are now a creditor nation, and it may reasonably be expected that the trade balance in our favor will continue at least for some years. Our population and commerce have largely expanded, but there has been no expansion, relatively speaking, in our transportation facilities. The condition is one of present danger, with the possibility that it may become disastrous during the war period. But, aside from the military influence, the record leaves no doubt that our transportation system as a whole must be promptly enlarged and expanded.

There seems to be no reply to this. Since the decision was made it has been estimated that it will give the Eastern roads the equivalent of about 6 per cent. on their property investment. In times of low interest rates this might be sufficient to attract capital. Now there are numerous investments yielding from 6 to 7 per cent. in stocks and bonds of companies that earn six times 6 per cent. on their investment. The bonds of the allied governments yield from 6 to $6\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Competition is very much against railroad capital. The average man prefers a security in which there is some speculative chance to one in which the investment element alone recommends it.

There are offsets to the impression that the rate decision has created. In the first place, the Commission will take account of the monthly reports and if at the end of October

it finds that earnings are not sufficient will consider another increase. There probably has not been as cordial a relation between Commission, shippers, and railroads as now exists. The Commission has for the first time reflected its appreciation of the judgment and foresight and executive ability of the railroad managers. Never have there been so few objections to a rate case as in this instance. In fact, many commercial bodies made a stronger argument for an advance than did the carriers. Further than this, the slack that has been taken up in railroad operation by the committee in charge of the operations of the entire country means a great deal to net earnings. The gross business will be larger than ever. The transportation bill of the Government alone is estimated above \$225,000,000. The Commission is coöperating in the quick movement of cars from shippers to consumers and with high demurrage rates many of the petty expenses of operation are counteracted.

Current Prices of Railroad Stocks

To show the different attitude of the investor of to-day from that of the one of ten or fifteen years ago in regard to railroad stocks a list of fifteen prominent shares is given, with the prevailing dividend, the price in the fore part of July and the yield on the high-record price, as follows:

	Divi- dend	July price	Yield price	Yield on high price
Atchison.....	6	100	6.00	4.80
Baltimore & Ohio.....	5	70	7.00	4.80
C. M. & St. Paul, Com.	5	70	7.00	3.50
C. M. & St. Paul, Pfd.	7	108	6.50	3.20
C. & N. West'n.....	7	108	6.50	2.55
Great Northern.....	7	102	6.95	2.00
Illinois Central.....	6	102	5.95	3.80
*Lehigh Valley.....	10	62	8.50	5.50
Louisville & Nashville	7	125	5.60	4.15
Norfolk & Western...	7	122	5.75	4.70
*Northern Pacific.....	7	100	7.00	3.00
*Pennsylvania.....	6	52	5.95	3.50
Southern Pacific.....	6	92	6.50	4.25
Union Pacific.....	10	135	7.50	4.60

*Par \$50.

The dividends on Baltimore & Ohio common, St. Paul common and Illinois Central are lower than when these stocks touched their best prices in 1906. The dividends on Norfolk & Western common and Lehigh Valley are higher than a few years ago. Both stocks sold at their best levels in the recent boom. The extravagant quotations on Great Northern preferred and Northern Pacific were made just prior to the

distribution of the Great Northern Ore dividend, but before this had been considered both shares sold an average of much over 100 points above where they have been this summer.

The average investment return on these stocks is now $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., against 3.80 per

cent. when they were at the height of popularity and of price. It may be said that this period coincided with that when the private investor and the institution were buying first-mortgage railroad bonds on about a $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. basis. Such bonds now return from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 856. RAILROAD STOCKS TO BE HELD FOR INCOME

I have \$8000 invested in railroad stocks—Southern Pacific, Northern Pacific and Atchison Common. The great depreciation in these stocks means quite a loss to me and I am puzzled to know what to do. I should like to rid myself of these stocks, which have been such an annoyance, in a way that would enable me to make up my losses, at least partially, and leave me with the same income. Would it be wise or reckless to think of selling and putting the money into Crucible Steel, some of the copper stocks, or Submarine Boat? I hope you will advise me frankly. I am a widow and should be conservative.

It would certainly be reckless for you to undertake the change which you suggest. You would discover, in the course of time, a good deal more worry in the industrial and copper stocks than the railroad stocks have given you.

As a matter of fact, your losses on your holdings are more apparent than real, and if we were in your place we should not give ourselves too much concern about them. The depreciation in market price has been brought about by influences which, in our opinion, have not seriously affected the fundamental positions of the stocks. We cannot now see anything to indicate that any one of the three issues in question is not likely to go along paying dividends regularly; nor do we anticipate that the present market depression will prove permanent. These are the important things for you to consider.

Under more favorable market conditions, whenever they may happen to develop, it might be a good idea for you to distribute your risks a little more, by shifting at least a part of the funds invested in these stocks to securities of other types and classes. But we do not believe it would be advisable for you to do so now, when the operation would involve such a considerable loss of principal. In any event, you should not think of trying to retrieve a loss of this kind by speculating with your money, as you would be if you were to buy the other stocks you mention.

No. 857—SELECTING STOCKS FOR INVESTMENT

I would be pleased to receive your opinion about the following stocks:

American Agricult. Chem. Co.
American Woolen Co.
American Tel. & Tel. Co.
Anaconda Copper Mining.
Miami Copper.
Kennecott Copper.
Sears, Roebuck.
Cuba Cane Sugar, pref.

You place us at very great disadvantage in undertaking to serve in connection with your inquiry about these stocks by your failure, first of all, to tell anything about the circumstances in

which you are giving consideration to the purchase of such securities, and second, by your failure to indicate in the case of such companies as American Agricultural Chemical and the American Woolen Co., whether you are interested in the preferred or the common stocks.

In the absence of this kind of essential information we are able to make only one or two brief and general suggestions. Our first suggestion is that for the average investor we do not consider your selection particularly well advised. We think we should perhaps have little hesitation in approving the purchase of American Agricultural preferred, American Telephone & Telegraph, and Sears, Roebuck for more or less permanent investment, provided you were able to assume at least a moderate amount of business risk; but we should find it difficult to give very strong approval to the purchase of American Woolen, either preferred or common, or Cuba Cane preferred even as a speculative venture, or to any of the copper stocks for permanent investment.

Possibly we should explain that our cautious attitude in respect to the copper shares in particular is due to the fact that we consider their present market prices to be the reflection of earnings based upon conditions which cannot reasonably be expected to prove permanent. We mean by this that market prices for the stocks of such companies, based upon earnings which are the result of prices for the copper metal itself almost double the average selling price of the last ten years, do not appear to us to have any basis of permanency. We are convinced, in other words, that a readjustment must come sooner or later, and it is, of course, inevitable that such a readjustment will reflect itself in the fundamental position of the copper-producing companies, even the best of them, and in turn in the market prices for their stocks.

No. 858—OUR WAR EXPENDITURES

Kindly inform me what amount the United States purposes to spend in preparing to enter the war as an active participant, not including the sums loaned or to be loaned to the Allies.

This we do not believe can be stated definitely at the present time. We have recently seen an estimate, however, that the nation's first year's expenditures, aside from the money that is being loaned to the Allies—now amounting to more than three-quarters of a billion—will probably be somewhere in the neighborhood of \$3,500,000,000.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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Sept.—1

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POPE BENEDICT, WHO INVOKES PEACE UPON THE Warring NATIONS

Benedict XV., whose pontificate began within a month after the war broke out, has repeatedly urged the belligerents to take steps towards peace. In the Lenten season of 1916 he characterized the war as "the suicide of civilized Europe." In June of that year the Papal Secretary of State made it known that the Pope would welcome mediation on the part of the United States or of Spain. In December he denounced "the horrible madness of the conflict which is devastating Europe." His recent appeal to the belligerents, which bears the date of August 1, 1917, virtually suggests the restoration of the status quo as regards territory.

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NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER, 1917

No. 3

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Making
Belligerency
Active*

Having accepted the view that it was our duty to recognize a state of war between the United States and Germany, the question naturally arose how we could best help to make the right triumph and to restore peace to suffering peoples. In the first place, we adopted the idea that our belligerency must be active rather than passive. Second, Congress and the people supported the President in the judgment that we could be most immediately efficient by supplying the British, French, and other Allies with money and credit, food, general supplies, and merchant ships. The country sustained the Navy Department in the view that we must coöperate in every way to circumvent or fight the German submarines. The banking and investment elements heartily supported the Administration in floating the first Liberty Loan, and are ready to make a success of the still larger one that is soon to be offered. Congress and the country accepted the judgment of the War Department that the regular army should be recruited to its full war strength, and that the National Guard should be similarly developed and taken completely into the federal service.

*National
Support of
the War*

There came the great national test when the nation accepted not only the principle of universal military service as embodied in the Selective Draft law, but when the people, with hardly any friction, cheerfully joined in making the great enrollment complete, and submitted to the subsequent process of examination and selection. Hardly anything so impressive in the history of the American democracy has been recorded to the country's credit as the patriotism and good faith shown in the processes last month of designating the young men who are the first to

be selected for the new National Army. Upon the whole, the Government at Washington has shown creditable energy; has selected trustworthy and capable men to direct the new activities; has exhibited initiative, as illustrated by such brilliant projects as the aviation program; has earned the support and confidence of the leading men of the country, whether known as public personages or occupied with professions and private pursuits. Many matters of great delicacy have been adjusted by the President with remarkable skill, as witness the reshaping, several weeks ago, of the personnel and methods of the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation. Particular undertakings have been justified by their success—as shown, for instance, in the valuable results of the mission of Mr. Root and his colleagues to Russia. New men of capacity have already been brought to the front and assigned places of extraordinary discretion, as witness Mr. Herbert Hoover, in charge of the new Food Administration; Mr. Frank A. Scott, of Cleveland, as chairman of the War Industries Board, and Mr. Howard Coffin, at the head of the Aircraft Production Board.

*Steps in
Military
Organization*

On the military side, the organization and results of the officers' training camps have been creditable in the highest degree. Through intensive methods we have created a remarkable body of intelligent junior officers, of fine enthusiasm and high personal character, capable of giving good training to the hundreds of thousands of selected young men of the new National Army who will enter the cantonments. Elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW there is presented an extended and illustrated account of these magical new military cities that have been built within a few weeks, some of which will be finished

for occupancy on the day when this magazine reaches its readers, while the others will be ready within a few days or weeks. Every one of these permanent camps has engaged the skill of sanitary engineers as well as that of architectural and military experts. It is intended to make the period of sojourn in these camps not merely contributory to the defensive strength of the nation, but beneficial to the young men themselves in their physical, mental, and moral development. As a result of the intensive work of the officers' training camps and the methods that will be worked out for thirty-two great cantonments, we shall within a year have laid the foundations upon which to build a system of universal training for national defense and good citizenship. The way to make these things a success is to support them with courage and zeal, believing that they can be used for high purposes and to constructive rather than destructive ends. We propose to make America strong, for justice, order, and righteous peace.

*The Great
Object—To
End War*

All this being true, we must not forget how terrible and exhausting is warfare, and how necessary it is to stop the war at the earliest possible moment consistent with honorable principles. Those who are now engaged to the full absorption of all their thought and energy in these vast military preparations, having been given their war tasks at the mandate of the nation, cannot be expected to be thinking in terms of the onlooking and gentle-minded peacemaker. They are now bound to think in terms of war, because we went to war only when we had exhausted peace arguments and peace appeals. This does not seem to be a time when the nations are prepared for the definite discussion of peace proposals. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that last winter there were only two possible sources of influential peace activity, one being the American Presidency and the other the Roman Catholic Papacy. For the past five months we have been numbered among the fighting powers; and the Pope is the only personage in the world now remaining who has sufficient influence from the standpoint of neutrality and the higher interests of humanity, to make a fresh appeal for peace and to lay down the principles upon which lasting reconciliation may be accomplished. Those whose duty it is to push the war cannot be expected at all times to be ready for the discussion of peace. But in countries governed

by public opinion the people themselves ought always to be living in consciousness of peace aims and objects. And organs of public opinion ought to take their part courageously, and without flinching in all such discussions, with a view to shortening the duration of war if possible. When, therefore, peace is discussed in the German Reichstag, is labored for by European Socialists, or is urged by so eminent a neutral as the Pope, the discussion cannot be wholly sidetracked and might as well be taken up in a straightforward way by the press, even though the governments may not find the conditions ripe for successful negotiation of an official character.

*War As an
Official
Predilection*

The time has arrived when the question of peace should be considered openly and frankly. The long-suffering people who make up what we call "the public," in Germany, Austria, France, and England, have not hitherto discussed their war problems freely; and the American people have been placed under such bonds of patient self-restraint, and have become so much the victims of misleading news from Europe, that they of all peoples in the world are now perhaps least well-informed about what is going on. The individuals who through more or less accidental modes of selection have come together to form what the newspapers call "official circles," are playing with vast forces and powers in ways that commit them to the prosecution of war with an instinctive prejudice against the mention of peace. They are participating in the "great game," and resent interruption. Those just and moderate counsels that must prevail if peace is to be made do not find response in the minds of the war enthusiasts. The newspapers, and the great business and financial interests, are in the main committed to the war logic, and to the practical war projects of officialdom. Moreover, somebody gets the billions of dollars that officialdom is spending. The personal fame and fortune of hosts of influential men in America, as in the other belligerent countries, are now bound up with the playing of the stupendous war game "to a finish." The rights, interests, and desires of the plain people are all on the side of peace, provided the terms be reasonable and the prospect of permanence be good. The intensity of the peace-longing of hundreds of millions of suffering people in Europe and elsewhere is only equalled by the discipline they show.

*Grounds of
Lasting
Peace*

The United States went into this war to help "make the world safe for democracy." This can only be accomplished by ending excessive militarism in the form of vast land armaments, and excessive navalism in the sense of fighting power on the common seas exercised by individual nations in their own interest. Furthermore, there can be no stable peace in the world until the colonial system—that is to say, the obsolete "empire business"—is brought to an end. It is true enough that Germany's struggle for an imperial place in the world brought on this war. But it is only less true that the imperial conquests, ambitions, rivalries, and selfish aims of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Italy, and France had very much to do with creating Germany's false and belated imperial programs. Russia now sees these things in a new light. The people of the United States have seen them clearly, and will continue to do so unless their judgment is warped by the constant tendency to direct American public opinion from London and Paris. Americans should not for a moment fail to see that if the larger aims of this war are accomplished the lesser details can be worked out along lines of sound principle. The Allies are now in some danger of yielding to the guidance of the same false principles that dominated Germany and Austria at the start. That is to say, they are demanding the mere spoils of victory. The fairest-minded man in the world is the Englishman. But it may not be conceded that his fair-mindedness entitles him to the dominant place in the world. The English mind cannot always entertain—in matters of world-wide policy—the unwelcome view that the same rules and standards should apply to different countries. Thus England declares she must keep Germany's colonies for their own good. The British Empire may indeed be said to furnish a working model. One way out of the present agony might be an insistent application for membership in the British Empire on the part of numerous other countries. That an indefinite continuance of the present insane European war is likely to spread ideals of British justice through the earth, may well be doubted. Liberty and progress are not propagated by force.

*Empire Greed
the Chief
Danger*

Behind the scenes, the peace talk and peace efforts in Europe are incessant. If the United States had not gone into the war, France and Eng-



THE CARRIER FROM ROME
From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)

land would almost certainly by this time have made peace with Germany, on terms not sufficiently advantageous to France. The facts have been kept from the American people because it is the official view in Paris, London, and Washington that the people cannot now be trusted with the truth. When the whole truth about the war is known in future, the discredit will be variously distributed. Meanwhile, all people who are able to keep their heads cool in exciting times, and who are not affected by selfish interests or ambitions, are keenly desirous to have peace made without one moment of needless postponement. The United States regards the cause of the Entente Allies as incomparably more just and righteous than the cause of Germany. Our country became belligerent in order to help end the war on sound and lasting principles. President Wilson has stated those principles repeatedly, and they must not be waived. The danger is that America's assistance will be used by her European associates for the very opposite of the reason that induced her to go to war. The British say they will not give up the German colonies that they have seized. The French say that Alsace-Lorraine must be taken away from Germany by force. The Italians say that they must have considerable portions of Austria which they had not pretended to claim during the long period of



HERR MATHIAS ERZBERGER, A PROMINENT LEADER OF THE CENTRIST OR CATHOLIC PARTY IN THE GERMAN REICHSTAG

(Who was active in bringing about the adoption of the peace resolutions in the Reichstag at the time of the overthrow of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, in July, and who is said to have had some influence in persuading the Pope to make his peace appeal at this time. He works with Austrian leaders.)

their alliance with Austria, and which they began to claim only after Austria was involved in war and was apparently approaching defeat at Russia's hands. This war, as we have so often stated, is the climax of the mad imperial rivalries of the European powers. It would be a shocking thing if America's enormous sacrifices in entering the war were to be used chiefly in assisting several of these European empires to enlarge their holdings and consolidate their positions. The thing that is wrong is the system itself. America did not go into the war to help one set of empires dominate the world more securely by crushing their rivals.

*The
Vatican
Address*

These remarks, if somewhat rudely frank, are made from a sense of duty in view of the tone in which many newspapers in Allied countries, and not a few in the United States, made haste last month to assail, as if with nervous alarm, the noble and beneficent peace address issued from the Vatican. Pope

Benedict's outline of a peace basis consists of two parts—namely, that which is fundamental, permanent, and of immeasurable importance to all the people of the world; and, second, that which has to do with specific adjustments. The spirit of the Pope's address is lofty, impartial, and sincere. The proposals, as respects essential things, are precisely those that President Wilson has more than once laid down. The suggestions concerning matters of practical adjustment are beneficent in principle and do not purport to be other than tentative in concrete application. The irritated criticism of the Allied press has either disparaged and dismissed the Vatican rescript as "made in Germany," or else has turned the discussion upon matters of detail in practical adjustment, such as the nature and extent of Belgian indemnification or the future of Alsace-Lorraine. These discussions have been unworthy in view of the horrors of the war and the great moral value of the Pope's attempt at peacemaking.

*The Pope's
Larger
Proposals*

The opening observations of Pope Benedict express in a general way a yearning desire for the welfare of the nations, deplore the cruelty and destruction of the war, and appeal to Europe to save itself from suicide. The address then proceeds to make practical suggestions. The important and permanent proposals are as follows (this rather awkward translation having been given out by the State Department at Washington, August 16):

First, the fundamental point must be that the material force of arms shall give way to the moral force of right, whence shall proceed a just agreement of all upon the simultaneous and reciprocal decrease of armaments, according to rules and guarantees to be established, in the necessary and sufficient measure for the maintenance of public order in every State; then, taking the place of arms, the institution of arbitration, with its high pacifying function, according to rules to be drawn in concert and under sanctions to be determined against any State which would decline either to refer international questions to arbitrators or to accept its awards.

When supremacy of right is thus established, let every obstacle to ways of communication of the peoples be removed by insuring, through rules to be also determined, the true freedom and community of the seas, which, on the one hand, would eliminate any causes of conflict, and, on the other hand, would open to all new sources of prosperity and progress.

These ideas are in keeping with those that Mr. Wilson had proclaimed on behalf of

the United States. The Vatican follows our Government in demanding general disarmament and the abolition of militarism as an international menace. It accepts the American demand for world organization for the sake of settling differences between nations under rules of law, to be duly enforced. The references to the free use of the seas and the protection of legitimate commerce are in accord with all sound and modern views. The full acceptance of these ideas would insure a permanent peace. The world would thus be made "safe for democracy." The objects for which the United States went to war would be fully attained if these principles as laid down by the Vatican were adopted and put into practical effect.

*Details
of
Settlement*

Compared with these great outlines of world harmony and control by rules of reason and law, the mere settlement of particular questions becomes of slight moment. Yet in the Paris, London, and New York discussion of the Vatican document, almost no attention has been given to the important things, while innumerable columns have been written upon the minor issues. If the *principles* of disarmament and of the equitable adjustment of disputes can be agreed upon, the detailed applications lose vital importance. As against the clamor of those who oppose the Vatican's suggestions for territorial and pecuniary settlements, we merely place before our readers the calm and moderate language of the Papal document itself. These suggestions, in the version of our State Department, are as follows:

As for the damages to be repaid and the cost of the war, we see no other way of solving the question than by setting up the general principle of entire and reciprocal conditions, which would be justified by the immense benefit to be derived from disarmament, all the more as one could not understand that such carnage could go on for mere economic reasons. If certain particular reasons stand against this in certain cases, let them be weighed in justice and equity.

But these specific agreements, with the immense advantages that flow from them, are not possible unless territory now occupied is reciprocally restituted. Therefore, on the part of Germany, there should be total evacuation of Belgium, with guarantees of its entire political, military, and economic independence toward any power whatever; evacuation also of the French territory; on the part of the other belligerents, a similar restitution of the German colonies.

As regards territorial questions, as, for instance, those that are disputed by Italy and Austria, by Germany and France, there is reason to hope that, in consideration of the immense advantages of

endurable peace with disarmament, the contending parties will examine them in a conciliatory spirit, taking into account, as far as is just and possible, as we have said formerly, the aspirations of the population, and, if occasion arises, adjusting private interests to the general good of the great human society.

The same spirit of equity and justice must guide the examination of other territorial and political questions, notably those relative to Armenia, the Balkan States, and the territories forming part of the old Kingdom of Poland, for which, in particular, its noble historical traditions and suffering, particularly undergone in the present war, must win, with justice, the sympathies of the nations.

*Relative
Costs of War
and Peace*

It should be borne in mind that Pope Benedict is offering general suggestions, and is not attempting to anticipate the necessary judgments of a peace conference. The longer the war goes on, the more true it is that questions of monetary indemnity lose importance. The Washington financial authorities tell us that as a mere starter the United States must raise in the first war year, by loans and taxes, twenty billions of dollars. England in three years of the war has spent only 25 per cent. more than we are to raise before we have begun to be fairly on a war footing. What we spent in the entire four years of our colossal Civil War would now carry us through only three or four weeks of our pre-



A MESSENGER

From the *Evening Post* (New York)

liminary effort to help our European friends in a war in which we are not as yet directly engaged. The second year of the war will be much more costly for us. The British and German rates of war expenditure have steadily increased from the start. In comparison with all this destruction of resources, the restoration of Belgium would be the merest financial trifle. It would be like comparing the cost of a street-car ticket to the price of a luxurious limousine. Everybody knows that Belgium must be restored and helped. It would probably make for the best future relations if the entire world should join in reconstructing all the regions most damaged by the war. Poles and Armenians have been the chief sufferers. The cost of the war for a single week would probably pay in full for restoring the towns and cities of Belgium and France. A careful inquiry would doubtless show that much of the physical damage to Belgium has already been remedied during the three years since the German armies came into occupation. Serbia and Rumania will be entitled to generous treatment.

Some
Mistaken
Presumptions

It must
not be
supposed

for a moment that the world is going to tolerate the principle that "finding is keeping" when it comes to settling the results of the war. Merely because one belligerent rather than another happened to seize and occupy certain territories, it does not follow presumably that the old-time practices of conquest are going to be respected by all the nations. The German colonies were seized by the British because that happened to be a very easy step for the British to take at the outset of a world war. The presumption that these colonies must therefore remain permanently in British hands is quite

too crude for times like these. It does not follow, on the other hand, that they ought to be given back to Germany. These outlying regions of Africa, and these undeveloped islands of the southern seas, ought not to be regarded as the private plunder either of England or of Germany. They should be administered for the public good, under public auspices. Self-governing South Africa should take her place at once as a full member of the family of nations. German Southwest Africa should in due time become an equal member of the South African confederation.

German and English commercial, mining, and other interests should be guaranteed and safeguarded in this Union of South Africa. England has now annexed Egypt, precisely as Austria a few years ago annexed Bosnia. And England certainly should continue to administer Egypt, with a view to the protection of all interests and with the object of building up, slowly but surely, the native peoples of Egypt and the Sudan.

Turkey
in
Trust

The Germans are wonderful merchants and international traders, but very poor colonial administrators. Their commercial interests in the world should

be given just and even-handed treatment. They should be encouraged to go on with their engineering and economic developments in Asia Minor, but with the elimination of all military and imperial ideas. Asia Minor should be governed for the welfare and development of its populations, and neutralized under international guarantees. It should be reconstructed by experts and administered in trust, somewhat as we carry on the Philippines. Turks, Armenians, Greeks—all races and elements—should be protected in their religious and



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CARDINAL GASPARRI, PAPAL SECRETARY OF STATE

(It is understood that the Pope's peace appeal was preceded by much conference with diplomats of different countries, in which the Papal Secretary, Cardinal Gasparri, had a leading part)

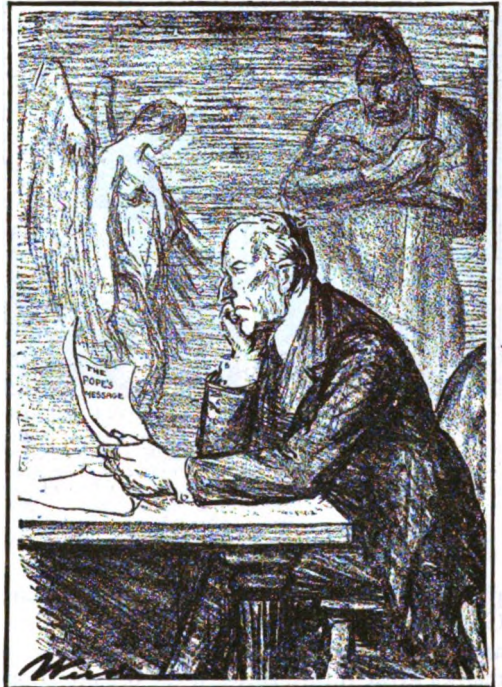
civil freedom until Asia Minor, under the name of Anatolia or some other name—not "Turkey"—should fifty years hence be worthy of a place in the family of nations. An American of international standing and repute, like Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Root, Mr. Taft, Secretary Lane, Mr. Morgenthau, or Mr. Hoover, should be made Governor-General of what is now Turkey in Asia, with large powers. Russian and English intrigues in Persia should cease, while British, French, and Russian, as well as German, commercial and educational interests throughout western Asia should be fully protected. Constantinople and the straits should be made free, neutral, and international.

**Boundary
Issues**

Over against all the Pope's wise and noble suggestions for world peace, the press of Paris reiterates only one phrase: "We *must* have Alsace-Lorraine!" Pope Benedict suggests that the Alsace-Lorraine question be settled upon its merits. It is no longer a French question. The peace of the world is involved in having this matter determined permanently. It will soon be fifty years since France relinquished her claims upon Alsace-Lorraine. A vastly larger thing—the final defeat of Germany's schemes of military dominance—is the issue in the present war. However much we might like to see Alsace-Lorraine restored to France, we cannot afford to have the return accomplished as a result of military conquest, apart from assurances of permanent reconciliation. The one thing to be gained is that Alsace-Lorraine shall cease to be a bone of contention. An adjustment must be found that will be accepted by French and Germans alike in their inmost hearts as well as in treaties. Furthermore, the adjustment must have the express sanction of other nations. The world cannot tolerate the continuance of feuds that endanger the general peace. Italy's ambitions are somewhat antagonistic to those of Serbia and Greece, as well as to those of Austria-Hungary and Turkey. It will be extremely difficult to settle affairs in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean, if indulgence must be shown to the claims of various nations. France and Italy must subordinate particular aims to general principles.

**Why the
War Must
Go On**

The trouble is that the great governments of Europe do not really want or believe in disarmament, arbitration, freedom of seas, and the wise devolution of menacing empires. The



PRESIDENT WILSON CONSIDERS THE POPE'S MESSAGE

"Once to every man and nation
Comes the moment to decide"

From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)

(It was deemed likely, as these pages went to press, that President Wilson would make reply to the Pope's appeal, not only for the United States, but for Great Britain, France, and the other Allies. American public opinion was prepared to accept the President's judgment upon the question whether or not the time had come for attempting to discuss the principles and terms of peace.)

interests of the plain people who live in these European countries are not served by their ruling classes. Statesmanship in Europe thinks and acts in certain grooves. The military and political castes have their professional games to play, and these are deadly to the common people. These games tax the people oppressively for foolish schemes of empire that demand great armies and navies, and slaughter their sons. After all, the world cannot be made "safe for democracy" until democracy comes into its own in the leading nations. Russia and the United States are ready for disarmament, a league of nations, arbitration, freedom of the ocean, respect for the rights of all peoples and races. But it is to be feared that no other great nations, on either side of the war—except China—are ready to stand on the platform of President Wilson and Pope Benedict in so far as the real aims of their ruling classes are concerned. They are all thinking in terms of national rivalry, and scheming to see how many of their own chestnuts can be



ARTHUR HENDERSON



GEORGE NICOLL BARNES

(Mr. Henderson, who was Labor representative in the British war board, resigned last month on account of misunderstanding with Mr. Lloyd George regarding passports to Englishmen who were to have attended the Socialist conference at Stockholm in September. Mr. Henderson's official place in the cabinet war council has been taken by another Labor member of Parliament, Mr. George Nicoll Barnes)

pulled out of the fire in the war settlement. Germany is tired of the war, but her rulers are more intent than ever upon securing Germany's great future through the organization of power and the devotion of science to national ends. England is planning imperial consolidation on a scale which, if successful, might compel all the rest of the world to unite in a rival organization. The shrill repulsion in France, England, and Italy, as well as in Germany, of the idea of a peace based upon disarmament and the settlement of all issues by an unselfish appeal to reason, makes it likely that the war must go on longer, until certain rulers are superseded.

In these remarks thus far we have not alluded to the attempts of the European Socialists to meet at Stockholm and find a way to harmonize the nations on the basis of the common interests of humanity. These Socialists are out of favor in all the official circles, because they are much more opposed to officialdom, civil and military, in their own countries than they are to the plain people of the so-called "enemy countries." Mr. Henderson, the Labor member of the British War Council, wanted peace in the interest of the people, and was perhaps too hopeful about the usefulness of the proposed Stockholm conference. He supposed that he was working with Kerensky and the Russian Government; and he was undoubtedly cooperating with M. Thomas, the Socialist Minister of Munitions in the war government of France. Among the laboring classes of England and

France, there was much sympathy with the idea that the proposed Stockholm peace conference might help to create understandings, and might thus bring the end of the war a little nearer. To be sure, the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George and the governing group, in opposing the conference and refusing to give passports to English representatives of workmen and Socialists, was perfectly logical. The war, however, is not going to be ended by the logic of Prime Ministers and Chancellors, trained to skillful argument. Obviously the man whose business it is to prosecute a war cannot at the same time be exercising his mind upon adjustments by compromise. War governments, furthermore, tend to become excessively arbitrary in minor things. It is true that the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States had no reason at all to expect immediate results of a valuable kind from the international conference of Socialists at Stockholm in September. But to refuse passports to citizens who wish to go to a neutral country, in order to meet private citizens of other countries and confer about the common interests of humanity, seems rather needless. There cannot be too much conference among men from different

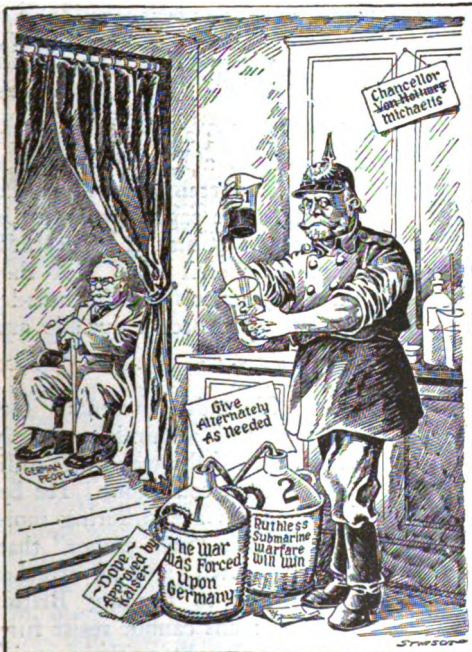


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M. ALBERT THOMAS, FRENCH MINISTER OF MUNITIONS, SPEAKING TO RUSSIAN SOLDIERS ON HIS RECENT VISIT TO PETROGRAD

nations who desire peace. The Stockholm conference is not likely to be important; but meanwhile there will have been held at London a conference of Socialists and labor representatives from the Allied countries, in the closing days of August and the early days of the present month. These men will insist upon saying what they think about the obstacles to peace.

**Germany
Still
Obdurate** Official bravado in Germany is kept up, and the press in great part takes orders and joins in helping to blind the German people to the realities. Nevertheless, as we pointed out last month, there was in the Reichstag peace resolutions some gleam of intelligent perception. The German nation likes order and system, and it dreads the weakness of divided councils and of revolution. The best Germans do not yet see how to transform Germany into a liberal country without losing some of Germany's unity and strength. There is no such potent mechanism in the world as the German Empire; but its mistakes of policy and method are now draining the vitality of the German people and will have to be atoned for through much future suffering. Peace would come at once



CHANCELLOR MICHAELIS (soliloquizing at his job):
 "Remarkable how much of this stuff we rulers can make
 the German people take."

From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)

**International Film Service**

KAISER WILLIAM AND PRINCE RUPPRECHT OF
BAVARIA

(This is a recent photograph of the Emperor and the Bavarian Crown Prince, who is a real soldier and leader of the German armies that have been facing the English in Flanders)

if German civilians and soldiers could do as Russia has done, and overthrow their masters and leaders. No people in the world are more capable of carrying on a great republic than the Germans; and their repudiation of autocracy would give them almost at once the intellectual and social leadership of Europe, if not of the world. The liberal revolution that failed in '48 may be revived and may succeed seventy years later. But it must be confessed that the signs as yet are unpromising. The new Chancellor, Michaelis, has proposed no fresh policies, and German political reform seems to be indefinitely postponed. It is said that the leaders of the Centrist or Catholic party, working through Austria, had some relation to the issuance of the Pope's appeal for peace. But we must regard the Vatican movement as inspired solely by humane motives and as untouched by diplomatic intrigue.

Russia Inspires Optimism

*Russia
Inspires
Optimism*

Distressing on many accounts as the Russian situation has been during the past five or six months, those who are best acquainted with it are inclined to be enthusiastic rather than depressed. Mr. Elihu Root, for example, looking at it all with large sympathy and a



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MR. ELIHU ROOT AND HIS COLLEAGUES OF THE MISSION TO RUSSIA, AS SEEN AT PETROGRAD

(From right to left in the front row are Mr. Terestchenko, General Brusiloff, Mr. Root, General Scott, and Colonel Judson. Behind General Brusiloff, in the military cap, is Major Stanley Washburn, author of the article on Russia in this number of the REVIEW. The others are all prominent Americans and Russians)

sense of movement in historic time, returned last month with the most unqualified praise of the Russian people, who had done marvelously well in this period of sharp transition. Mr. Root and his colleagues have carried the more conviction in the United States by reason of their agreement with one another in all essential things. They were useful and influential in Russia, were able to strengthen materially the bonds of good will between Russia and America, and were all of them hopeful for the future. Mr. Stanley Washburn, who was an official member of the party, and who is an expert in Russian military and political matters, presents an encouraging report of conditions in an article contributed to this number of the REVIEW (see page 278). It is not necessary for the American reader to be too much concerned over the day-by-day news from Russia. The provisional government under Kerensky tends to become more authoritative, and the army, while suffering defeats, is re-

covering its fighting edge and will doubtless utilize the immunity of a Russian winter in making ready for important activities next May. The Russians are eager for peace, in order that they may organize their republic and reconstitute their civil life. But they know well that they must fight the invader boldly before they can expect a durable and worthy peace.

*Aspects
of
the War*

Mr. Simonds presents (see page 260) his admirable monthly conspectus of the war in its military aspects and general conditions. He believes that the Germans are suffering more in the depletion of their "man power" than has generally been known, and he attaches exceptional importance to pending British offensives. The Germans cannot resist furious and continuous onslaughts without an increasing strain upon their resources that begins to be relatively greater than the strain upon the aggregate resources of the Allies.

Nevertheless, if the object of the war is to crush and destroy Germany, there is little reason to think that the Germans could not shorten their lines and fight on the defensive for a number of years to come. Mr. Lloyd George last month made a very optimistic speech in which he attempted to show that the submarine danger was growing relatively smaller month by month. He has not, however, been frank enough to give explicit information, and the German reports on tonnage destroyed have in times past proven to be more accurate than the British.

*Ships
and
Submarines*

It is a disturbing thing that these English statesmen, in their minimizing of the submarine menace, always give as their chief ground of assurance the fact that—with America's herculean efforts and her unprecedented money expenditures in the building of new ships—there will be a constant supply of fresh victims for German submarines. The British navy, meanwhile, is being conserved, apparently for ocean domination at the end of the war. It was stated last month that the Germans had three hundred submarines in active service. It is probable that the number is considerably greater. It is also true that the enemies of Germany have captured or sunk very few submarines since the war began. It seems not to have occurred to Mr. Lloyd George that while Britain and her allies were building more merchant ships, the Germans were also building more submarines. American naval men, especially the younger and more scholarly officers, are largely of the opinion that the British navy ought to be used aggressively against Germany's naval and submarine bases.

*Fighting
Versus
War-Making*

The Allies have shown themselves brave and hard fighters, and have organized the supply of material resources on a magnificent scale. They have, indeed, fought; but they have lacked directive intelligence of the higher kind to create war plans and carry them out. While Germany has, through her marvelous war organization known as the General Staff, unified the fighting forces of the league of Central Powers and given the war an undivided strategical guidance, the Allies, with far greater aggregate supplies of men and materials, have scattered their efforts, wasting the lives of their men and squandering their resources through piecemeal and haphazard ventures, ill-timed and



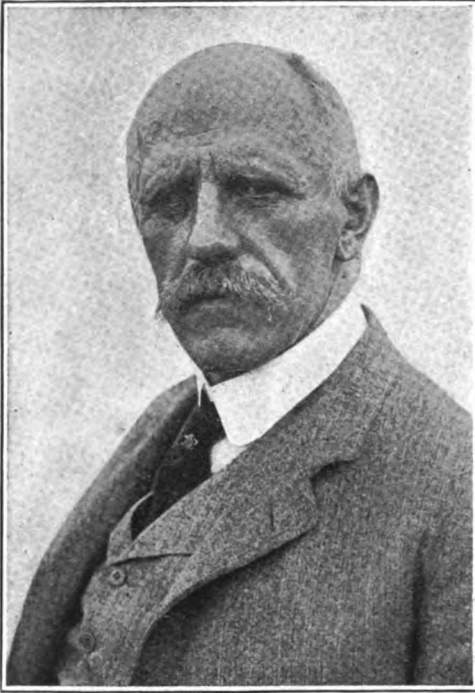
DUKE ALBRECHT, OF WÜRTTEMBERG

(One of the leading representatives of German militarism and autocracy. Supreme command on the western front is divided among Duke Albrecht, the Prussian Crown Prince Frederick William, and Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria)

unrelated. France and England undoubtedly are coöperating better now than at first; but German successes in the main have been due to the fact that the Allies were merely fighting, here and there, while the Germans were making war. From the very beginning, the United States has been ready to subordinate its naval and military efforts to any form of higher strategy promising results through coöperation.

*Steady
War Progress
of Allies*

If peace is deferred until next summer, and if military activity should be diminished during the winter, the Allies will have increased their relative superiority by April or May. While the presence of American troops in France, thus far, has served merely to give fresh courage and hope to the French people, it is evident from the orders already made public that the American Army abroad will by next summer be large enough to amount to some-



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DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN, ARCTIC EXPLORER AND SPECIAL COMMISSIONER FROM NORWAY TO THE UNITED STATES

(Dr. Nansen seeks to effect an arrangement with the authorities at Washington to obtain grain, fats, and sugars for Norway, under guarantees to prevent reshipment across the Baltic to Germany)

thing in the fighting sense. If one were to guess that 100,000 National Guard troops might have followed 150,000 American regulars before next summer, it would not presume to be an authorized or responsible estimate. By that time we shall have gone far with our great aviation program. Germany is straining her resources to build more aircraft, but she will not be able to match the output of England, France and America. The Germans are saying less now than a few weeks ago in disdain of Uncle Sam's war prowess. Furthermore, we shall be able, in many ways, to assist Russia in doing her part. Mr. Root emphasizes Russia's lack of railroad equipment, and this country can do much to supply such needs. Now that China has definitely become a belligerent, while Japan is eager to cooperate with the United States, practical ways of helping Russia become more clearly defined. Thus China can furnish indefinite supplies of railroad labor, while America and Japan can provide rails and rolling stock, and as many engineers and experts in construction work as may be required. Russia has ample numbers of sol-

diers; her chief needs being equipment and transportation. England is now fully militarized; and France and Italy have taken heart. The welcome visit of an important Japanese mission to this country may result in a more active use of Japan's military power to help end the war within the year 1918. There is much the Allies can do through full cooperation.

*The Embargo
as a
War Device*

One of the measures definitely taken that is expected to have an important bearing upon the war itself is the embargo placed by the United States upon the shipment of supplies to neutral countries that would render war assistance to Germany. It is somewhat extraordinary that the smaller neutral countries around the Baltic should continue to demand so insistently that the United States—straining its resources in the carrying-on of a war for the welfare and security of the lands and peoples of northern and western Europe—should be expected to sell great volumes of commodities to those same neutrals in order that they might continue profitable trading with Germany, and thus help to defeat the cause in which America is enlisted. These countries have been singularly slow, moreover, in supplying the promised facts and figures to prove that they were not engaged in shipping to Germany the very things they were importing from the United States, or the equivalent. Thus Sweden has come here for our iron to make up her own lacks because of unprecedented sales of Swedish iron and ore to Germany. All of these small countries have imported vastly more cotton than their own needs require, and have resold it to Germany, where it enters into the making of explosives. We are even expected to sell foodstuffs to these countries, of the very same character as much that they have been selling of their own production to Germany. It is obviously true that these countries have a right to sell whatever they like to any of their neighbors, whether belligerent or neutral. But it is equally obvious that we as a belligerent power must see that our supplies of food and other materials are used for our own benefit and for the support of our allies. It is now a serious question whether the Scandinavian countries and Holland, not to mention Spain, ought not to take an active part in opposing Germany and bringing to a righteous end a great war in which the future of small nations is one of the matters principally at stake.

*Mr. Hoover
Now in
Authority*

Mr. Herbert Hoover, from his long experience in rationing Belgium, became exceedingly familiar with the problems that we are trying to meet at Washington by an embargo which has kept scores of neutral vessels, laden with wheat and other commodities, interned in our harbors. Doubtless Mr. Hoover's influence has helped to show the Washington authorities the importance of the decisive course that is now being pursued. With the passage of the so-called Food Control Bill, Mr. Hoover, through President Wilson's designation, became clothed last month with extraordinary power. There was much opposition in Congress to certain parts of the bill, but not much hostility to the measure as a whole. There were also some personal attacks upon Mr. Hoover, but they were wholly undeserved and without influence. He has assumed a great burden, and he may commit some errors of judgment; but we predict for him a marked success. He has already secured the aid of many experts, and he will proceed under due advice in each step. Wheat speculation will be curbed, and the Government, as the largest purchaser, will regulate prices while appreciating the farmer's end of the situation. A typical member of Mr. Hoover's staff is Mr. Lou D. Sweet, the country's foremost authority upon the production of potatoes, who writes for this number of the REVIEW an interesting article upon what we may call the immediate potato situation, in view of the very large crop and the fluctuation of prices. Mr. Julius H. Barnes, of Duluth, who has written for this magazine as an expert upon the American grain trade and the problems of rail and water transportation, is head of Mr. Hoover's wheat commission, while President Garfield of Williams College heads a board on wheat price-fixing.

*The Liquor
Question in
War Time*

There was much delay in the passage of the Food Control Bill, by reason of the discussion of two or three special topics which were introduced in the form of amendments. The most important of these was the question of the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors. The Senate finally decided to submit to the legislatures of the States an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would, if adopted, ordain nation-wide prohibition. It is expected that the House will vote favorably upon this amendment early in the December



HON. MORRIS SHEPPARD, OF TEXAS

(Author of the resolution adopted by the Senate, last month, to submit to the States a prohibition amendment to the federal Constitution)

session. Meanwhile, however, the Food Control law itself bears importantly upon the subject of alcoholic drinks. The bill was signed on August 8, and under its provisions the manufacture of distilled liquor ceases one month later—namely Saturday, September 8. While the avowed object is to save grain for food, the action was chiefly due to temperance sentiment. The newspapers have stated that Mr. Hoover is also ordering the reduction of the alcoholic strength of beer to a maximum of 2 per cent., as against the present average of two or three times that amount. This will save grain, while rendering beer less stimulating and harmful. The stocks of distilled liquors held in store by distillers and dealers are very large, and the Government revenue from that source will not be much impaired for the present year by the cessation of manufacture. But next year it will fall off.

*Shall Congress
Help Run
the War*

Another question that arose persistently during the progress of the Senate debate on the Food Control Bill was that of a joint standing



HON. A. F. LEVER, OF SOUTH CAROLINA

(Who, as chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, was prominently identified with the Food Control measure in its passage through the House. He successfully supported the President as against the Senate proposal to create a joint committee on expenditures in the conduct of the war)

committee of the two houses of Congress on the conduct of the war. Senator Weeks, of Massachusetts, was foremost in the advocacy of such a committee, while the plan had many supporters in both parties and was added by the Senate as an amendment to the bill. The House conferees would not accept it, however, and it was dropped on the understanding that it would come up for consideration as a separate question on its own merits. Members of both houses complain that while, at the Administration's demand, they are supplying unprecedented sums of money by taxation and loans, they have very little knowledge of how the money is being spent and no knowledge at all of the existence of any working plan for carrying on the war. President Wilson, while the matter was under debate, wrote a letter to Congressman Lever, who was guiding the Food Control measure through the House, in which he declared that Senator Weeks' proposal "would, if enacted into law, render my task of conducting the war practically

impossible." Mr. Wilson proceeded as follows:

I cannot believe that those who proposed this section scrutinized it with care or analyzed the effects which its operation would necessarily have. The constant supervision of executive action which it contemplates would amount to nothing less than an assumption on the part of the legislative body of the executive work of the Administration.

There is a very ominous precedent in our history which shows how such a supervision would operate. I refer to the committee on the conduct of the war constituted by the Congress during the Administration of Mr. Lincoln. It was the cause of constant and distressing harassment and rendered Mr. Lincoln's task all but impossible.

Mr. Wilson commented further in the same spirit, stating that the appointment of a special committee by Congress would imply lack of confidence in the President in the exercise of a responsibility that "rests upon the Administration." It will be remembered that this appeal by the President was made after the Senate had adopted the Weeks amendment. The reference by Mr. Wilson, to the effect upon President Lincoln of the Congressional committee on the conduct of the war that existed throughout the four years from '61 to '65, is of such a nature as to lead the reader to wonder how that committee really worked. We must call attention, therefore, to an article contributed to this number of the REVIEW by Professor Ogg, of the University of Wisconsin, a distinguished authority in American political and constitutional history, who reviews the methods of the committee which operated under the leadership of such radical Republicans of the Civil War period as Senators "Ben" Wade and "Zach" Chandler. Mr. Ogg's instructive article will be found on page 295. It is the more important because the question of a war committee is yet to be taken up as an independent measure.

On Price-
Fixing by
Government

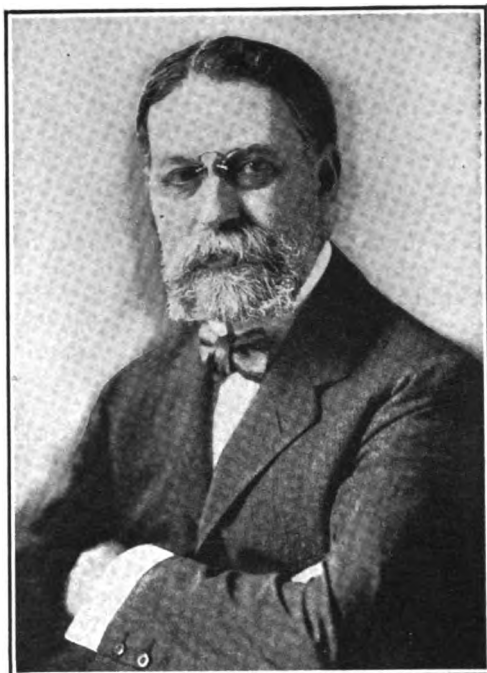
Professor Seligman of Columbia discusses in another department of this issue of the REVIEW the theories of price-fixing which are now so largely holding the attention of Washington and of the business and financial world. He would divide all things sold and purchased into three groups, one very small one including commodities of fundamental importance like coal, wheat, and ships, to be completely under Governmental control; another consisting chiefly of certain important raw materials like copper and oil to be subject to

price regulation, and all the remainder to be left free as to price to answer the law of supply and demand, with taxation of excess war profits derived from them to take the place of price regulation. Professor Seligman is perhaps a little more than fair to the attitude of those who advocate price-fixing, in his construction of a second group, the prices of which are to be fixed by the Government on the particular ground that high war prices would not increase production. Many will challenge his selection of oil and copper to form the backbone of this group. As a matter of fact, the high prices of the war period have operated to increase enormously the supply of copper; in 1913 America's production was 612,000 tons; the production for 1916 was 964,000 tons. It is undoubtedly true that to-day a very important tonnage now coming from the lower-grade "porphyry" copper mines would be impossible with the metal selling at less than 15 cents per pound. So also with oil. A great number of individual wells—and also practically entire fields—which had to be passed over as unprofitable with oil selling at normal prices, are now being operated. The Kentucky oil fields in particular are illustrative.

*A War
Industries
Board*

To end the confusion which had come in the varying theories and practises as to prices to be paid by the Government through the committees of the Council of National Defense and the Government departments, President Wilson appointed on July 28 a War Industries Board, with Mr. Frank A. Scott, of Cleveland, chairman. The other members are Bernard M. Baruch, of New York; Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer E. Pierce, representing the Army; Rear-Admiral Frank H. Fletcher, representing the Navy; Hugh Frayne, a well-known labor organizer; Robert S. Brookings, a merchant of St. Louis; and Robert S. Lovett of the Union Pacific. It was announced that this Board would proceed to take measures for increasing the production of war materials, decide on priority of delivery of commodities, and furnish a policy and a plan for obtaining reasonable prices for supplies. A special committee will, as a purchasing commission, have charge of the last-named work. Mr. Baruch is chairman, and Messrs. Brookings and Lovett the other members. The Allies' purchases in America may be handled by a special Allies' committee acting in coöperation with our War Industries Board.

Sept.—2



PROF. E. R. A. SELIGMAN

(A leader in the discussion of problems of war finance—expenditures as well as revenues)

*Plans and
Policies in War
Business*

On August 8, the War Industries Board made an official statement as to its general purpose, though the public is as yet quite vague as to how these are to be achieved. The plan is to make sure that our Allies shall receive for their supplies used in the war the same concessions that are given the United States Government. The Board is careful to announce, however, that this policy is only to be carried out where it can be reciprocal. In other words, the Allies must deal on this basis with their own producers, and in selling to us and to each other. Also, the plan is to be limited to war materials proper. Otherwise, raw material sold at especially low prices to England and France might be manufactured abroad and come back to us to compete with our own manufactures with great injustice to the latter. The spokesman for the War Industries Board continues the Administration's assurance that price-fixing will allow a reasonable profit, but there is no further elucidation of just how the Government is to arrive at what is a reasonable profit. The Board is not yet charged with the work of seeing that prices to the general public are reasonable, and intimates that it may not go into this problem at all.

*Some
Practical
Difficulties*

Thus, while the President has furnished for the conduct of the war a very admirable board to deal with the matter of prices, there was, up to the 20th of August, no further public enlightenment as to how any human agency, no matter how admirable, is to determine what are fair prices. It was reported some two weeks after the War Industries Board had been formed that wherever possible supplies would be obtained through contracts at fixed prices, with the "cost-plus-profit" plan held in reserve for cases where the manufacturing prices were very complicated and where conditions could not be clearly foreseen. To show one of the many difficulties of the cost-and-profit plan, the news of the day brings instances of labor demands coming immediately upon the closing of such contracts, with the effect of greatly increasing the cost of production, and also increasing, of course, the profit to the manufacturer. A much more important and fundamental difficulty arises, of course, from the fact that the costs of production vary so much between individual producers and in different localities.

*Shaping
the Tax
Measure*

Elsewhere in this issue is printed an article from Mr. Charles F. Speare, giving in some detail the provisions of the Revenue Bill reported to the Senate by its Finance Committee, and now under discussion. In August a minority report was made by Senators LaFollette, Gore, and Thomas, setting forth a greatly simplified and more radical method of raising the funds which taxation will have to furnish for the special war needs of the year. These three Senators, members of the Finance Committee, would obtain the entire sum needed from three sources—incomes, excess war profits, and the liquor industry. By the middle of the month plans were under way to restrict debate on the bill in the Senate, and leaders in Congress hoped that it could go into conference early in September. The items on which the debate promised chiefly to center were the income tax, the excess profits tax, and the special demands on publishers. Senator Weeks, of Massachusetts, offered an amendment for removing the proposed special taxes on publishers, which, as the bill stands, would require an increase of 25 per cent. in the Post Office charges for carrying newspapers and magazines, and would also take 5 per cent. of the net profits of publishers over and above the taxes that they in common with other corporations and

individual business houses are asked to pay. Senator Weeks pointed out in support of his amendment that it was highly illogical to select a particular industry which had already been hard hit by the war, especially through the high cost of paper, and require it to pay, in addition to all the various taxes which other businesses bear, two special taxes imposed upon publishers alone.

*Pushing the
Great Aerial
Program*

On July 24, President Wilson signed the largest appropriation bill ever presented to any President for his signature. The bill devotes \$640,000,000 for the development of an immense American aviation organization. This is in addition to the \$45,000,000 for aviation asked for by the Navy for its own airplane plant. It had wisely been decided that airplanes and expert pilots would be America's most effective contribution to the winning of the war, and Congress passed the bill in record time. Results must not be looked for too soon, however—as has been explained by Chairman Howard E. Coffin,



Photo by Central News Photo Service

AWARDING COMMISSIONS TO SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES OF THE OFFICERS' TRAINING CAMP AT FORT MYER, VIRGINIA, LAST MONTH

(Sixteen hundred student officers received their commissions from Secretary of War Baker, in the presence of President Wilson. Similar scenes occurred in the other thirteen officers' training camps)



Underwood & Underwood, New York

THE SELECTIVE-DRAFT-LAW EXEMPTION BOARD FOR NEW YORK CITY, DECIDING APPEALS FROM DECISIONS MADE BY DISTRICT BOARDS

(Ex-Justice Charles E. Hughes sits on the bench as chairman of the board, whose decisions are final. Similar bodies exist in every State. Most of the cases heard relate to dependents and to special occupations. Neither the law itself nor the President had laid down specific rules for exemption, and there was some lack of uniformity in acting upon claims made by reason of married status or private employment—agricultural work, for example—contributing to the successful prosecution of war. This New York City board dismissed an average of five out of six appeals which came before it, holding that the government's military needs were paramount.)

of the Aircraft Production Board—because a large amount of preliminary work must be done before the great fleet of airplanes and the host of flyers are ready to take their places on the fighting fronts. But the work is being pushed as expeditiously as possible. Factories and automobile plants are being rapidly put into shape for turning out aerial equipment, and many noted engineers and mechanical experts are coöperating in securing the best results in the shortest possible time. Meanwhile, the training of our flyers is also proceeding at various camps, not only in the United States, but in Canada and France. By next summer, it is confidently anticipated, America's aerial prowess will make itself felt over the fighting areas.

**Drafting
the New
Army**

Coincident with the hurried preparation of the cantonments for the housing of our new National Army, the examination of the drafted men has been proceeding with dispatch in every section of the country during the past month. The boards of examination and appeal have had their hands full with the work of certifying the men, their labors having been complicated by the necessity for a fair and accurate interpretation of the War Department's regulations. Various new rulings and the adoption of a stricter governmental policy have had the effect of making it more difficult to gain exemption, with the result of increasing the number of men accepted

for service. Considering the vastness of the undertaking and the non-military traditions of our country, the operations of the draft for the new army have proceeded with remarkable smoothness. It is planned to call the new army into service in four instalments—30 per cent. of the quota of each district to entrain for the cantonments on September 5; 30 per cent. on September 15; 30 per cent. on September 30, and the remainder soon afterward. The harvesting requirements in the agricultural sections will be taken into consideration in determining the time for calling out men who are connected with farming work. The entire first increment of 687,000 of the new army is expected to be in training by the early part of October.

**Reconstruction
in
Mexico**

A year ago the greater part of the armed forces of the United States were in Mexico or along the border. Since their withdrawal, last February, conditions in the southern republic have steadily improved; and a seemingly hopeless situation has become one with a bright outlook. In the newspapers last month there appeared a statement by Mr. Henry Bruère, upon his return to the United States after ten weeks spent in Mexico assisting the Carranza government in the reconstruction of its financial affairs. Mr. Bruère—who was formerly a director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, of New York City, and City Chamberlain in the Mitchel administration—was invited by General Car-

ranza to study the financial and administrative situation in Mexico and make recommendations. He found the military situation still paramount, but with peace and order prevailing. The vast sums necessary to carry on the government and do the work of reconstruction are not in sight, although revenues are larger than ever before. Mr. Bruère believes that Mexico's salvation will come from within, particularly if the able men of the republic forget their grievances and come forward to cooperate. He expects to return to Mexico in November, for service with Mr. Cabrera and others upon a financial commission appointed by President Carranza. In this number of the REVIEW we are publishing an article upon Mexican progress which we regard as of a *u t h o r i t a t i v e* value; and which fully harmonizes with the statements of Mr. Bruère in the press.

*Let Students
Finish Their
Course!*

We are
publish-
ing in

this number a very important and timely article by Dr. Lyman P. Powell, president of Hobart College, New York, on the outlook for the colleges and universities this coming season. It is the firm opinion of President Wilson and other leaders in government and education that the freshman classes ought to open with full strength and that the colleges should make a great effort to carry on all branches of their work. Every effort should be made to persuade students that the Government does not want them until they have graduated. Meanwhile, every college and higher school should prepare its young men, in so far as it can, for service as good citizens; and to this end—our nation being at war—all students should be given, in their recreation hours, regular military instruction and vigorous drill and training. With this preliminary work, college graduates will be in position to offer themselves for intensive training in any one of the

special branches of service to which the Government may choose to assign them. It is desirable that qualified students should enter the freshman class at an early age, and try to graduate as soon as possible after completing their twenty-first year. Many English and Canadian officers who have been wounded would make admirable military instructors in American colleges and schools.

*An
Educational
Leader*

One of the greatest educational leaders of our time was taken from his work by sudden death last month, in the person of the principal of the famous Institute at Hampton, Virginia. Dr. Hollis B. Frissell was not merely a devoted friend of the colored races in America, and an authority upon Negro and Indian education; he was also eminent as a leader in educational reform and in the combination of industrial, agricultural, and household work with training in the branches of a general education. He had been associated with General Armstrong in the earlier days of the Hampton Institute, and had succeeded to the headship of the institution on General Armstrong's death twenty-four years ago. Dr.



DR. HOLLIS B. FRISSELL

Frissell had served for many years on educational boards of nation-wide influence, and his personal work, as well as the great institution he directed, was known to educators throughout the world. He was a leader in the agricultural progress of the South; and his interest in the progress of Negroes on the land had brought him into long and intimate association with Sir Horace Plunkett, whose efforts for the well-being of Irish peasant farmers have just now resulted in his unanimous appointment as chairman of the Irish convention sitting at Dublin. In a future number of the REVIEW we shall have occasion to speak in more detail of the work of Dr. Frissell in the development of the Hampton Institute.

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From July 19 to August 20, 1917)

The Last Part of July

July 19.—A German counter-offensive (north of the scene of Russia's advance in Galicia) is assisted by mutiny among the Russian defenders, who first debate and then refuse to fight.

July 20.—Alexander F. Kerensky, the popular Minister of War in Russia, is made Premier upon the resignation of Lvoff.

July 21.—Premier Lloyd George, of Great Britain, denounces the German Chancellor's address to the Reichstag as proposing "a sham independence for Belgium, a sham democracy for Germany, a sham peace for Europe."

July 22.—The Germans launch a violent attack against French positions on the plateaus north of Craonne.

The Kingdom of Siam (southeastern Asia) declares war on Germany and Austria.

July 23.—Premier Kerensky is given "unlimited powers" by the Executive Councils of Russian Workmen and Soldiers and Peasants.

July 24.—The House of Commons votes a new war credit of \$3,250,000,000, bringing Great Britain's war expenditures to a total of \$26,460,000,000.

July 25.—The German report announces the occupation of Tarnopol and Stanislaw, in Galicia.

The Rumanian army, in cooperation with Russian contingents, launches an offensive against the Austro-Germans.

A Russian women's battalion, designated officially as the Command of Death, goes into action against the Germans near Smorgon.

A convention of leaders of factions in Ireland assembles at Dublin, with ninety-two delegates, to endeavor to settle the Irish question; Sir Horace Plunkett is chosen as chairman.

July 26.—The demoralized Russian retreat in Galicia continues, the Austro-Germans having advanced more than fifty miles in one week; in Volhynia, to the north, and in Rumania, to the south, the Russians remain firm.

July 27.—A second contingent of American troops arrives at a European port.

At a conference of Entente Allies, on Balkan problems, it is agreed to withdraw French, British, and Italian troops from ancient Greece, Thessaly, and Epirus, but to retain General Sarraill's army at Salonica.

Premier Lloyd George states that Great Britain has enrolled more than 5,000,000 soldiers, besides nearly 500,000 men in the navy and nearly 1,000,000 from the dominions and colonies.

Official figures show that this year's crop acreage in England and Wales increased 6 per cent.

German aircraft raid Paris (at night) for the first time in a year and a half; only two bombs are dropped in the city.

July 30.—The British Admiralty announces that the cruiser *Ariadne* (11,000 tons) has been torpedoed and sunk, with a loss of thirty-eight lives.

The French High Commissioner to the United States, Andre Tardieu, makes public some statistics regarding France's part in the war; the present fighting strength is 3,000,000 men, who hold 356 miles, or more than two-thirds of the entire Western front; losses (killed, missing, and prisoners) have decreased from 2.39 per cent. of mobilized strength in the first six months of 1915 to 1.28 per cent. in the second six months of 1916.

July 31.—A new offensive against the Germans is begun on a front of twenty miles in Flanders (Belgium), French troops being brought northward to assist the British; German official reports had described the preliminary artillery duel as "representing the highest degree of massed effect in the war"; more than 6,000 Germans are captured and a maximum advance of two and a half miles accomplished.

It is stated in Switzerland that Germany has agreed to assume the war expenses of Bulgaria and Turkey in the coming year.

The American oil-tank steamer *Montano* (armed) is torpedoed without warning by a German submarine, sixteen of the crew and eight of the naval force losing their lives.

The First Week of August

August 1.—German counter-attacks win back several positions lost the previous day; heavy rains interfere with the progress of the Franco-British offensive.

August 2.—General Korniloff becomes commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, General Brusiloff believing reorganization difficulties too great to overcome.

August 3.—The Root mission to Russia returns to the United States.

Czernowitz, capital of Bukowina, is occupied by Austro-German forces—ending the third prolonged Russian occupation of the city.

Finland's declaration of independence is declared illegal by the Russian provisional government, as lacking the sanction of the Russian government or people; provision is made for submitting the question of future relations to a new Finnish parliament to be chosen on October 1.

The Russian Foreign Minister, Terestchenko, resigns; the military governor of Petrograd, General Erdelli, is assassinated.

August 4.—French Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies, for the first time since the beginning of the war, refuses to vote confidence in the government; the ministry obtains a majority of 331.

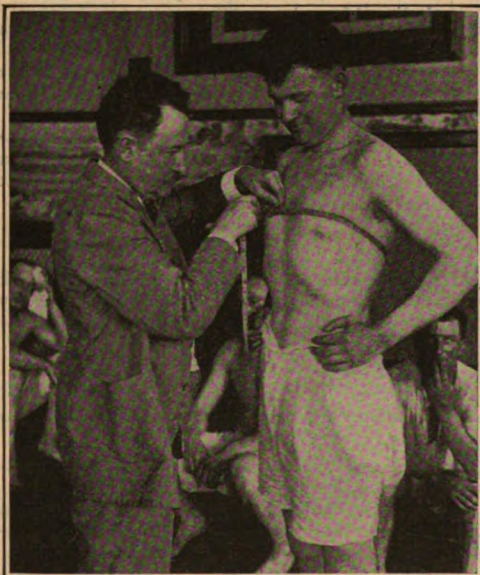
August 6.—The German cabinet is reorganized under the new Chancellor, Dr. Michaelis; Richard von Kuehlmann (Ambassador to Turkey) becomes Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The American oil-tank steamer *Campana* (armed) is sunk by a German submarine off the west coast of France; it is believed that the captain and five of the naval guard are made prisoners.



Photo by American Press Association

REGISTERED MEN WAITING TO BE EXAMINED FOR THE DRAFT ARMY



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UNDERGOING PHYSICAL EXAMINATION

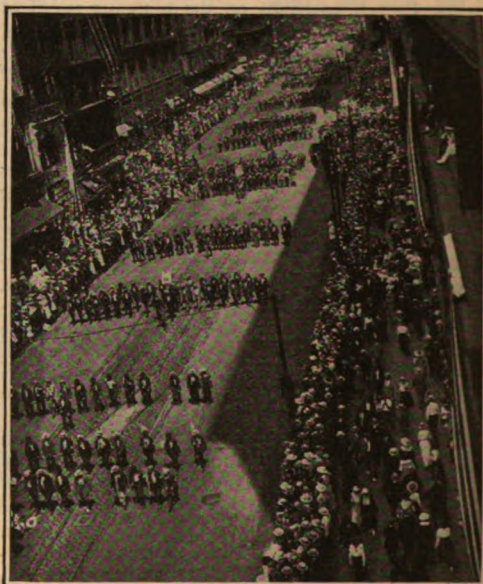


Photo by International Film Service

ACCEPTED MEN PARADING IN CHICAGO



Photograph by Paul Thompson

AT THEIR FIRST DRILL—SOME OF UNCLE SAM'S NEW SOLDIERS AT GOVERNOR'S ISLAND, NEW YORK

ORGANIZING THE AMERICAN NATIONAL ARMY,—COUNTRY-WIDE SCENES

August 7.—Liberia, the negro republic on the west coast of Africa, declares war on Germany.

An Austro-German force under Field Marshal von Mackensen begins an offensive against the Russo-Rumanian troops near Fokshani, on the northern Rumanian front.

The Second Week of August

August 8.—The Canadian conscription bill passes its third reading in the Senate, the last legislative stage; the measure will first affect single men between twenty and thirty-two.

August 10.—Renewing the offensive in Flanders, the British capture the village of Westhoek.

A conference of British Labor Party representatives (600 delegates) votes by a large majority to participate in the Stockholm International Socialist conference, reversing a former decision.

August 11.—Arthur Henderson, secretary of the British Labor Party, resigns his office as a member of the British War Cabinet, owing to the Government's dissatisfaction with his support of the Stockholm Socialist conference.

August 12.—Twenty German airplanes drop bombs on towns along the east coast of England, killing thirty-two persons.

August 13.—A Japanese mission to the United States, headed by Viscount Ishii, arrives at a Pacific port.

The House of Commons is informed that permission will not be given to British delegates to attend the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm.

August 14.—The Chinese Government declares war on Germany and Austria, to obtain "respect for international law and protection of the lives and property of Chinese citizens."

Nicholas, deposed Czar of Russia, is removed from Tsarskoe-Selo Palace—his destination reported to be Siberia.

The Third Week of August

August 15.—A peace appeal to the belligerents by Pope Benedict is made public at London (dated August 1); his suggestions for the basis of a just and durable peace are: disarmament, evacuation of Belgian and French territory, restitution of German colonies, and settlement of political and territorial questions (Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, etc.) in a conciliatory spirit for the general welfare.

Canadian troops capture Hill 70, dominating from the northwest the important French coal city of Lens and declared by the Germans to be impregnable.

American troops from a training camp in England parade through the streets of London, amid scenes declared to be unequalled since the beginning of the war.

Herr von Waldow becomes Food Controller in Germany, succeeding von Batocki.

Dr. Jean Adolphe Sulzer, new Swiss minister (who also has charge of German interests) arrives in the United States.

August 16.—Premier Lloyd George informs the House of Commons that destruction of British vessels by German submarines and mines has decreased from 560,000 tons in April, and 320,000 tons in June, to an estimated loss of 170,000 during



PREMIER VENIZELOS AND GENERAL REGNAULT

(Upon the forced abdication of King Constantine, Eleutherios Venizelos returned to power as Premier; and formal announcement was soon made that Greece considered herself at war with Germany and Austria. At a war council on Balkan affairs [held in Paris late in July], it was decided to withdraw Allied troops from all Greek territory except Salonica—where General Sarrail remains in command of a large, inactive force of French, British, and Italian troops.)

August; tonnage added by new construction during 1917 will total 1,900,000; the average net loss has been 250,000 tons monthly since February.

The French and British resume the battle in Flanders, driving the Germans from the village of Langemarck.

August 17-18.—One hundred and eleven French airplanes drop fourteen tons of projectiles on aviation camps and railroad stations behind the German lines.

August 18.—Russian prisoners taken by Austro-Germans since the beginning of the offensive on July 19 are officially stated to number 42,000, besides hundreds of guns and vast quantities of war material.

A large Canadian munitions plan at Rigaud, near Montreal, is completely destroyed by an explosion; the loss of life is comparatively small.

August 19.—Italian activity on a large scale is renewed on the Julian and Carso fronts.

Observers on the French front report a change in German defensive methods, from lines of trenches (which were proving vulnerable to massed artillery attack) to an irregular system of strongly fortified holes made by enemy shells.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From July 20 to August 20, 1917)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

July 21.—The Senate adopts a compromise bill establishing Government control over foods and fuel by a board of three members, fixing a minimum price of \$2 per bushel for 1918 wheat, prohibiting the use of food materials in the production of distilled liquors, and creating a joint Congressional committee of ten members on "expenditures in the conduct of the war." . . . The bill appropriating \$640,000,000 for aircraft is passed without change.

July 23.—In the Senate, Mr. Lewis (Dem., Ill.) characterizes the speech of German Chancellor Michaelis as a direct bid to the United States to use its influence for peace.

July 24.—The Senate Committee on Finance is informed by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo that \$5,000,000,000, in addition to previous estimates, will be required to carry the war to June 30, 1918.

July 26.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.) declares that the outlook for the Entente Allies was never so menacing as now—with Russia prac-

tically out of the conflict, with France at its maximum, and with destruction by submarines increasing rapidly. . . . The annual Rivers and Harbors appropriation bill (\$28,000,000) is adopted.

The House receives the Treasury Department's deficiency estimates for War Department projects, totaling \$5,278,636,000, half of which is for armament.

August 1.—The Senate (by vote of 65 to 20) adopts a resolution for submitting an amendment to the federal Constitution prohibiting the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation, or exportation of intoxicating liquors; it is provided that the article shall be inoperative unless ratified within six years.

August 2.—The Senate adopts without discussion a resolution requesting the President to seek permission from foreign governments to apply the Selective Draft law to their citizens in the United States.

The Senate and House conferees reach an agreement on differences in the Food Administration bill; the Senate provisions for a three-man food-control board and for a Congressional war expenditures board are dropped.

August 3.—The House adopts conference reports on the Food Administration and the Food Survey bills.

August 4.—The Senate adopts conference reports on the measure extending authority to the President to designate priority of shipment in certain classes of freight and also the bill increasing membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

August 6.—The Senate Finance Committee for the second time reports the War Revenue bill, after further revision; the measure as reintroduced would yield \$2,006,970,000 (an increase of \$337,000,000).

August 8.—The Senate adopts the conference reports on the Food Control and the Food Survey bills.

August 11.—In the Senate, Mr. LaFollette (Rep., Wis.) introduces a resolution demanding a "re-statement of Allied peace terms based on a disavowal of advantages either in the way of indemnities, territorial acquisitions, commercial privileges, or economic prerogatives."

August 14.—The Senate and House Finance Committees are informed by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo that war needs will require, from this and the coming regular session of Congress, a bond issue of \$9,000,000,000 (in addition to the \$7,000,000,000 already authorized) and taxation revenue \$1,000,000,000 in excess of the \$2,000,000,000 provided for in the revenue measure now pending.

August 17.—The House Ways and Means Committee receives suggestions from the Secretary of the Treasury contemplating the issuance of \$7,500,000,000 of 4 per cent. bonds, subject to in-



HON. WESTMORELAND DAVIS, OF VIRGINIA

(Mr. Davis was nominated for Governor last month, after a contest in the Democratic primaries as against the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. J. Taylor Ellyson, and the Attorney-General, Mr. John G. Pollard. Mr. Davis has taken a large interest in the agricultural development of Virginia, being a practical farmer as well as a member of the legal profession. His success is regarded as a triumph for the independent as against the regular elements of the party. The prohibition question seems to have been involved in a somewhat confused way)

come surtaxes—to provide \$4,000,000,000 for loans to the Allies and to retire the \$3,000,000,000 3½ per cent. issue already authorized.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

July 23.—In a letter to Congressman Lever, President Wilson declares that the proposal to create a Congressional committee on expenditures in the conduct of the war would "render my task of conducting the war practically impossible."

July 24.—The controversy in the Shipping Board is ended by the resignation of Chairman Denman and General Goethals, manager of the construction work; Edward N. Hurley becomes chairman of the board and Rear-Adm. Washington L. Capps is named as manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

July 28.—It is stated that since the United States entered the war, on April 6, voluntary enlistments in the army and navy, militia, reserve corps, and training camps, have totaled 558,858.

The Council of National Defense announces the creation of a War Industries Board, of seven members, headed by Frank A. Scott, of Cleveland, to supervise expenditures.

July 31.—Official figures of American trade for the year ending June 30, 1917, show imports totaling \$2,659,000,000 and exports of \$6,294,000,000—the combined foreign trade being 35 per cent. in excess of the previous year.

August 5.—The National Guard (approximately 300,000 men) passes into the federal service.

August 6.—The Texas House of Representatives, sitting as a committee of the whole, begins an investigation of alleged improper acts by Governor Ferguson.

August 7.—In the Virginia Democratic primary, Westmoreland Davis is chosen for Governor.

August 9.—Enlistments in the regular army reach the authorized maximum of 300,000; since April 1 recruiting has totaled 184,000.

August 10.—The President signs the Food Control bill and appoints Herbert Hoover as Food Administrator (see page 283).

August 12.—Food Administrator Hoover makes public his plan for stabilizing the price of wheat; a fair price for the 1917 harvest is to be determined by a committee headed by Harry A. Garfield, president of Williams College.

August 13.—The War Department orders the mobilization of the new National Army (the men being under examination by local boards throughout the country) in four increments, the first to entrain on September 5.

August 15.—The Food Administration forms a \$50,000,000 corporation, the stock being owned by the Government, to buy and sell wheat.

August 17.—It is stated at Washington that two divisions of National Guard troops (38,000) will be organized for early departure to France; each division will comprise troops from more than twenty States.

August 18.—Official figures of the country's armed forces are made public: regular army 305,700, National Guard 311,000, reserve corps 93,000 (total land forces 710,024); sea forces 233,117; grand total 943,141.

The Secretary of the Treasury appeals for the passage of the bill before Congress which provides life insurance and disability compensation for soldiers and sailors, besides allowances for dependent families while in service.

August 19.—New regulations by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance require merchant ships sailing across the Atlantic to be armed, painted to reduce visibility, provided with smokeless fuel, and equipped with appliances for producing smoke clouds to escape torpedo attack.

Army authorities at Spokane, Wash., arrest local officials of the Industrial Workers of the World, charging them with ordering strikes in the lumber and fruit industries and preaching sedition.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 1.—The Canadian Parliament is informed of the Government's plan to take over the Canadian Northern Railway (already 60 per cent. Government-owned), which with the Intercolonial Railway will give the Government a coast-to-coast system; eventually the Grand Trunk Pacific will also be acquired.

August 14.—Unrest in Spain develops into a general strike, rioting and revolutionary outbreaks (particularly in Barcelona).

August 16.—José Gutierrez Guerra is inaugurated President of Bolivia.

OBITUARY

July 20.—Prince von Radolin, former German Ambassador at Paris.

July 21.—Jesse Benedict Carter, director of the American Academy in Rome, 45.

July 24.—Manton Marble, proprietor of the New York *World* during the Civil War, 82.

July 27.—William Bullock Clark, professor of geology in Johns Hopkins University, 56.

July 28.—Rear-Adm. Stephen B. Luce, U. S. N., retired, known as the founder of the Naval War College at Newport, 90.

July 30.—Gen. Harrison Gray Otis, publisher of the Los Angeles *Times*, veteran of the Civil and Spanish wars, and noted opponent of organized labor, 80.

August 2.—Raphael Kirchner, the artist, 41.

August 3.—Major-Gen. John F. Weston, U. S. A., retired, 71.

August 5.—Dr. Hollis B. Frissell, for twenty-four years principal of Hampton Institute, 66. . . . Sir Richard McBride, recently Premier of British Columbia, 46. . . . William J. Carr, Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, 54. . . . Horace Olin Young, recently Member of Congress from Michigan, 67.

August 9.—Rt. Rev. Nicholas Matz, Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Denver, 67.

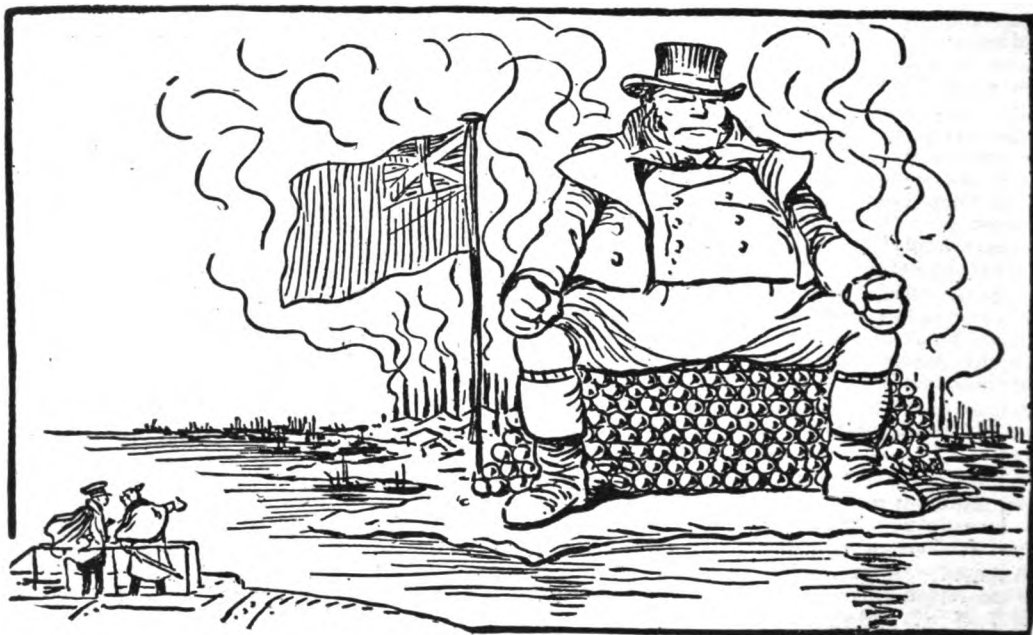
August 15.—George Blickensderfer, inventor of typewriting and other mechanical devices, 67.

August 17.—John W. Kern, recently United States Senator from Indiana and Democratic nominee for Vice-President in 1908, 68.

August 18.—George L. Rives, Assistant Secretary of State under President Cleveland, and a leader in New York City legal and educational affairs, 68.

THE WAR IN CARTOONS

I. OUR ALLIES' VIEWS

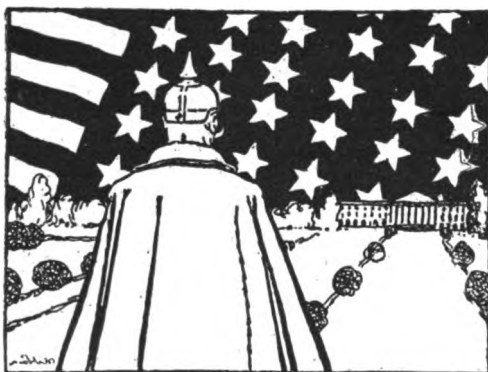


JOHN BULL, OF LONDON, ANCRE, AND BAGDAD

THE KAISER: "Admiral! Is this what you call bringing him to his knees in seven weeks?"
From *Le Rire* (Paris)

OUR cartoon department this month is devoted entirely to foreign war cartoons taken from periodicals not only of our

Allies but also from enemy sources—Germany and Austria. Our readers will doubtless be interested in the contrasting treat-



THE KAISER'S NIGHTS
(Are now full of American stars)
From *L'Echo de Paris* (Paris)

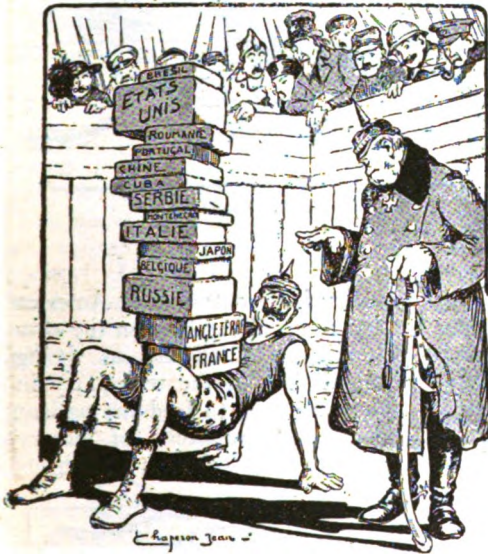


AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN PARIS
PACIFIST: "Confound it! Now we shall simply have to be victorious."
From *La Victoire* (Paris)



THE MERRY CHANCELLOR MICHAELIS

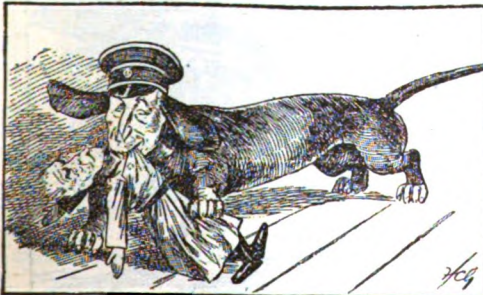
SHOWMAN HINDENBURG: "Watch closely, gentlemen. My lips don't move. 'Tis the voice of the people."
From the *News of the World* (London)



THE KAISER AS AN ACROBAT

"Hurry up, Field Marshal Hindenburg, or they will crush me all at once." From *Pele-Mele* (Paris)

ment of various war topics as shown in the cartoons of both sides. Our allies continue to defy the German submarine warfare, and



THROWN TO THE PUP

The pup gets something to worry, just to keep him from biting Dad. (The fall of Bethmann-Hollweg is supposed to be a sop to the Crown Prince.)

From *The Westminster Gazette* (London)



THE PATIENT ASS (THE GERMAN PEOPLE)

MICHAELIS: "I wonder how long he'll stand it?"
From *Reynolds's Newspaper* (London)



THE SCRAPPER SCRAPPED (BETHMANN-HOLLWEG)

From *Punch* (London)



THE AUSTRIAN DOG TRIES TO GET AT THE "SEPARATE PEACE" DISH!

GERMANY: "Come back here, Towser."

From *La Rire* (Paris)



THE GERMAN PEACE DOVE

(It is still a Prussian eagle)

From *La Victoire* (Paris)

also make much of the entrance of America into the battle arena. They look on the new German Chancellor Michaelis as being merely the mouthpiece of the war party in Germany, who continues to feed the patient German people with prophecies of victory and promises of reforms—though it is hint-



GENERAL HAIG'S SHADOW

THE HOHENZOLLERNS: "It is better to give up. As long as this cloud is there, there will always be a storm."

From *Numero* (Turin)



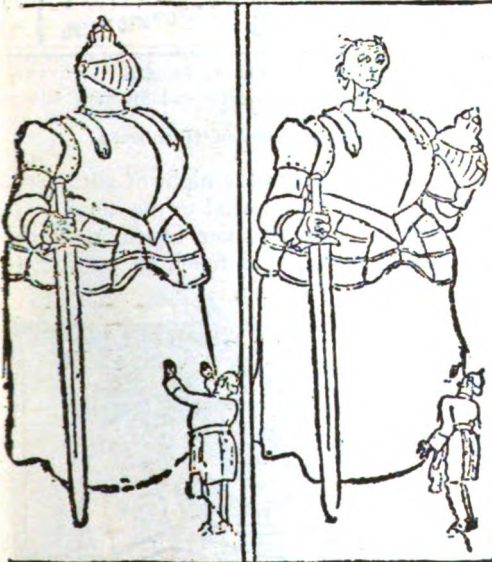
THE OBSTACLE TO PEACE

From *The People* (London)



THE RIDE OF KERENSKY
(Controlling the Russian revolution)
From *Il 420* (Florence)

ed that the German people are gradually being disillusioned. It is also pointed out that peace is incompatible with Prussianism. The desires of Austria for a separate peace are suspected of being held in check by Germany. As for Russia, Kerensky is given credit for his arduous labors in behalf of a stable government and his masterful control of the situation in that country. This herculean task of reëstablishing a firm government in Russia has been greatly hampered—



DISILLUSIONMENT

THE KAISER: "Oh, magnificent Germany! This is your third year of fighting, and your armour still resists the onslaughts of your enemies. Invincible Germany!"
GERMANY: "Quite so; but look closer!"

From the *Journal* (Odessa)



RUSSIA'S DARK HOUR
From *Punch* (London)

as the American commission has pointed out—by German intrigue.



THE POTSDAM SPHINX FOUND OUT!

THE GERMAN PEOPLE: "O, Majesty! Your riddle of victories on every front has remained unsolved for three years, but now we know the answer—the utter defeat of Germany and the doom of the Hohenzollern!"

From the *Passing Show* (London)



A RUSSIAN SATIRE ON THE RUSSIANS

ORDINARY RUSSIAN CITIZEN (apostrophising the former police): "O dear shade of the past! If you only knew how my soul yearns for your return to remove this sun of liberty which is too strong for my poor skin."

From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

Not the least interesting comment on Russia comes from the Russian periodical *Novy Satirikon*, which deprecates the spirit of anarchy and intimates satirically that perhaps the sudden daylight of liberty is too dazzling



THE LIBERATORS OF RUSSIA

Proposed memorial to Rasputin and Sturmer, fathers of the Russian Revolution.

From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

for those long used to the night of autocracy. It also proposes a memorial to the monk Rasputin and former Premier Sturmer, whose traitorous activities did much to precipitate the revolution in Russia.



THE SPIRIT OF ANARCHY!

From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

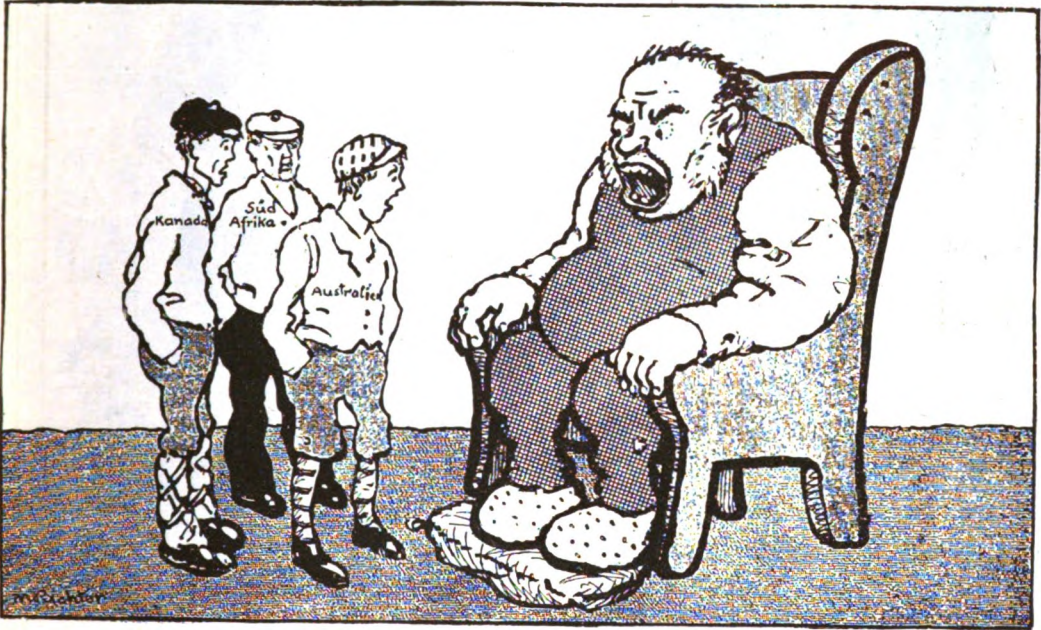


THE OVERWORKED RUSSIAN MINISTRY

KERENSKY: "Have you a thirty-hour clock? The twenty-four-hour kind are useless in my ministry."

From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

II. THE ENEMY'S OPINIONS



OLD JOHN BULL BORROWS FROM THE DOMINION BOYS

"Youngsters, ship over some food, so that your brave old father may not starve!"
 "Old man, old man—you eat such an enormous lot!"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



STRANGLING JOHN BULL

"Pull it tight, Michel! He is beginning to choke already!"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



ENGLAND SUFFERING FROM SUBMARINES

"What is the matter with John?"
 "Oh, U-Boatitis is affecting his digestion!"

From *Der Brummer* (Berlin)



GULLIVER BULL APPROPRIATING THE SHIPS OF
LILLIPUTIAN GREECE
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)

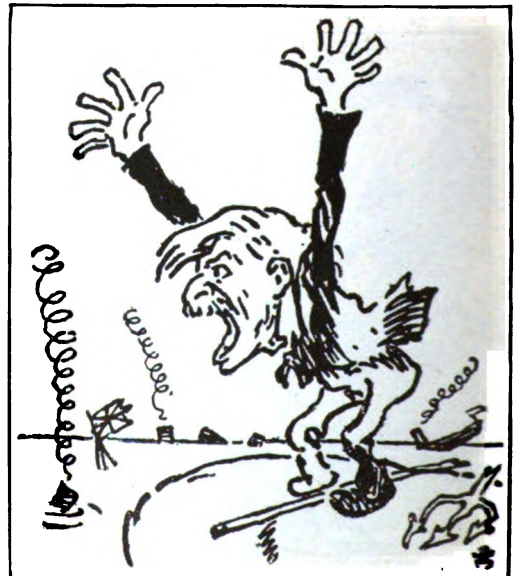
IT is difficult to learn the real state of public opinion in Germany and Austria, owing to the interruption of communication and the stoppage of periodicals from these countries. The German and Austrian cartoons which we have managed to gather together for reproduction in these pages are therefore all the more interesting as throwing light on Teuton sentiment with regard to various phases of the war. The German



JOHN BULL IS SICK
"Goddam! Things are bad with me! I have to eat
Greek ships because of my tonnage consumption!"
From *Jugend* (Munich)



HOW ENGLAND PADS HER SHIP LIST
"I must make a memorandum of your ship . . . it
is the 270th that has arrived at these coasts this week."
From *Simplicissimus* (Munich)



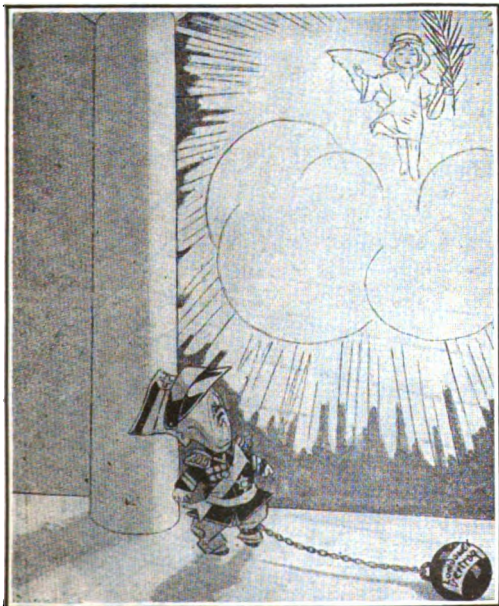
THE LAST ACT
LLOYD GEORGE: "A ship! A ship! My kingdom for
a ship!"
From *Jugend* (Munich)



THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

BRITANNIA (to the little pacifists): "Stay here! You must not play with those common children!"
(England has refused passports to English delegates to the Stockholm conference) From *Lustige Blätter* (Berlin)

people seem to be confident of the effectiveness of their submarines, and gloat over the



ITALY AND THE PEACE MESSAGE

THE ITALIAN KING: "I hear the message, indeed. If I only could make a separate peace."
(But the "London agreement" weight prevents)
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)

Sept.—3



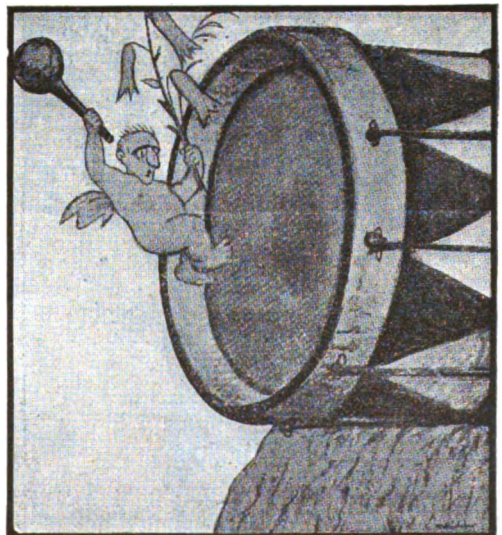
THE DOUBTER

MISS PEACE: "I shall not knock at this vulgar person's door again! He will soon come and beg me to enter."

From *Lustige Blätter* (Berlin)

dire straits to which England is being reduced as a result. John Bull—according to these cartoons—is starving for food and for ships, and is on the verge of collapse.

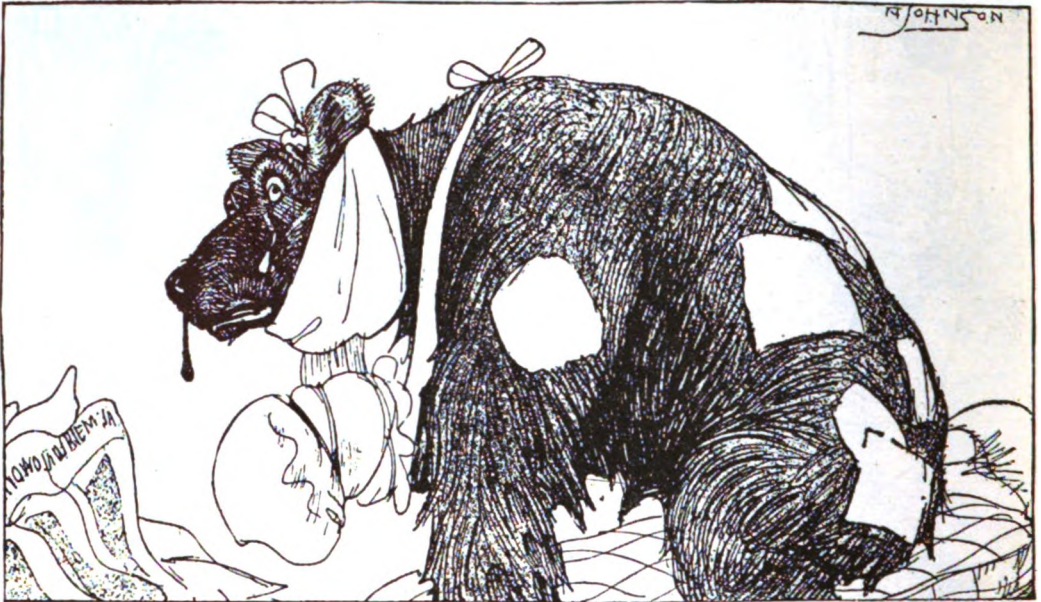
England, as always during the war, continues to be the main target for the shafts of Teutonic satire. She is blamed for blocking the path of peace, for preventing her allies from making a separate peace, for stealing



THE BIG DRUM

'ENGLAND: "Come and act with me, neutrals. It is always with a view to the peace of the world."

From *Ulk* (Berlin)



A CONTRADICTION

THE RUSSIAN BEAR: "Something is wrong with the world! First Hindenburg beats me, then he tears my skin off and breaks my bones—and for this Hanover makes him a veterinary doctor."

(The Veterinary School of Hanover has given Hindenburg an honorary doctor's degree.)

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)

Greece's ships, for dragging China into war, and for numerous other offenses. Russia also comes in for considerable attention, although there is no such hatred exhibited toward her as there is toward England. The

German cartoonists see Russia as a much-beaten adversary, and prefer to believe that Russia has suffered rather than benefited by her change of government.



RUSSIA'S TRUE POSITION

"I did not think the honey of freedom was like this."

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



CHINA'S ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR

Another to whom John Bull has just granted the disposal of his own destiny.

From *Jugend* (Munich)



THE STRONG MAN

LLOYD GEORGE: "To accept such peace proposals would mean to put one's head into the noose. No, I am not going to do that."

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



WILSON AND THE PEACE-ANGEL

"Don't blame me, my beautiful child, or even greet me under the palms!"

From *Die Mushete* (Vienna)



THE FOUR HUNGRY MUSICIANS (GREAT BRITAIN, RUSSIA, ITALY, AND FRANCE)

"But this fellow [Germany] still has food!"

From *Lustige Blätter* (Berlin)



DEATH IN FLANDERS

"Mankind! Stop! I can go no further!"

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich)



HAPPY GREETING OF SLAVIC EX-KINGS

"So, we Panславists are now united!"
(King Peter of Serbia, the late Czar Nicholas of Russia, and King Nicholas of Montenegro.)

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich)



Photographs copyrighted by International Film Service and Underwood & Underwood, New York

RUSSIA'S WOMEN SOLDIERS.—THE "BATTALION OF DEATH"

This unique fighting organization, formed of women and girls of all classes in Russia, has already taken a valiant part in battle. In an engagement on July 25, near Smorgon, many of their number were killed or wounded. These women soldiers do not fear death, but are said to carry poison with them for use in case of capture.

The top picture shows them receiving their service caps, which they wear at jaunty angles. The first picture in the second row shows Madame Botchkalev, who organized and commands the legion. The center picture reveals the man-like, close-cropped heads of the women, while to the right is one of the splendid specimens of Russia's fighting womanhood. In the bottom picture the women are seen training in skirmish formation.

RUSSIAN COLLAPSE, BRITISH ATTACK, AND THE POPE'S PEACE PROPOSAL

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE RUSSIAN BREAKDOWN

THREE events of major importance have marked the August history of the World War. These are the Russian breakdown, the new British offensive, in which the French have taken an important but relatively subordinate part, and the peace proposal of the Pope. I shall discuss them in the order of their occurrence, which is, perhaps, the order of their importance.

The Russian breakdown came as a surprise to the world which had been once more filled with optimistic reports and taken in by the initial successes of the new Russian offensive in Galicia. My readers will recall that two months ago I warned them that Russia could no longer be counted upon in the military operations of the year, because of the disorganization of Russian armies incident to the Revolution. Last month, again, in the face of superficial successes of the Russians I again advised against too great expectations. Unhappily these warnings have now been fully justified and it is essential to recognize that Russia will not be a stable force in the military operations of the present year.

Now the consequences of this fact are plain. First of all it is not only patent that there can be no military decision on any front in the present year, but also that the Allies have already accepted this fact and their operations are designed rather to continue a maximum of pressure upon the Western front than to seek a decision with the resources in their hands. And this means but one thing, it means that the Allies feel that they will not have the man power necessary until the armies of the United States arrive. It means that the United States will have to share in the decisive campaign and that this campaign will come in 1918, not in 1917. Russian failure has very clearly enlarged and expanded American duties and American participation in the actual fighting.

By reason of the Russian failure the Germans have been able to concentrate the great bulk of their men, their guns, their munitions in Belgium and Artois; they have been able to leave but a few and inferior troops in the East and this has enabled them to escape from the paralyzing effect of rapidly diminishing reserves and slowly declining artillery resources.

Had Russia been able to repeat her great performance of last year, her victories from June to September, there is little reason to question that we should have had this year, either a collapse of the German western front due to an attempt to hold lines too long for the available man-power, or a retreat of such magnitude as to disclose the actual condition of the German military establishment. The very retirement of the early spring was a partial confession, it was a patent attempt to avoid battle this year, to postpone an Allied attack by compelling the Allies to begin their preparations all over again on the new front and thus gain time for the submarine to accomplish its mission.

The German retreat was largely successful in postponing the Allied offensive, although not wholly. But we must note that the submarine failed in its mission; the time gained by the German retreat has not enabled the German undersea craft to bring Britain to her knees and the declarations and statistics furnished by Lloyd George this month indicate that not only is the submarine toll diminishing, but that the British Government is now confident that the submarine cannot next year accomplish what it has failed to bring to pass this year.

German salvation this year has come on land; it has come by the Russian collapse. The situation is as if in 1864 the armies operating in the West, the Union armies, had been suddenly thrown into disorder and rendered temporarily incapable of offensive operations, thus permitting the South to send

its troops facing Sherman and Thomas to the trench lines before Richmond, where Grant and Lee were deadlocked. Had this taken place there would have been no decision in the spring of 1865. And for the same reason there can hardly be a decision in the present war this year.

Germany has no longer the troops, the numbers to man the east and west fronts at their present extent in such fashion as to meet great offensive operations by the Anglo-French forces and by the Russian at the same time. When Russian armies collapsed in Galicia she lacked the forces to turn the Russian collapse into a complete ruin; she could not even prevent the gradual reconstitution of the routed and fleeing hordes and the establishment of a new front. What reserves, what resources she has, have been concentrated on the west front in a death struggle, with the conviction that if the German lines can hold until winter, peace by negotiation will save Germany. I believe the German lines can hold sufficiently until winter to prevent a disaster and then the peril of peace by negotiation will be plain.

No one should mistake the utter change in the character of the war. No one should mistake the fact that Germany is now engaged in a desperate defensive with no other hope or purpose than that to hold on until war weariness brings peace by negotiation. Recall that it is just three years ago that German armies were sweeping on to Paris, that Tannenberg was happening, that the French Government had fled to Bordeaux, that the British had been defeated at Mons and Le Cateau, the French at Morhange, Neufchateau, Charleroi, that Germany was about to celebrate that Sedan Day which was one of the most marvelous moments in the history of any nation or race.

And now after three years German armies on the western front are far removed from Paris and everywhere on the defensive, everywhere either yielding ground or striving by bloody counter-attacks to win back posts of great value recently lost. Nearly 75,000 German prisoners and more than 500 guns have been captured by the victorious French and British armies in the present campaign. Here is a measure of the turn of the tide, here is a measure that we must all keep in mind, even when the slowness of Allied progress suggests a permanent stalemate.

Germany is fighting magnificently. No one can deny admiration to the enemy who is, in the face of great odds and failing re-

sources, making a tremendous resistance, but the thing that must be recognized equally is that the fight is going against the German and that his salvation this year is found in the Russian collapse. When his reserves were well-nigh exhausted, the German was able with impunity to draw upon his eastern armies and in this resource he has found his temporary salvation.

II. WHAT HAPPENED TO RUSSIA

Now as to the actual story of the Russian breakdown. Last month we left the Russian armies south of the Dniester sweeping forward at some points, but still, in the main, halted by Austro-German efforts along the line of the Lomnica River, southeast of Lemberg and west of Stanislaw. Halicz had been taken, Kalusz taken and lost; the moment had come when this fight had reached a crisis.

Before there could be any determination of this battle, the whole Russian line north of the Dniester before Tarnopol and northward to the Lemberg-Brody railroad suddenly collapsed. There was no considerable German attack, there was no great engagement, but a panic, a rout ensued. German spies, German agents, anarchists and war-weary and deluded soldiers united in the destruction of discipline, and the army which had taken Koniuchy and threatened Brzezany two weeks ago was suddenly transformed into a fleeing horde, comparable to that army which set out from the battlefield of First Bull Run for Washington.

Even in this situation the German forces were unable to follow up the rabble and deal with it decisively. After a flight that extended to the Russian frontier the rally came. At last new troops and old troops disgusted with the performance returned to the charge, the Russian line was restored, and stood and stands at the frontier. But the retreat had surrendered the lines of the Sereth, all the ground won by the offensives of July 14, 16, and 17.

And the effect of this collapse of the Russian center in Galicia was to leave the victorious army south of the Dniester in the air. It had no choice but to fall rapidly back for a hundred miles through Bukovina to the Russian boundary, surrendering all of Bukovina and all of Galicia held since the opening of the campaign of last year. When the rearrangement was complete the Austrians once more could boast a soil practically

freed of the invader and this had not been the case since the very opening days of the war.

In men the Russians lost surprisingly little by this wretched performance. Official German figures placed the captures, up to mid-August from Rumania to the Bug, at only 42,000 men and 257 guns. In their offensives in April the British and French together had captured over 55,000 German prisoners and more than 400 guns. The Russians in their first two weeks this year, while the armies still fought, had taken 36,000 prisoners and captures in Rumania brought the balance even for the two forces on the Southeastern front. Compare this with 150,000 Austrian prisoners taken by the Russians after Lemberg in 1914 or 120,000 prisoners after the capture of Lutsk last year. The loss of guns was more serious, but the real disaster was the destruction of the cohesion of the Russian armies.

At a critical moment the inevitable effect of the domestic agitations had been felt and Germany had been saved from deadly peril, the peril flowing from the opening of a joint attack in the east and in the west. She could now concentrate her attention upon Belgium and Artois, for even if Russian armies could be reorganized and restored before the end of the campaigning season it was beyond possibility that they could conduct a new offensive.

And with this collapse we see Brusiloff, the greatest of Russian generals, give way to Korniloff; we see Kerensky and the new members of the Cabinet joining in drastic and far-reaching policies to restore discipline, and we see what promises to be a recrudescence of national sentiment and reasoned patriotism in Russia. The situation as the month ends is far better than when it opened. A Russo-Rumanian campaign in the fragment of Rumania left to its people has inflicted heavy losses, captured many prisoners, and temporarily checked a great counter-offensive of Marshal von Mackensen.

Yet it is unwise to expect much. Russia may presently find herself. She may discover a Carnot, as did Revolutionary France. We can see that if anything of the sort happens Russia will be a tremendous element in the campaign of 1918. But, on the other hand, Russia may again fall victim to German intrigue and national disorganization. The truth is that for all purposes of calculation the war has again gone west. It is in Belgium and Northern France that the

destiny of Europe must be again decided, and for this fight the Russian collapse has released German divisions and supplied a new cause for optimism to the German people.

More than all else, perhaps, the Russian breakdown strengthened the hand of the reactionaries in Germany, who prevailed in the recent crisis. Thus, one can say without exaggeration that the consequences of the peace propaganda in Russia have added another year to the war.

III. THE BRITISH OFFENSIVE

On August 1, one month later than their attack at the Somme last year, the British began a wide offensive operation. This year, at last, they were aided by French forces operating on one flank, this time the northern flank. The blow was at once identified in all Allied and German newspapers as the great western operation of 1917.

The ground selected for the attack is familiar to the readers of battle news during the past three years. On a front from the Lys to the Yser, over ground that had been fought for in October and November, 1914, in April and May, 1915 (that is, in the great battles of First and Second Ypres), the British advanced. Their attack was heralded by the greatest artillery bombardment in human history. In London itself the grumble of the guns was plainly audible and not only was the bombardment the heaviest on record but it was also the longest sustained.

As the British and French lines stood, when the operation began, the French occupied the lines to which their own troops, colonials, had been driven after the "poison gas" attack of 1915; that is, they stood behind the Yser Canal, from the region where the inundation of 1914 still endured down to the famous Poelkapelle road, notorious in the official reports of two and three years ago.

From this point the British line extended in a shallow circle two miles or more north and east of Ypres round to the Messines or "White Sheet" Ridge, retaken in the offensive of some weeks ago. The immediate objectives of the British were the Pilkem Ridge and the crossings of Steenback Stream, with the villages of Langemarck and St. Julien, lost when the French had collapsed under the gas attack in 1915. The French objectives were also the lost ground on their

front, Steenstrat and Het Sas across the canal and the triangle of land between the Canal and the St. Jansbeek River, together with the bridgehead, where the Yser Canal joins this stream at Drei Grachten.

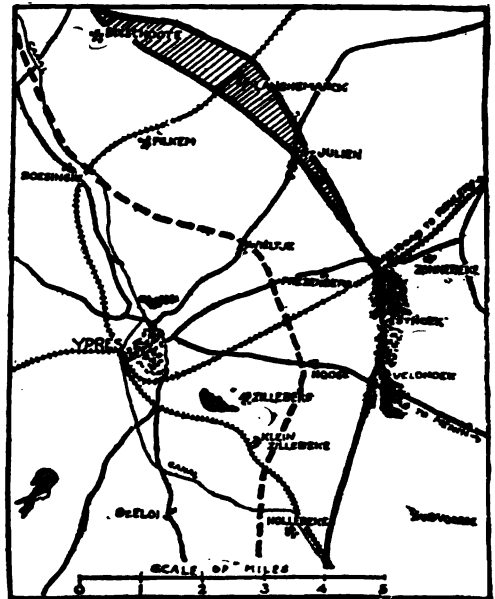
Westward, the objectives of the British center were the works and villages on the high ground of the Grafenstafel Ridge between Langemarck and the Menin Road, the northern end of the battlefield of the first great Battle of Ypres, which defeated the German effort to reach Calais. On the right, between the Menin Road and the Lys the objectives were the remaining vantage points, including the village of Hollenbeke, lost in 1914 and not recovered in the earlier attack upon the Messines Ridge this year.

Behind these immediate objectives lay the remoter goals sought when Sir John French had come north in 1914—the Menin road to the crossing of the Lys at this town, Roulers, with its railroad and roads, the point vital to the easy communication between the two adjoining German sectors. At Menin the British would threaten the German hold upon Lille; at Roulers the French would menace the whole German position in the region between the Lys and the sea.

Finally, an advance between the Lys and the sea, comparable with that achieved during and after the Battle of the Somme last year and last spring, would carry with it the German evacuation of the Belgian seacoast, the destruction of the submarine base at Zeebrugge, and the protection of Britain against air raids such as had grown frequent in recent months. Here, in a word, were the immediate and the remoter possibilities of the new operation.

Yet beyond these were other considerations, the necessity to relieve pressure upon the collapsing Russians by preventing the detachment of German reserves to the east to gather the profits of Russian weakness and the equal necessity to keep a never-ending pressure upon the Germans and to seek by wasting their rapidly diminishing reserves to prepare the way for a successful attack in 1918, when America should arrive, and it would be possible to undertake a general offensive such as had been planned for the present year and postponed by the Russian collapse.

Beside this last purpose all else was minor. The capture of ground was relatively immaterial; even the advance to the coast was less important, however useful. The chief objective of the British, aided gal-



THE NEW BRITISH OFFENSIVE
(Shaded area represents ground gained)

lantly but only in a relatively minor measure by their French allies, was the destruction of German man-power by the same sort of pounding that had made the Somme so terrible, a pounding bound to be less expensive for the British than the Germans because of the superiority of the British both in guns and in munitions.

And it was a significant turn of affairs that after three years the Germans should be compelled to face on the same ground what the British had suffered at the First Battle of Ypres, where they were outgunned and outnumbered.

IV. THE RESULTS TO AUGUST 20

Measured by ground gained the British did not win at Ypres a much larger victory than on the first day of the Somme a year before. While the French crossed the Yser Canal and retook Steenstrate, Het Sas, and Bixschoote, the British took Pilkem and the Pilkem Ridge, crossed the Steenback, and reached but could not take Langemarck, took but could not hold St. Julien, were checked with relatively shorter gains, which included Hooze and Hollebeke near the Menin Road, and gained the positions sought southward to the Lys.

On the average the British and French had advanced about a mile on a front of some fifteen miles. They had taken all the

first-line positions attacked and some of the second, but they had lost ground in the German counter attacks, which developed rapidly and with a fury recalling the April fighting at Arras. Despite these counter attacks the British presently retook St. Julien, Westhoek, and Verlorenhoek and retained Frezenberg. Actually the operation ended with a success on all points save in the center, but this was the most important point of all. Here the Germans clung to the maze of defenses which covered Zonnebeke, Gheluvelt, and the Polygon woods between these two points. Right and left the British had, save about Langemarck, established the front of October, 1914, but they had not gained control of the famous Zandvorde Ridge, the extension of the high ground of the Messines Ridge, and the last good position remaining to the Germans, now that Pilkem Ridge had passed like "White Sheet" to hostile control.

Six thousand prisoners and a modest number of guns were the booty of the British in this attack, a smaller bag than that gained at Messines and hardly a quarter the profit drawn from the Arras "show." But the ground gained had been won at a cost far below that of the first day of the Somme and the British now began to reveal their new method—a method first seen at Messines, on the British front, a method that called for enormous artillery preparation, short advances, and then the consolidation of ground gained. French losses at the Aisne in April, where too much had been sought at one time, had proven a valuable lesson. Save for a small area in the center, the British attained all their objectives in this attack; the French reached all of theirs, but the Germans, alleging that the Allies had sought remote and impossible objectives, claimed a great victory and announced the end of the battle.

This was a dangerous assertion, for in the third week of August the French and British attacked again, the French successfully clearing all the south bank of St. Jansbeek, to the point of confluence of the Broenbeck, together with the bridgehead of Drei Grachten, while the British successfully stormed Langemarck and made progress in the Polygon woods between Zonnebeke and Gheluvelt. Yet once more the Germans were able to retake ground in this sector along the Menin Road and by counter-attacks reduce the British gains on this sector. Three thousand prisoners and some twenty-five guns, some of them heavy, were the reward of this

operation, the artillery booty being heavier than in the first attack. Again the fighting was of the most desperate order and again the advance was relatively slight, and this enabled the Germans to proclaim a new victory.

Meantime a new attack had broken out north of Lens on the slopes of the famous Hill 70, taken by the Scottish troops in the tragic days of the Battle of Loos and lost because of the breakdown of British staff work. After the familiar artillery preparation the Canadians advanced to the summit and over the crest of the hill, took all the German trenches and made material progress both on the east and the south sides, tightening the noose about Lens. It was now clear that unless German counter-attacks could oust the Canadians, Lens would have to be evacuated. Accordingly the Germans made some of the most desperate efforts of the whole campaign, hurling large bodies of troops again and again against the Canadians, but on August 19, when these lines are written, the Canadians still hold fast to Hill 70.

Thus, between April and the present date the British have been able to drive the Germans off the Vimy Ridge, off Hill 70, off the Messines Ridge and the Pilkem Ridge. Only at La Bassée and directly east of Ypres the Kaiser's armies still cling to any portion of the high ground occupied by them at the beginning of the year. They have lost strongholds, they have lost valuable observation posts, and in losing these they have, in addition, lost more than 50,000 prisoners and nearly 300 guns to the British, while in the whole war they have taken less than 35,000 British prisoners and 96 guns. Here is a measure of present conditions between the two great rivals in the West.

V. ENGLAND'S PRESENT EFFORT

It is perhaps an appropriate time to call attention to the fact that at the present time the main work is being done by the British. In the Marne operation and in all the first campaign of the war the British share was small, useful as it was, and magnificent as was the British stand at Ypres. A year later the new British army just coming on was still incapable of a mighty effort and the French, first in the offensive in Champagne and then in the desperate defensive at Verdun, were compelled to carry on, only in part aided by the British.

At the Somme the proportions began to change, but even at the Somme it was the French that made the first considerable gain, and all through this battle the French part was material while the defense of Verdun had still to be maintained. But with the Battle of Arras in April of this year, the British practically took over the main task of the western offensive. The British task was materially increased when the French attack at the Aisne failed to make decisive progress and incurred enormous casualties.

To-day the British are doing the main job on the West. It is no reproach upon the French that this is so, as the French have certainly done their share and more than their share. Yet it is only just to the British to recognize that they are making the big sacrifice now after delays that were long, but were inevitable, given British unpreparedness, and are becoming more comprehensible to the American people now that we are struggling with the problem that confronted Britain three years ago. The British have arrived and it is the British armies that are delivering the heavy blows.

The measure of the British effort is not the respective fronts held by British and French armies, but the amount of action on the two fronts. Already we have seen this year three considerable British attacks—the Arras battle, which was the most successful in size and ground gained of any western attack, one of the most successful in artillery captured in the history of the war, the retaking of the Messines Ridge, and now the new offensive in the Ypres sector. With these three, one should perhaps class the Hill 70 exploit of the Canadians, which was brilliant and of permanent value.

If anyone ever doubted that the British would arrive, these doubts have been answered. Britain is now paying the price that France paid over two bloody years. Her artillery has seized and maintained the mastery over the German. Slowly, steadily, surely the British are breaking down the material and the moral resources of Germany. Because the Russians collapsed the chance of a decision this year has been banished, but the British strategy is that of Grant, is that of wearing down, and there are unmistakable signs that the Germans are beginning to weaken, although their resistance must still command admiration.

The new British campaign seems certain to be one of the great campaigns of the war. It already shows greater power than that at

the Somme and it is not marred by the early blunders of that former battle. The Somme "show," as the British call it, was the training school of the new British army. It was expensive, it was bloody, it was protracted, but the results were visible at the end; they were discoverable in the Beaumont Hamel victory last autumn and in the Arras offensive this year. To-day the British army is unmistakably the finest army in the world. All the other nations suffer from the loss of the younger and physically fitter men. The British have still a considerable share of their youth left and the flower of the manhood of Great Britain and the Colonies is now suffering and achieving as did the flower of the French at the Marne and at Verdun.

To-day the British have taken over the main task from the French; they have also had to assume much of the Russian work. They justly expect a measure of relief next year, when American troops are available in considerable numbers for the final campaign. Then France, too, will be able to spend reserves; a new class will have come on the field. But until America arrives the British task will be of great importance to the Allied cause. Meantime the character of this task is not to be mistaken. The British are not seeking this year the decision which Russian failure has postponed. They are simply striving to continue the pressure and the pounding, to permit no moment of relaxation and recuperation to the Germans until Russia recovers, which is a hope, and until America arrives, which is a reasonable expectation.

VI. THE PAPAL OVERTURE

Stripped of all else the Papal peace proposal made late in August amounts to the suggestion that the world return to the situation of 1914, with the additional suggestion that the questions of Poland, Alsace-Lorraine and of Italia Irredenta be settled by some peaceful method. Belgium is to be evacuated, but not indemnified; the same with Northern France, and a similar course toward Serbia and Rumania is implied rather than specified.

So far as one may judge, the Pope's proposal is doomed to failure unless it be fortified by some new German and Austrian proposal with little delay. By all the Allied nations it was received politely but coldly, by all it was felt that the Holy Father, how-

ever beyond suspicion his motives and however sincere his desire to restore peace and end the world agony, had uttered a document which, since it did not provide for the indemnification of Belgium, was unacceptable.

The additional suggestions of disarmament and arbitration were regarded as Utopian hopes, while the nation which had declined arbitration and invaded Belgium in defiance of international law and pledged faith could not be trusted as a member of a council of nations.

To the world the Pope's suggestions seemed, not through design but in point of fact, advantageous to the Germans and the Austrians and far short of the proposals that must become the base of any successful offer of mediation.

It was felt that Belgium could not be left in ruins, after a German invasion, without establishing in the world the fact that a small nation which defended its liberty against aggression would be ruined without hope of redress. To permit this would be to make inevitable a Belgian surrender, if Germany sought Paris again by the Belgian road. Nor was there any conception of how it would be possible to dispose of the questions of Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, or Italia Irredenta by any peaceful negotiation with a Germany many of whose public men and a number of whose influential and inspired newspapers still proclaimed a policy of annexation in Belgium, Poland, and the Near East.

That Vienna, through its close sympathy with the Vatican, had played an influential rôle in the procedure and that Erzberger and the German Catholics were also parties to the proposal in some manner, were conclusions drawn in all Allied capitals, where the personal good faith and honest intent of the Pope himself were at the same time equally conceded.

There was a general feeling that the Pope must have had certain intimations from Berlin that his suggestions would not be rejected

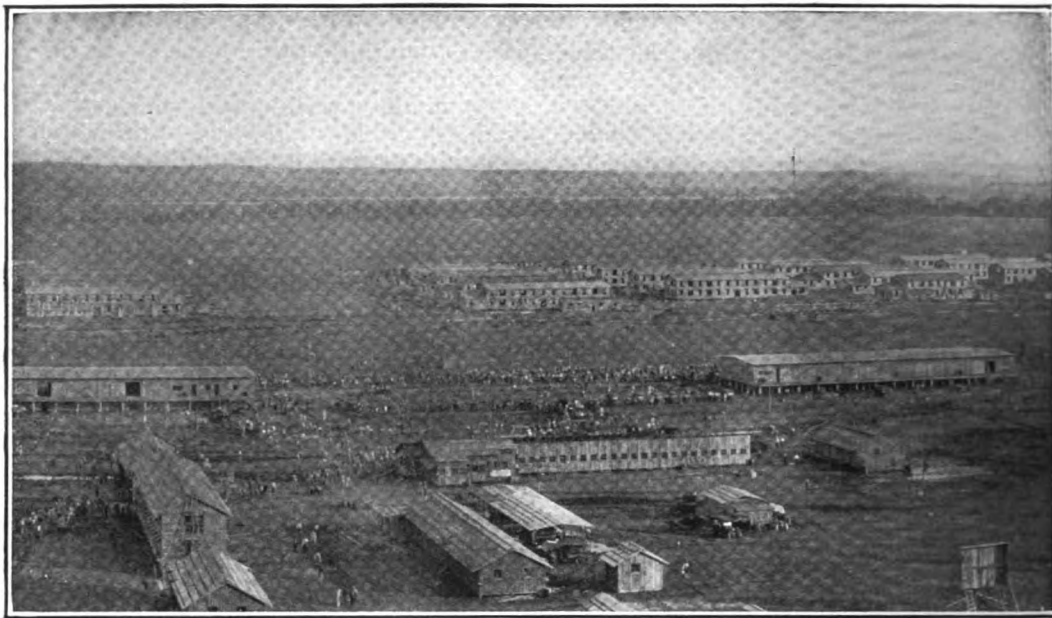
out of hand, and even more definite declarations from Vienna.

Yet, as I have said, writing on August 19, every sign points to a rejection of the present proposal, and there are signs of a new determination on the part of the Allied nations to continue the struggle until a more solid and enduring basis of peace can be found. Actually the proposal carried with it a certain amount of reassurance to the Allied publics, for it was accepted as a new sign of the war weariness in Berlin and Vienna and the new desire for peace on terms far removed from the old suggestion, based upon the war map, made by Bethmann-Hollweg so long ago.

The announcement made by Lloyd George, fortified by the first official statistics, that the submarine war had failed and that the losses were steadily shrinking was accepted as a new evidence of the desperation of the German situation and as a new explanation of the German readiness to talk peace on the basis of 1914.

So far as one can judge now, it is the settled belief in London, Paris, Rome, and also in Washington that the war will go into 1918, that there will be one more campaign, from April at least until midsummer, and that this campaign will see a decisive victory and the end of the war. This is my own personal view, but I warn my readers to watch the events of the winter months with very great care, for it is beyond doubt that in those months Germany will make the most desperate peace offensive in her history and that every possible effort will be made to prevent the opening of a new campaign which threatens the defeat of the German army and the extinction of tradition of invincibility which is the foundation of militarism in the German Empire. Personally I expect to see far greater concessions offered by Germany before next spring, but not concessions which will include all of Alsace-Lorraine or give Italy Trieste as well as the Trentino.





A PART OF CAMP FUNSTON, THE GREAT NATIONAL ARMY CANTONMENT
(Troops from Kansas, Missouri, and Colorado will be trained here. The two-story buildings appearing

THE NATIONAL ARMY CANTONMENTS

SIXTEEN brand-new American cities—each a little larger than Oshkosh, a little smaller than Kalamazoo—that is what the system of cantonments for the National Army really means. Three months ago the sites of all sixteen were farm and wood lands, rolling prairie, “oak openings,” pine barrens, or desert, in no sense urban. September will see the completion of some and October of the others. The mere statement of this fact involves so many distinct and stupendous elements that the mind fails to grasp its import. It is like talking in billions—a habit they have contracted at Washington of late.

In the first place, these sixteen cantonments are to house a soldier population of about 650,000 at a time. Suppose the Government at Washington, instead of building these camps, had decided to occupy existing cities in the different sections of the country and had ordered the residents to move out

and make room for the soldiers. If the question of population only were considered, what cities would be likely to be converted in this summary fashion into barracks?

In the East, the order might apply to manufacturing towns like Taunton, Mass.; Woonsocket, R. I.; Meriden, Ct.; Elmira, N. Y.; New Brunswick, N. J.; and Easton, Pa. That is to say, each of these places has about the same number of people (roughly, 40,000) that the Government proposes to accommodate in one of its cantonments.

To make up a full complement, providing for the soldiers of the entire National Army, it would be necessary to go on to the Middle West and commandeer not only Kalamazoo and Oshkosh, already mentioned, but other thriving towns, like Quincy, Ill., and Cedar Rapids, Ia. Then the Quartermaster General might take a jump to the Pacific coast and there he would find the bustling



© Harris & Ewing
COL. I. W. LITTELL, U. S. A.,
IN CHARGE OF CANTON-
MENT CONSTRUCTION



AT FORT RILEY, KANSAS, UNDER THE COMMAND OF GENERAL WOOD
in the picture are infantry barracks; the long, low buildings in the center are quartermaster's storehouses)

city of Everett, Wash., fitted to house another division of troops.

In the South such communities as Lexington, Ky.; Portsmouth, Va.; Wilmington, N. C.; Columbia, S. C., (where Camp Jackson is actually located) and Montgomery, Ala., would be subject to seizure, and it would take all the cities we have named to furnish accommodations equal in extent to those offered by the sixteen cantonments that Uncle Sam's Quartermaster has just been creating, literally from the ground up.

Common English superlatives fail miserably in the attempt to express the real bigness of the task that confronted the Quartermaster's Department three months ago. It was a job that might well have taxed the resourcefulness of any government. That it has been so nearly completed within this brief period, as the photographs testify, is another tribute to the energy and constructive genius of the people that built the Panama Canal.

Every State in the Union is interested in the cantonments; but only one cantonment has been built for every three States. Moreover, it was not practicable to make an equal geographical distribution. More cantonments have been allotted to one section than to others, as is shown on the map on the next page. For various reasons, chiefly climatic, the South offered many desirable locations. Training in these camps will go on all the year around and there is no more

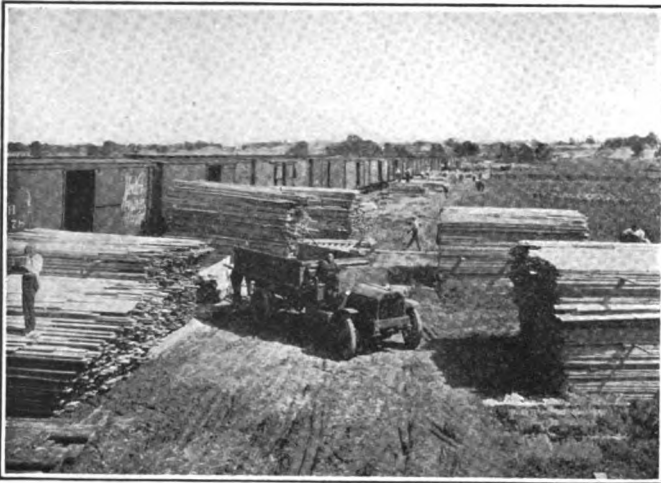
equable winter temperature than that of our Southern highlands.

All the obvious sanitary requirements—elevation and drainage, water supply, dryness of the air—have been taken into account in the selection of camp-sites and in addition, of course, the relative accessibility and connection with railroad trunk lines. This latter factor has to be considered with reference to the territory from which the troops occupying a given cantonment are to be drawn. Camp Devens, at Ayer, Mass., where the New England contingent of the



ONE OF THE COMPANY BARRACKS BUILDINGS IN COURSE OF CONSTRUCTION AT CAMP GRANT, ROCKFORD, ILL.

(This is one of the standard infantry barracks buildings, with sleeping quarters on the second floor and mess-hall, kitchen, lavatories, and shower-baths on the ground floor)



UNLOADING LUMBER AT CAMP DIX, WRIGHTSTOWN, N. J.

(The prompt delivery of southern pine lumber at the various cantonments during July and August proved to be one of the chief factors in the problem of "speeding up" construction)

National Army will be assembled, is reached by six lines of railroad from New England coast points. On the other hand, Camp Upton on Long Island, which might be regarded as isolated from main routes of travel, serves its purpose admirably since its population will be made up wholly of soldiers from the New York metropolitan district, fifty miles away.

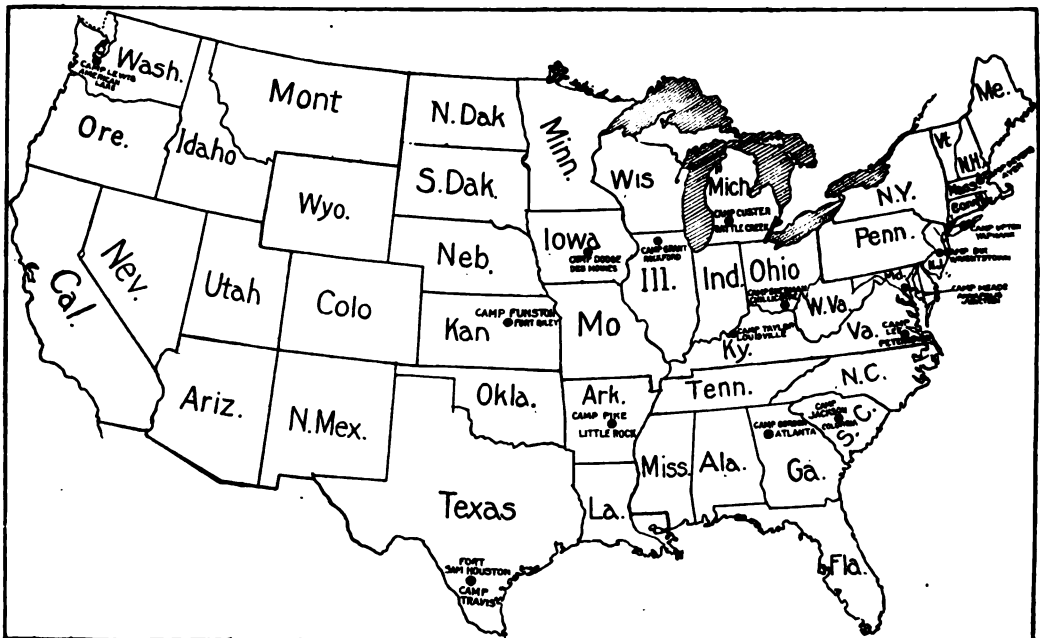
The most northerly of the cantonments, as

it is also the most westerly, is Camp Lewis, at American Lake, Washington State; the most southerly is Camp Travis at Fort Sam Houston, Texas. The Middle West has Camp Sherman, at Chillicothe, O.; Camp Grant, at Rockford, Ill.; Camp Custer, at Battle Creek, Mich.; Camp Dodge, at Des Moines, Ia.; and Camp Funston, at Fort Riley, Kan., where General Wood will direct the training of a division made up of men from Kansas, Missouri, and Colorado.

The three Eastern cantonments are Camp Devens at Ayer, Mass.; Camp Upton, at Yaphank, L. I., and Camp Dix, at Wrightstown, N. J.

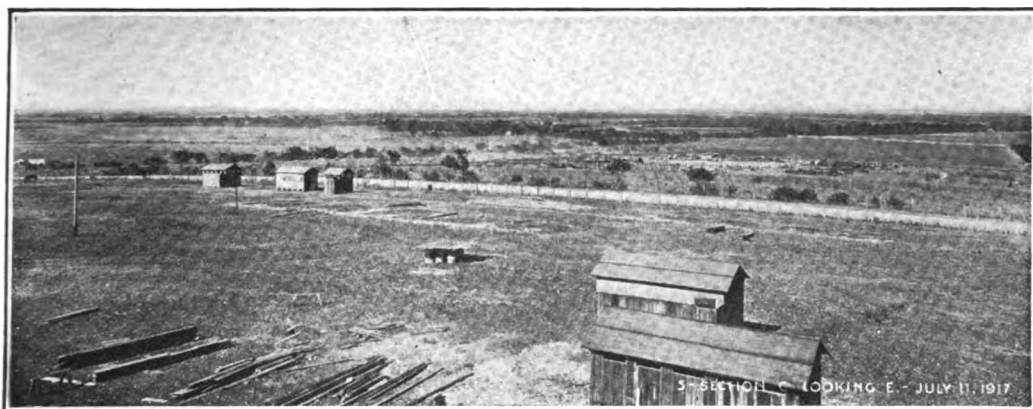
The South will have, in relation to density of population, a larger number of cantonments than any other section. These will be: Camp Meade (Annapolis Junction, Md.); Camp Taylor (Louisville, Ky.); Camp Lee (Petersburg, Va.); Camp Jackson (Columbus, S. C.); Camp Gordon (Atlanta, Ga.); Camp Pike (Little Rock, Ark.); Camp Travis (Fort Sam Houston, Tex.).

The speed with which these sites have



MAP SHOWING THE PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL ARMY CANTONMENTS

(The Government has announced that in addition to these sixteen cantonments the National Army will eventually occupy the sixteen National Guard encampments located chiefly in the Southern States)



THE SITE OF CAMP TRAVIS AT FORT SAM HOUSTON NEAR SAN ANTONIO, TEX., ON JULY 11, 1917

(The view at the bottom of this page shows the same ground covered with barracks buildings as it appeared on August 6)

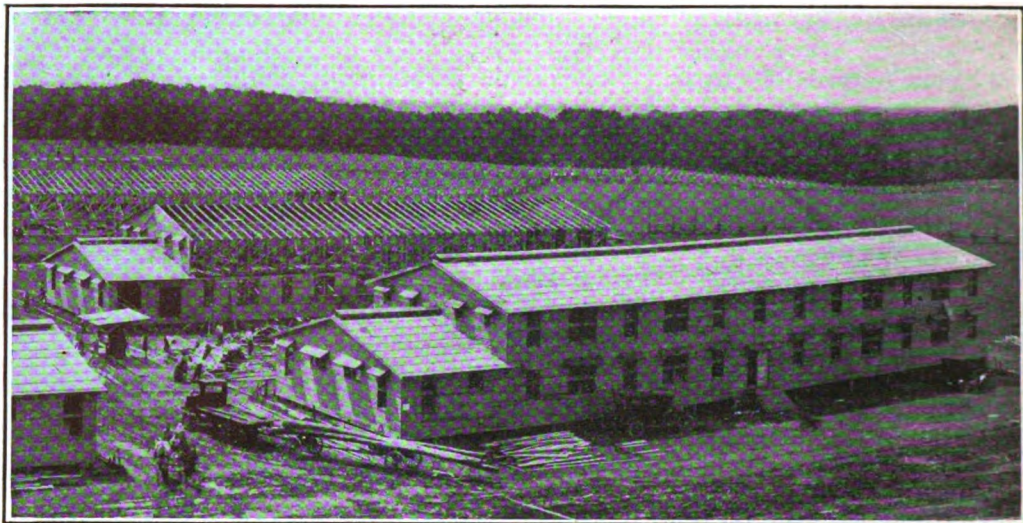
been cleared, roads built (in many instances miles of railroad spur within a few weeks, even through difficult country), water and sewage mains laid, and buildings of every kind erected is truly amazing. It is such a ninety-days' record of construction as was probably never equaled before in the world's history; but the camera's evidence, as presented on this and the accompanying pages, is far more telling than any text description could possibly be. Take, for example, the views of a single section of Camp Travis, at Fort Sam Houston, Tex.—one showing the site on July 11 and the other its appearance twenty-two working days later. One would not have believed that so much could be done in three weeks' time, even with an unlimited labor supply; but while this work was in progress other sections were going up and road-building and trenching for sewers and water-mains for the entire camp were being rushed. The

same story was repeated, with variations, at each of the sixteen cantonment sites. At some of the locations there was much more preliminary site-clearing required than at others. Oddly enough, the "wildest" site of them all was near the Long Island village designed by the uncouth name of Yaphank, almost within the New York City suburban district. Here a forest had to be cut away and the roots blasted out of the earth before the real work of camp-building could begin.

A serious drawback in this labor at Yaphank was occasioned by the swarms of mosquitoes that infested the region. Even the non-infectious species can cause great annoyance and actual delay in construction operations. With a view to safeguarding the camps from malaria, the American Red Cross has already appropriated \$10,000 to be expended in the vicinity of the cantonment at Columbia, S. C. (Camp Jackson). The



ACRES OF BUILDINGS ERECTED AT CAMP TRAVIS, TEX., IN THREE WEEKS' TIME—SEE PHOTOGRAPH AT TOP OF THIS PAGE



INFANTRY BARRACKS AT CAMP DIX, WRIGHTSTOWN, N. J.

Red Cross representatives are coöperating in this work with the South Carolina Board of Health and with the Public Health Service and it is understood that similar measures will be taken to the other cantonments throughout the country.

The plan is to create around each cantonment a one-mile zone entirely freed from the malaria mosquito—the *anopheles*. It is this variety that effectually thwarted the efforts of the French engineers in their attempt to build the Panama Canal, and it will be remembered that the zeal and intelligence of American medical officers in later years made it possible for the canal to be built under American auspices because they practically exterminated the malaria-carrying mosquito in the Canal Zone. General Gorgas, to

whom is due the success of our operations at Panama, and who is now at the head of the army medical service, does not propose to have American soldiers in their own home camps exposed to a poisonous form of infection from which the laborers on the great canal were liberated a decade ago.

The construction companies are building these camps for the Government on the percentage, or "cost plus," basis, receiving an average fee (including overhead charges and profit) of 7 per cent. on the cost of the work. On some accounts competitive bidding on the contracts might have been highly desirable, but the rigid time requirement left the Government no option. The drawings and specifications could not be finished in time to ask for competitive bids. Many would



CAMP DEVENS, THE GREAT NA-

(This will be the most populous of all the cantonments. Provision has been made for 49,000 soldiers and officers. It will have 1600 buildings in all, and will have twenty-five miles of sewer, thirteen miles of water main, and

have liked to see labor drafted for this construction work just as soldiers are drafted under the conscription law, but here again there was no time to devise and put in execution a policy of that kind on so extensive a scale. As it seemed to the representatives of the Government, the only way to get the work done within a reasonable time was to secure the services of the big contracting engineers who had the organizations requisite for carrying through undertakings approaching this in size.

Terms were made with these men and they proceeded to mobilize an army of 100,000 workers. The liberal wages they have paid may have seriously disturbed the labor market in some States, at least temporarily, but such maladjustments will have to be endured as among the fortunes of war. Meanwhile, even with the high wage scale there has been a marked scarcity of labor at some of the cantonments. Late in August, when Petersburg, Va., reported 11,000 men at work on Camp Lee, Annapolis Junction, Md., 150 miles away, had 4,500 and greatly needed more for the completion of Camp Meade.

Many stories are told of record exploits in various departments of camp construction. At Camp Travis (Fort Sam Houston, Tex.)



© International Film Service

"RAISING" A BUILDING AT CAMP UPTON, YAPHANK, L. I., WHERE NEW YORK CITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DRAFT ARMY WILL BE HOUSED
(Fifteen minutes was the time allowed for getting up the frame)

and also at Camp Taylor (Louisville) a standard barracks building (43x140 feet, two stories high) was put up in one hour and a half. From Fort Taylor comes the report of a still more picturesque feat—nothing less than the erection on a certain day of a barracks building from lumber which on the same day of the preceding week had been standing in the form of living pine trees in a Mississippi forest!

This achievement required the coöperation of loggers, millers, railroads and builders. During the month of July 12,000 carloads of lumber were delivered to cantonments. The daily consumption at Camp Taylor



NATIONAL ARMY CITY AT AYER, MASS.

All of New England and a portion of New York State will be represented in the cantonment, which will comprise twenty miles of finished highway. Camp Devens will have electric lights and all other municipal conveniences.



LAYING PIPE LINE AT CAMP CUSTER, BATTLE CREEK, MICH.

(The cantonment reservation at Battle Creek is one of the largest of the sixteen. It comprises 7000 acres. Michigan and Wisconsin soldiers will be trained here)

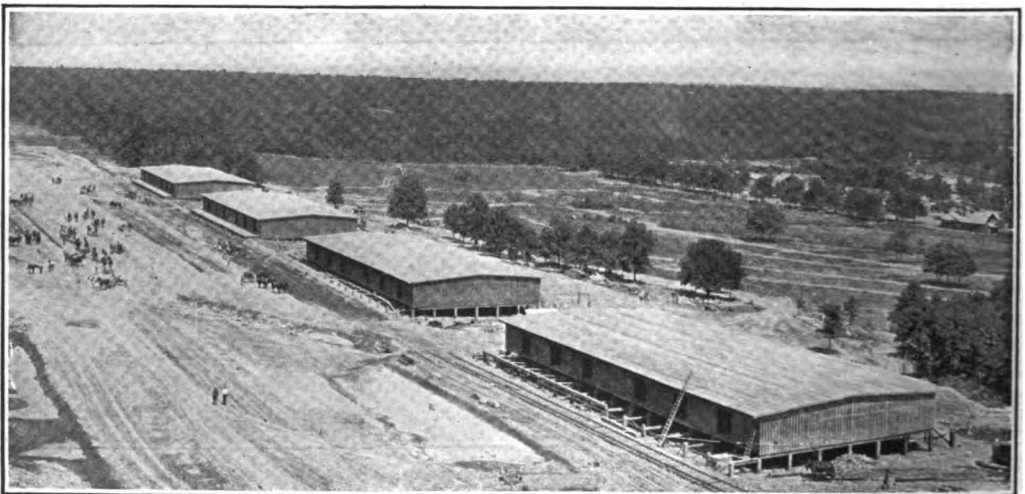
alone was from fifty to seventy-five carloads. The delivery of this immense quantity of pine lumber in record time was accomplished through the efforts of the Southern Pine Emergency Bureau, an organization with headquarters at New Orleans. The great lumber interests of the Northwest have also contributed.

To realize that so vast an enterprise has been put through in this brisk, American way, is gratifying indeed; but the real question is, What does it all mean to the 600,000 American homes that will be represented by the dwellers in these cantonments? How

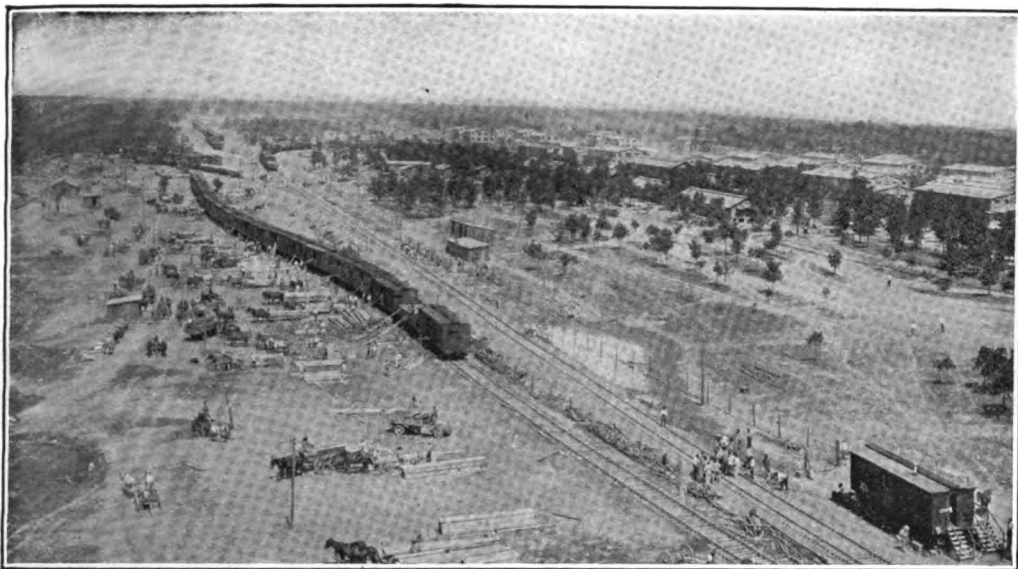
will the youth from forty-eight States and the District of Columbia, who will make up our new National Army, be cared for while they are training for service in Europe? It has been asserted, with some show of plausibility, that the conscript soldier from the average community, urban or rural, will have a better environment in camp, from the standpoint of sanitation, than he ever had at home. At any rate, when we compare the sewer and water-supply systems of Camp Lee or Camp Devens with those of the average happy-go-lucky small town, north or south, the advantage is all with the camps. Well-ventilated, commodious living quarters,

heated in cold weather and screened in summer against insects; healthful, invigorating air, and abundance of space and facilities for outdoor sports, make these cantonments more attractive to the ordinary red-blooded citizen than any "health resort" of the conventional type. A glance at the photographs of some of these sites will make one think at once of its vacation possibilities.

The size of the cantonment reservations varies from 3000 to 7000 acres. The general plan is a huge circle, ellipse, or horse-shoe, with the barracks on the outer rim, the officers' quarters and administration build-



THE QUARTERMASTER'S STOREHOUSES AT CAMP PIKE, LITTLE ROCK, ARK.



VIEW ON AUGUST 10 OF A PART OF CAMP PIKE, FIVE MILES NORTH OF LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
(The railroad line shown in the picture was built for four miles through difficult country in three weeks. Camp Pike is equipped with a 1200-bed base hospital)

ings within, and the unoccupied area reserved for a drill field. The structures which figure chiefly in the photographs are the standard company barracks for infantry-buildings two stories high, 43 by 140 feet on the ground plan, framed in wood, sheathed with matched siding, and covered with prepared roofing.

The company barracks afford individual cots or bunks (on the second floor) for 200 men. On the ground floor are mess-rooms, kitchen, lavatories, and shower-baths. The officers' quarters are in smaller, one-story buildings. The hospital equipment is extensive. At Camp Lee the hospital unit consists of forty buildings with 1,600 beds. The rule is to provide from 1,000 to 1,500 hospital beds for each camp.

The boys gathered at Camp Lee, within gunshot of the Army of the Potomac's old camp ground in Civil War days, will enjoy a degree of comfort never dreamed of by the men who fought under McClellan and Grant.

Providing generously for the physical well-being of his boys in khaki, Uncle Sam does not stop there. He throws open in all the camps wholesome recreations for the soldier's play-hour, baseball, tennis, and water sports; at the same time he does all that any government can do to protect the army community from the inroads of vice. In a number of cantonments the Y. M. C. A. will have as many as seven buildings, offering amusement and instruction and giving

facilities for study and writing. The Knights of Columbus will also have buildings on the camp reservations and the American Library Association is preparing to install suitable libraries and give the services of trained librarians. Lecture and study courses will be arranged to meet the wants of young men who may have been taken from their studies to be made into soldiers. Altogether, the soldier's mental and moral betterment will



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RAPID DITCHING AT CAMP GRANT



CAMP TAYLOR, NEAR LOUISVILLE, KY., NOW PRACTICALLY READY TO WELCOME

(Camp Taylor is built on rolling ground, some of the barracks buildings being placed on moderately steep slopes. 11,000 horses will be stabled, is located at one end of the camp, with due regard to the

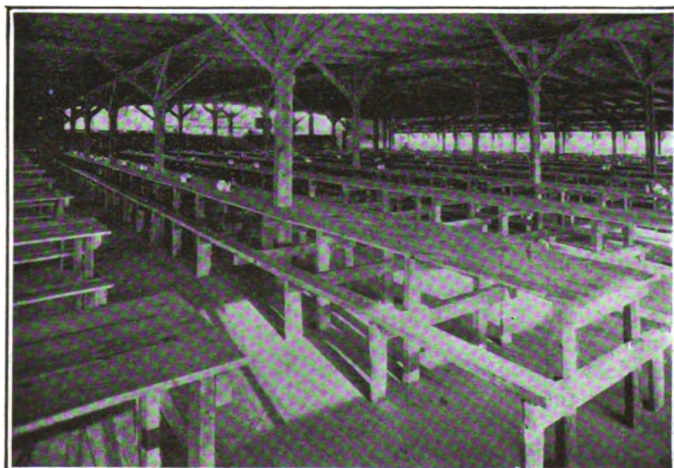
be more effectively and systematically promoted than has ever before been possible in the massing of so great an army.

Early last month it was announced at Washington that in preparing for the second draft of 500,000 men for the National Army the War Department would spend another \$100,000,000 on construction of wooden cantonments at the sites of the National Guard encampments, now largely under canvas. One of these encampments is at Linda Vista, near San Diego, Calif.; three are in Texas—at Fort Worth, Waco, and Houston; one is at Deming, N. M., one at Fort Sill, Okla., and the remaining ten are distributed through the South—the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. There will then be thirty-two National Army cantonments, all prepared to receive troops simultaneously. More than a million men can



Photograph by Harlan P. Kelsey

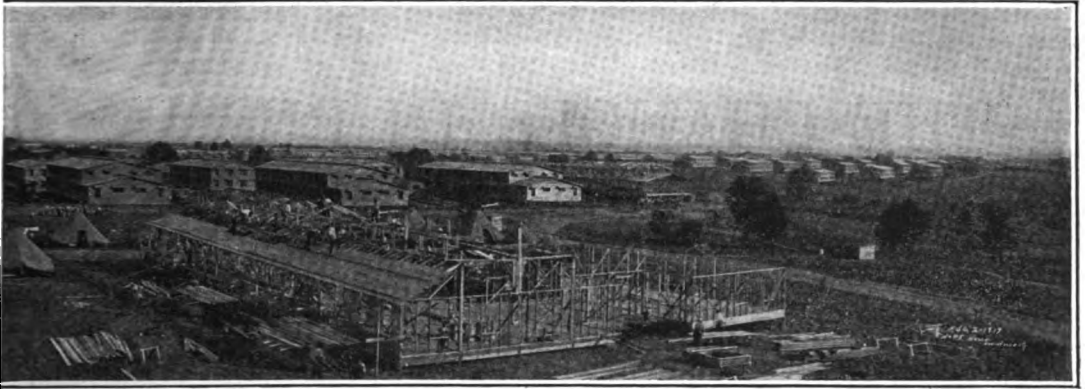
CAMP TAYLOR—DESTROYING OLD BUILDINGS AND INCIDENTALLY BILLBOARDS



PART OF THE CAFETERIA AT CAMP DIX, WRIGHTSTOWN, N. J., DESIGNED TO ACCOMMODATE 10,000 MEN

be in training at the same time.

Huge quantities of food will be required to supply the cantonments. An army division of 28,500 officers and men will demand each week, it is estimated, 2800 bushels of Irish potatoes, 600 bushels of onions, and 337,000 pounds of other green vegetables. The allowance of fresh beef is 100,000 pounds; fresh pork, 50,000; mutton, 50,000, and butter, 15,000. The day's ration of milk will be 1780 gallons. "Professional" cooks will be employed for each company.



41,000 SOLDIERS OF THE DRAFT ARMY FROM KENTUCKY, INDIANA, AND ILLINOIS

The tents shown at the left of the picture are occupied by the construction corps. An artillery section, where prevailing winds, so that insects and germs may not be carried over the other sections)

Water for some cantonments, especially those situated near large cities, is obtained from sources already utilized, but where this is not practicable, wells are driven and reservoirs built. Several of the cantonments have abundant supplies of natural spring water. Camp Upton, on Long Island, will get its water from four reservoirs each holding 200,000 gallons of spring water. The system will consist of fifty-five miles of pipe-line and will be equipped with three pumping stations.

Where sewage mains cannot be con-

nected with existing systems, it has sometimes been found necessary to build reduction stations.

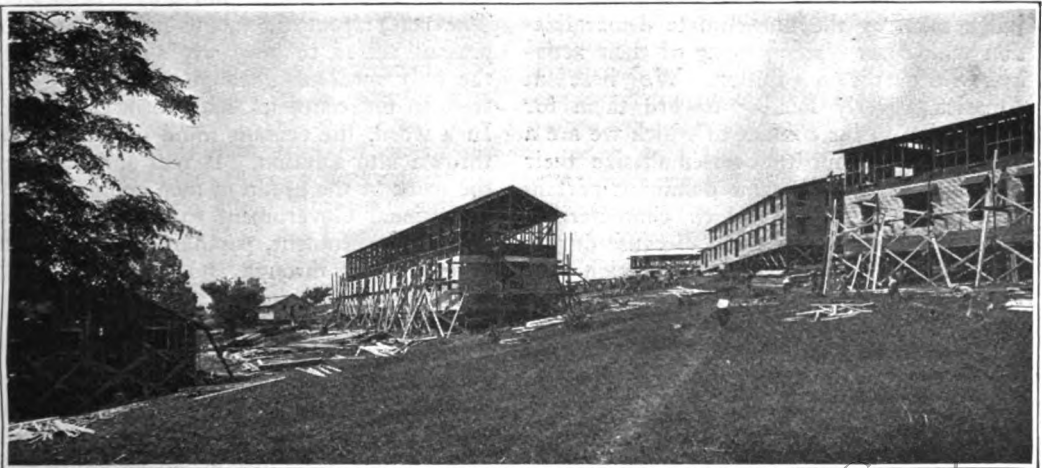
The housing of this great army of democracy has distinctively democratic features,

as our readers will have noted. The army itself—rank and file not less than command—comes directly from the homes of America to the drill-ground. As we recognize no class distinctions in our normal social life, so the cantonment knows no preferment save what is honorably won in fair competition.

W. B. S.



ONE OF THE ATTRACTIVE Y. M. C. A. BUILDINGS TO BE ERECTED AT THE CANTONMENTS



SKILLFUL ADAPTION OF CONTOUR TO BUILDINGS AT CAMP TAYLOR

THE CHANGES IN RUSSIA

BY STANLEY WASHBURN

Mr. Stanley Washburn, whose work as Russian correspondent for the London "Times" and whose important books on the Russian campaigns have given him deserved fame, was attached by President Wilson to the Root commission to Russia and returned with Mr. Root last month. He was given the commission of a Major in the United States Army, as fixing his status abroad. His judgment upon all matters relating to Russia is based upon very exceptional opportunities and knowledge, inasmuch as he was well acquainted with that country before the war and has been in it most of the time since 1914. This expression for readers of the REVIEW of REVIEWS was prepared last month after the return of the Root commission, and with full knowledge of the Russian military situation and of the course of events in Russia almost to the beginning of September.—THE EDITOR.

IN forming judgments of chaotic situations—whether they be political, military or social—one must avoid too close study of day-by-day details of events and endeavor as far as possible to achieve a perspective which judges the situation from the sum total of the complete knowledge we have of the people involved during all of their history.

This is preëminently true of Russia to-day. Superficial changes and present aspects bear no resemblance to what one might have seen a year ago. The conduct of the army, of the people, and of their institutions has changed, but their characters with all the tremendous virtues of the Slavs is the same as always.

It is absolutely unfair to the Russians to judge them by the unfortunate demoralization which has typified many of their activities since the revolution. We here in America, eagerly looking toward them for coöperation in the conflict to which we are a party, are too apt to over-emphasize their failure to occupy the same dominant part in the military situation which characterized their operations a year ago. Because during the confusion following the revolution they have been unable to carry forward their campaigns without let or hindrance, pessimists have declared that Russia was permanently out of the war, and that we could look to her for nothing further.

What has happened in Russia has been so sudden and so unexpected that the situation which has developed was inevitable.

The wonder is, not that Russia has become confused but that she has remained in the war at all. For centuries there has been a system of government in Russia which has paralyzed individual initiative and kept the mass of the people in ignorance of all the functions of the state.

The peasants were taught to worship two things, the Church and the Emperor. Through the medium of these two institutions (if the throne can be so designated) the people knew Russia, the state. Entirely unexpectedly and without the public mind being in the least prepared, there came in a few days the change in the form of government. The Emperor disappeared, and the church as a political influence evaporated. The state from the point of view of the peasant ceased to have any significance, for the only mediums through which they had seen it for centuries had been eliminated. In a word, the peasant mind of Russia was thrown into solution. It was and has been the work of the group of men composing the Provisional Government to build up a new idea of government, popularize it and force Russia to act through and with it; and all of this had to be done in the face of a great war.

At the front, the army was holding a line about 120 miles long and facing between two and three million enemy troops. At home the new government faced the relics of an organization of administration which was in complete collapse through

incompetence of the old régime. The police and practically all of the officials of the old order fell from office and power with the Emperor. Finances were in an impossible tangle. Railroad efficiency had fallen to a low ebb and the economic situation was acute all over Russia.

This was the situation when the Emperor abdicated and the Committee of the Duma put their hands to the plow. In the first confusion thousands of German spies and agitators slipped across the frontier and, backed with unlimited funds, started a propaganda which in a fortnight had utterly befogged the entire issue of the war in the minds of the great bulk of the Russian people, who like all other nations in Europe were worn and weary from the miseries and sacrifices of the war. German intrigue and unwise orders in the early days of the revolution decreased the morale and discipline of the army. This, then, was the situation when the spring opened.

A MIRACLE THAT RUSSIA DID NOT COLLAPSE!

It seems incredible that any of the Allies could for a moment have imagined that it would be humanly possibly for Russia, in spite of all this chaos, to start a campaign at the front exactly as though nothing had happened in Petrograd and the heart of Russia. There has been a miracle in Russia; and that miracle is that Russia did not utterly collapse and that she did not long ere this throw up her hands and make an independent peace. We in America should not criticize her for failure to do the impossible, but thank God that there is in Russia an elemental common sense and stability of character which has carried her so far through the innumerable crises of the past months without faltering in her loyalty to the cause and to the Allies to whom she is bound.

We in America must realize that Russia has in these past three years called up between twelve and fourteen million men to the colors. Her net losses in effectives through military causes amount to about seven million. Her country has been overrun by the enemy, and more than fifteen million refugees have taken sanctuary within her mighty spaces. Reverses, retreats, political spasms and untold suffering have been the order of the day for three years. Russia has seen and felt war at its worst.

And yet to-day in spite of everything she

is still somehow or other holding her army together and fighting in much the same way as she has been fighting since 1914. It is futile to prophesy as to what may happen; but it is fair to seek into the past for precedents and on them base some estimate of the future. Those who have lived with and seen the Russians in these last three years know that the Russian strength has been the Russian character. And this is an asset which does not change with revolutions or in face of disaster. It is more vital to a country than guns, munitions, or 42-centimeter howitzers. Guns wear out and munitions are shot away, but the great enduring element that makes nations and armies is the stamina of the people and the individuals that compose the armies.

In 1915, the Russians, almost without material, always outnumbered at strategic points, and handicapped by an inefficient and often corrupt and treacherous government, fought on for six months and finally, in spite of the lack of everything that an army in the field needs, brought to a final stop the most efficient army that the world has ever seen. The next year the defeated armies of 1915 took the field and under Brussilov began an advance that lasted 70 days and captured half a million prisoners and 500 guns.

RECUPERATIVE POWER

Again and again I have seen the capacity of the Russians to recuperate; and on all of these occasions it has been because of the stamina, the faith and the stubborn character of the Russian people and the Russian troops. This year we have seen them in political confusion. We have seen them attacked in Petrograd with a drive of propaganda in every way as vicious as the German drives at the front. And the effect has been much the same. There have been confusion and retirements and moments of grave peril and so far, in all of these moments Kerensky and the men about him have rallied their forces and somehow or other have weathered the storm.

Already, in my opinion, the strength of the German propaganda is beginning to wane; and already are the people beginning to realize the fallacies of the doctrine of an independent peace which has been preached to them. Little by little it is beginning to dawn on them that though they have won their liberty they must continue fighting if they wish to perpetuate it. Slowly but

surely they are learning that the only hope for their budding democracy is the final and complete destruction of autocracy, and that by the force of arms and on the fields of battle. We in America should view this struggle with sympathy and with patience,

helping where we may both morally and materially, and judging the Russians by their character in history. We should place our faith in their capacity ultimately to see the light and continue in the future as they have in the past.

THE PRESENT STATE OF MEXICO

All thoughtful American readers desire information of a trustworthy kind upon conditions in Mexico. The article that we present herewith was prepared a few days ago, at our urgent request, by a trained observer with the highest qualifications, who has just returned from a long sojourn in that much-disturbed country. We can assure our readers that the statements in this article are disinterested.—THE EDITOR.

THE Mexican problem is not one of reconstruction but of construction. Mr. Carranza is not engaged in restoring beneficent conditions prevailing before the revolution, but is building a new structure of social and economic life. The task is proving very much more difficult and complex than the idealists who first led the revolt against Diaz imagined. They dreamed that latent under the thwarting force of the autocratic government were impulses ready to give economic power and political freedom to those millions of Mexicans, a vital part of Mexico but scarcely partaking of its bounty. But the injection of revolution revealed a virulency beyond expectations; and for five years Mexico has now been chiefly occupied in determining through civil warfare into whose hands the power of reordering its internal life was to be placed. By dint of superior integrity and force General Carranza (he prefers to be called citizen Carranza) has achieved the office of President in a government based on a new constitution and committed to dedicating the resources of Mexico to the benefit of the Mexicans.

The President went into office on May 1. With him were elected a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. This Congress has been in session continuously since April, enacting laws reestablishing civil government and devising means for putting into operation the social-economic program outlined in the new constitution.

The President has not fully organized his new government. In several of the more important departments, sub-secretaries are still in charge. He apparently proposes to proceed with caution in choosing his cabinet. This is necessary, both to obtain loyalty and to seek out men of sufficient capacity. These latter, at least, are not over-numerous among the revolutionary survivors.

The President finds the business of government almost entirely committed to him. The Mexican people, apparently, have concluded that they have done their part in fighting for five years and now propose to commit the work of demonstrating the utility of the revolution to the men or man placed in power in consequence of it. There are no ardent groups of citizens discussing ways and means and proffering suggestions to the Government. Congress debates, but the President—advised frequently by more or less expert commissions—plans and promulgates. The truth is, the Mexicans now realize that they prefer by habit, and perhaps by virtue of inherent qualities, to have the bothersome details of government attended to by others.

Mr. Carranza, it appears, now appreciates this circumstance and is proceeding with his work according to his own views and conceptions of Mexico's needs without much public consultation and very little public discussion. He at all events maintains a practically uninterrupted silence.

ORGANIZED REBELLION SUPPRESSED

The revolutionary or organized internal warfare has spent itself, but there are still guerilla activities and locally powerful bands of bandits. The general complexion of the country is pacific with spots of disorder more or less virulent. The government depends on the loyalty of the generals for the maintenance of order where the population is not too surfeited with fighting to be incited, and to suppress active disorder. The loyalty of a general has a sensitive and elusive property which causes constant anxiety to the civil authorities. The power and obvious status of a general give him a wider authority than his military command implies. Having suppressed organized opposition to his authority by rebels, Mr. Carranza is now largely concerned in preventing surreptitious or avowed hostility among his military chieftains. Up to date, he has succeeded remarkably in controlling them, and the most reliable observers now feel that he will ultimately succeed entirely in making the military wholly amenable to law and order.

Courts are being reestablished under the new constitution, and the civil processes, at least as impartial and trustworthy as before the revolution, are resuming their function in the life of the nation. But the business of the courts is severely limited by the restriction of commercial business and the continuance of the moratorium on debts. Moreover, special decrees superseding law or anticipating new statutory enactments, issued by Mr. Carranza as "First Chief," are still in force in numerous particulars.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Business is slowly emerging from complete demoralization. Banking has practically collapsed for a variety of causes, due in part to mismanagement before the revolution, and in larger part, perhaps, to ruthless treatment by the Government, beginning in the brief rule of Huerta. Plans are on foot for the reconstruction of a banking system to be controlled by the Government. Railways are operating over practically all the country, but by no means satisfactorily. Shortage of cars and motive power and stretches of dangerous territory make operation hazardous and irregular. But almost regular train service now operates from Laredo, Texas, to Mexico City and has continued for some months with only rare mishaps.

Mines are resuming as rapidly as circum-

stances permit and have probably reached about 35 per cent. normal operation. The oil business is active but under embarrassment, of one kind or another, almost continuously. But the condition of the oil business, apart from the fear of Government assumption of control, is steadily improving.

Commercial business is greatly handicapped by the lack of a credit system and the restricted currency, only gold and silver and fractional coins being in circulation, in an amount about one-half the pre-revolutionary total. Manufacturing is never important in Mexico, and such as exists is gradually resuming. All business in Mexico, however, is handicapped, not only by reason of internal difficulties, but because it is almost entirely a matter of foreign enterprise. Many foreigners left the country during the troubled period, and the Great War has prevented their return or discouraged the coming of others to take their places.

The Mexican is not in business to any appreciable extent. He has neither capital nor the necessary zest for it. The revolutionists are discovering that business activity is not merely a matter of opportunity but of a complex of habits and desires which the Mexican's background and composition do not prompt. The anti-foreigner policy of the new constitution will unquestionably yield to the necessity of inviting foreign cooperation in the industrial and commercial upbuilding of the country.

But it is not likely that the country will be delivered over to foreign capital again as it was, for all practical purposes, in the latter years of the Diaz rule. Mexican business has been chastened by the revolution not only in Mexico but in business policy in the lands of its origin. There is apparent a disposition to recognize the right of the Mexican to participate, if he can or will, in the enterprises that develop his country and the propriety of the Government's obtaining some immediate benefit in the form of taxes from business success. Undoubtedly Mexico needs foreign business enterprise. But successful foreign enterprise in Mexico need hardly look forward to generous profits and a special Mexican halo in addition.

AGRARIAN PROBLEMS

Agriculture is so much in the hands of large estate holders frightened out of the country by the revolution that it has not had a fair chance since the country quieted

down. Too many *hacendados*, as the great farmers are called, are still in exile or living obscurely in the large cities. But wherever there are oxen left and there is reasonable assurance of safety the peons are back in the fields.

The Government is returning many confiscated estates, and as yet no policy of land subdivision has been promulgated. There has been a good deal of disillusionment as to the desire or capacity of the peon, Indian that he is, to settle down on his own farm and his own responsibility. Few people now believe that Mexico will become a land of small rural proprietorships within a generation, and not then unless that generation is devoted to intensive education in literacy and so-called civilized habits. And education will not bring this about unless through education the delights and benefits of independence and proprietorship are demonstrated to the sceptical and simple aborigine.

Education has been taken out of the hands of the church, and the government has opened a number of new schools, notably under Alvarado's leadership in Yucatan. But there is, as yet, no fully organized new system of public education. If Mr. Carranza accomplishes anything he will construct a public-school system for Mexico, for his heart is wisely set on that achievement.

ON THE UPGRADE

No observer of months can be completely certain of his conclusions regarding a country as volatile and inexperienced in self-control as is Mexico. But, liable to explosive episodes as Mexico is, it has also a remarkable facility for resuming the appearance and manner of its customary pacific life. This is due to the simple organization, or lack of organization, of the Mexican economy. Thirteen million Indians living with and largely under the guidance of two-million-odd Mexican-Spanish and unmixed foreigners are not greatly disturbed by a period of warfare.

Physically the country is not possessed by the Mexican as we know him, the half-quarter-, or other-part Spanish, part Indian.

Numerically he is not strong enough to control the country by force. But he governs it with the assistance of the Indians, some of whom are valuable factors in every undertaking. The numerous part of the population will not and cannot govern the country. Its ideals are not the ideals of its Europeanized fellow countrymen. Consequently Mexico is not by any means a nation of common purposes or united striving towards a common goal. The peon could live a life of ease and complete contentment without the facilities of civilized life. Unaided he will not achieve civilization.

Perhaps, the task of advancing Mexico to the European level is too severe for the minority who must do the work. It has proved so in the past in respect of commerce and industry. A far-sighted policy would encourage immigration and the further infusion of European ideals and energy into the tranquillity of the peon mind and temperament. But force will not civilize Mexico. It has attempted the task for four hundred years and failed.

America can help enormously by patient coöperation. There is no real basis for the belief that America is generally disliked in Mexico. It has not been well represented, and historically American contact with Mexican affairs has not been promotive of kindly feeling. But wise business policy and a policy of coöperation and understanding in Washington will make America the natural source of Mexican advancement. Already kindly feelings exist because of the patience of President Wilson in dealing with a country thrown into confusion and led into excesses by incessant warfare.

The path ahead of the Mexican Government is neither bright nor smooth. The government has found the path and has set out on its way. That is a considerable achievement. A multitude of obstacles and problems will beset it and are now giving it trouble. Help in meeting and overcoming them, and continued patience and perseverance on the part of all concerned, will bring prosperity and enlightenment to Mexico for which all its travail and chastening must assuredly have been in preparation.



HOOVER AND HIS FOOD ORGANIZATION

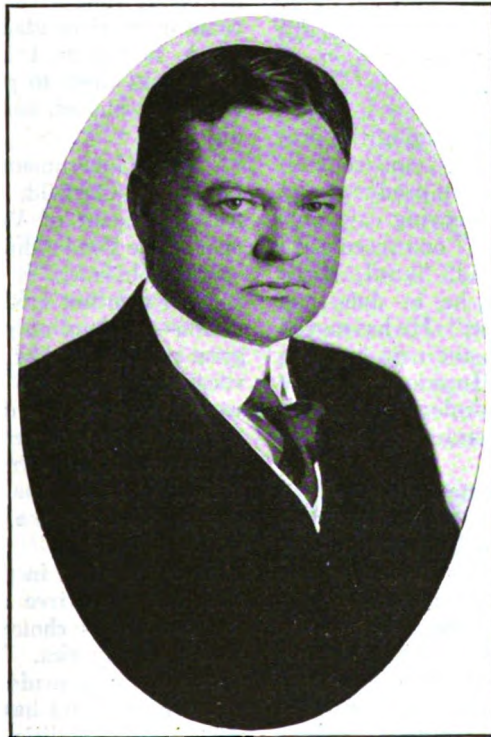
BY DONALD WILHELM

WHEN a few more war years have rolled around and historians at last are writing conclusively of these American days, one of them may very likely discern that the intrinsic genius of Herbert Hoover lay preëminently in his power to organize and to realize democracy. In so short a space as that elapsing since that day in April on which he reached New York, returning hastily in response to cablegram call from the President, there are, in fact, for those privileged to see the Food Administrator in perspective, ample indications of just that.

Shortly after that first night in America, when he swung himself into an upper berth en route to Washington "on the midnight" for breakfast with officials of the Department of Agriculture next morning, in the very midst of those first two concentrated but tentative weeks when, at his own expense, he was maintaining a clerical force in a suite of rooms at the New Willard, he paused a little, between engagements, and made for me this striking analysis of the world food situation—and of the functions of the Food Administration Bill that since has at last been passed:

"The grain supply of the world, in normal times, we may imagine as in seven vessels in different parts of the world—one in Berlin, say, and one in Budapest; one in

Rome and one in Liverpool; one in Moscow and in Buenos Ayres and in America. We may think of these vessels as connected, so that when the contents of one is demanded contents from the others flow in. Thus they maintain among themselves a kind of equilibrium."



© Clinedinst, Washington, D. C.

MR. HERBERT C. HOOVER

(Chief food administrator for the United States)

—or consumer or producer will suffer and America and her Allies, too."

Five months later we find Herbert Hoover, with the President and the people squarely behind him, tightening his belt, as it were, and settling his powerful propulsive force to the biggest, most vital war job in the world. The Food Administration bill—"an act to provide further for the national

"And now—?" I queried, realizing that, most aptly, he was describing the process that was afflicting nearly all war necessities—steel as well as grain, oil, wool, and many more things.

"Now," he said, succinctly, with that powerful compressed restraint of his, "all those vessels are out of it—except America. And the consequence is that if you take anything out of that one vessel you create wild speculation."

He paused just a second. "In other words," he concluded, "the whole control of prices on which we depend in normal times is gone; the machinery for price maintenance and balance is broken; and we require a new balance—a new control



Photo by Pach Brothers, N. Y.

HARRY A. GARFIELD, PRESIDENT OF WILLIAMS COLLEGE

(Who has been made chairman of the Food Administration's price-fixing board)



© Harris & Ewing

JULIUS BARNES

(One of the country's greatest grain experts, and president of the new fifty million dollar grain corporation formed by the United States Food Administration)

security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel"—now is law. And "moving days" for Hoover are over—"at least," one speculative Washington individual said, "until, if he makes good on this job, he in due time moves into the White House." He has moved from the New Willard to the new building of the Department of the Interior, from the "new Interior" to the ivy-colored, ramified, many-room old brick structure that used to be the Hotel Gordon.

Five months ago, intimates almost dared pity this giant of war stature, so eager was he to get his powerful hands to work. For there is hardly anyone so pitiable as a Washington office holder without any authority. And there was hardly anyone backing Mr. Hoover after his hurried trip to America except the President; he had a herculean task in front of him, no means whatever for the doing of it. He said then, in an interview: "If we are going to take control of the delicate links in the economic chain, we must have the best skill that the country has. The persons most skilled in the handling of those links and their ramifications are those who are engaged in handling them in their every-day life, who have shown, by their success, their superior abilities in the handling of them. . . . But such men cannot be hired at any price by any bureaucracy. We must ask them to volunteer. The country has as much right to ask them as to ask other men

to risk their lives in the trenches. There is no country in which, as a matter of fact, they will respond more gladly, no country in which they can be organized more quickly—almost over night."

No response could possibly be more gratifying than that American business specialists have given Mr. Hoover. "I'm just a mining engineer"—a mining engineer, by the way, with interests and income very considerable—Marc L. Requa, who is in charge of not a few of the commercial relations of the Administration, told me. "I didn't see how I could help much at first except by aiding the Chief to get the men he wanted. He sends a wire something like this, 'On matters of vital interest to the Food Administration will you kindly come to Washington at your earliest convenience.' They come more than gladly. Not one has hesitated, so far as I know. And when the Chief asks them to get to work they go out whistling, almost, and buy civilian khaki and dig in."

"The Government in this emergency," Harry A. Garfield, son of President Garfield, president of Williams College, chairman of the Food Administration's price-fixing board, told me, "is thus equipped with a body of men not anxious to perpetuate a situation—anxious only to assist in solving a great problem and of returning to their usual vocations. Thus is avoided a danger that would otherwise confront the Republic. If the regular machinery of Government and the powers of our regular agents were extended to meet, unaided, the present emergency, contraction after the war would be difficult."

It is not often in the history of the world that one man, free of charge, is permitted to "draft" his choice of the administrative genius of America. The result already is a group of men made up of individuals the Chief knows and has tried plus many more whose special abilities one needs hardly attest at all. The most salient character of this group in civilian khaki, which means Palm Beach cloth, is a tremendous enthusiasm fused with a real pride and a determination to make good—not autocratically but by dint of coöperative effort, for the great part, all along the line.

"Mr. Hoover asked President Wilbur, of Leland Stanford University, to organize volunteers to work on food conservation and elimination of waste," Dr. Garfield explained to me, after he had said that the Food Ad-

ministration is trying to get away from the idea of price fixing; that the arbitrary element generally presupposed is wanting, in fact and in fancy, inasmuch as the law provides "fair and reasonable" methods.

I asked Dr. Wilbur, a tall, spare man, to tell me the function of his tremendous department, in which there are several hundred volunteer co-workers. "Our problem," he said casually, "is to re-arrange the eating habits of one hundred million people in the midst of plenty. . . . In the first place the object is service to the country, in the second place to humanity. The concrete object is to save 150,000,000 bushels of wheat."

I asked lithe John Hallowell, of the firm of Stone & Webster, one-time Harvard football player, recently a champion, in aid about



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BEN I. ALLEN

(Private secretary and right-hand man to Mr. Hoover. He was a member of the Belgian Relief Commission since its organization)

operation of the states. These men will constitute Mr. Hoover's connecting link between interstate and intrastate work. Like the women home economics directors in each State from Dr. Wilbur's department, their efforts will be, "up in the field," steadily to carry—to coöperate but not to dictate in the carrying—the Federal program, down through all existing State organizations such as land grant colleges, granges, women's organizations and churches, to the family thresholds. This gigantic effort at decentralization, like that of Dr. Wilbur's, is accompanied, in Washington, by definite and skilled organization working to aid the States in groups and individually.

Decentralization of functions, the disseminating of them among the millions who constitute the land—seems to be the predominant effort of this democratic food administration.

It goes without saying that Mr. Hoover, in the necessity of getting an organization quickly, relies on not a few men who have worked with him before: Edgar Rickard, one

more California mining engineer, for instance, who was secretary of the American Commission for Relief in Belgium; Dr. Vernon L. Kellogg, who was in charge of the Brussels office of the Belgian Relief, who is now ascertaining, through diplomatic channels, what is the latest work of the food controllers in Europe; Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor, who, as a representative of our State Department, studied and learned about food conditions in Germany as no other American has, whose magazine articles constitute the basis for some Government reports, was a professor of medicine in the University



Photo by Harris & Ewing.

VERNON KELLOGG

(Stanford University professor, noted for scientific work, and for two years a director of the Belgian Relief Commission; now one of Mr. Hoover's chief aides)

of Pennsylvania, is now assigned, as a special aid to "the Chief" and a connecting link between the Department of Agriculture and the Food Administration. Captain J. F. Lucey, who did some difficult things in Europe for Belgian Relief, is Mr. Hoover's office manager—the equivalent of a corporation's "assistant to the President."

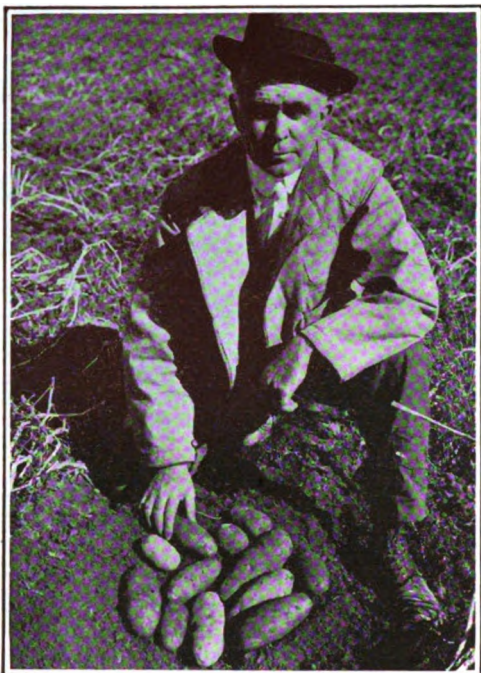
There are many others of similar specialized tasks; indeed in Dr. Wilbur's department—



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RAY L. WILBUR

(President of Stanford University, who has been placed in charge of the conservation section of the food administration work)



LOU D. SWEET

(Famous American authority on potato production and a valued member of the new food control organization. See article by him beginning on facing page) .

ment alone there are probably two hundred with names that, in many instances, are everywhere known. And all are working to establish the psychology of participation, as it might be called, in every American.

Probably the most distinctive attribute of Mr. Hoover as "food dictator"—as enemy members of Congress called him—is his insistence upon working out problems in co-operation with trades. "We believe," Mr. Requa said, "that each branch of trade should, so far as possible, be self-governing." Thus there results specialists in Mr. Hoover's "cabinet" representing each of the special trades. Obviously there is not room for mention of all these specialists, and probably that mention is not necessary inasmuch as a few names will probably be sufficient to indicate the character of the many.

Lou D. Sweet, to take a random name, is a "potato man"—not only one of the most authoritative ones in the United States, but president of the Potato Association of America also. George M. Rolph is a widely known "sugar man." Julius H. Barnes, of Duluth, was chosen by the grain men of

America as well as by Mr. Hoover and the President. Harold G. Powell is looked upon as a leading authority on perishable products; in fact, he brought about the co-operative marketing of California's citrus fruits. Theodore F. Whitmarsh quit his place as president of the Wholesale Grocers' Association to help Mr. Hoover. Charles H. Bentley has long been president of the California Cannery Association. And there are many more of the same noteworthy kind.

Add to these a railroad man so well known as Edward Chambers, vice-president of the Santa Fé; and a lawyer so well known as Judge Curtis Holbrook Lindley, of San Francisco, leader of the bar on the Pacific Coast, as chief legal adviser, and one may piece out not only the perception that Mr. Hoover has a fondness for Western as well as Eastern men, but that, through the whole of the tremendous organization that he is establishing, planned to accomplish the biggest war job west of the trenches, there is not only enthusiasm for the distribution of powers among millions, and not among few, but a real passion to realize democratic responsibility to the full. The responsibility upon individuals is great; and, as Mr. Requa told me, it rests heavily upon the trades. We may feel assured that if they are not quite as "fair and reasonable" as the Government is, Mr. Hoover and this wholesome group of anti-imperialists who work with him and in his big house in Sixteenth street dine with him, will, with all the lusty vigor of democracy, intimate that coöperation, and often sacrifice, are the order of the day.

All of which brings back clearly what, verbatim, I recorded Mr. Hoover saying emphatically to me five months ago: "A democracy is founded on the free play of individual initiative. That is fundamental to the development of democracy itself. So long as the individual chooses to do what is right for the community he must have freedom of action, otherwise you do not get the intrinsic development of people on which we found our faith. All individuals must help . . . and they will, when the years have passed, have helped to demonstrate that democracy is sufficient of itself, and that the failure of democracy has always been to defend itself."

REDISCOVERING THE POTATO

BY LOU D. SWEET

Mr. Sweet, of Colorado, is the highest authority we have in America upon the production of potatoes. He is a valued member of Mr. Hoover's food-control organization at Washington. It was he who initiated the successful scheme of securing the Federal Reserve Board's approval of stored potatoes as a basis for bank loans, following the analogy of cotton and wheat. He is not merely a man who knows how to grow potatoes, but he is an inspiring apostle of soil improvement and good farming and a leader in agricultural education as well as a practical farmer. Among the remarkable men of affairs assembled at Washington to help the Government win the war for democracy, Mr. Sweet stands with the best.—THE EDITOR.

WE have been raising potatoes in America for several generations, but in the light of what is happening and what will happen before our 1917 war crop of this food has been consumed, I am thoroughly convinced that we are just on the threshold of a thorough understanding of this industry.

From farmer to ultimate consumer the American public is beginning to rediscover the potato.

We have been growing large crops of potatoes—yes, something like 350,000,000 bushels of them annually—and suddenly a war emergency spurred our growers to increasing their acreage to a point where at present there is in sight about 117,000,000 bushels above the average crops for 1911 to 1916.

And this in the face of an average consumption of only 2.6 bushels per capita. Before the war, Germany consumed 9.4 bushels per capita; England, 8.3 bushels; France, 7.7 bushels.

The natural inference here is that, in order to make this war crop a success, the per capita consumption must be raised to take care of the increased per capita production on the farm. For it is a safe guess that the production *per acre* has not increased. Each farmer planted *more acres* to potatoes—that's all.

The problem of increasing consumption is open at both ends and must not be attacked at its middle. While on one hand we must launch a campaign among consumers to educate them in a full appreciation of the value of the potato as a food, at the same time we

must wage just as aggressive a campaign among producers, to the end that they learn to produce potatoes not merely to sell but to eat.

We have not gained a national reputation for high yields of high-quality potatoes. These reputations are for the most part severely localized. Nor, as a whole class of farmers, have we developed great efficiency in handling the crop from field to market.

As a bit of cold fact, the per-acre production of potatoes in America is the lowest in the world. And this is due solely to the fact that we do not sufficiently fortify our soils with the fertility necessary to stand any great increase. Soil fertility and simple mathematics are the answers to increased production.

An acre measures 210 feet square. Potato rows three feet apart are in number seventy to the acre; if the hills are three feet apart, the total number of hills will be 4900. And with our average soil, that's about as heavily as they can be planted.

In Maine, where the growers average something like one ton of artificial fertilizers to the acre, they plant their rows three feet apart, but their hills are set one foot apart. This gives a total of 14,500 hills to the acre. Abroad, where the question of fertility is so carefully considered that potatoes are grown only one year in six on the same land, they plant between 24,000 and 26,000 hills to the acre.

In 1911, Matthew Wallis was knighted by King George V for having raised 119,800 pounds of potatoes to the acre. Astounding?

Well, he put his land into such condition that it could stand 36,000 hills to the acre, that's all.

And that's all there is to our problem of increasing production.

Our emergency crop, then, consists of some 717,000 additional acres planted to the potato. The President's appeal to the farmers for this effort came at a time when labor, seed, and fertilizers were abnormally high in price. The consequence has been that the war crop is from poor seed, poorly nourished after planting.

The immediate problems to be attacked from the farmer's end of the game are two: grading, distribution. By grading I mean the exercise of scrupulous care by the farmer to see that nothing but the very best stock from his fields is sent out to the public.

While the public is being educated to use more potatoes, unless the market offerings are prime, tempting tubers, there is little more than apathy to be looked for in response to this campaign among consumers. At the same time it is all too plain that poor stock coming into the market will upset it and depress prices to a degree ruinous to producers.

Again, rigid grading is absolutely essential if the American farmer is to avail himself of the opportunity offered by the member banks of the Federal Reserve System. Under a recent ruling, potatoes when carefully graded and stored in approved storage houses constitute a staple commodity, warehouse receipts for which will be discountable by member banks for ninety-day periods at a rate not to exceed 6 per cent., including all costs.

It will be ruinous to farmers and a boomerang to the campaign for increased production of foods if prices break below a point where the increased cost of producing this crop will not be taken care of. A case in point:

During the first ten days in August wholesale prices for potatoes on the New York market ranged from \$1.25 to \$2.62 per 100 pounds. Inspectors' reports from points of origin of this stock showed that the lowest level was reached when little or no effort was made to send out a strictly graded product. Just as soon as the growers united for better grading, the prices rose.

In one famous potato section the price this year went to \$2.25 a barrel, because of

the poor quality of the offerings. Strict grading sent the price overnight to \$3.85, with the demand exceeding the supply.

The second problem is that of securing an equitable distribution for the crop. This means that a food crop requiring six weeks to harvest must be handled so as to furnish food for nine months at prices equitable to producer and consumer alike.

As I see it, there is one way, and only one way, to achieve that end. The railroad companies, congested as is their traffic, have given us assurance that unless unforeseen conditions arise, they can move one-third of the crop.

If this one-third is moved to the market and absorbed by dealers and retailers, to be released from their storage as demand requires, then if the growers themselves will store one-third on their farms or in municipal storage, and store the remaining third in approved warehouses under the ruling of the Federal Reserve Board, the whole problem will be a problem no more.

Neither the Food Administration nor any other branch of the Federal Government can work this out singlehanded. The situation is one calling for the closest coöperation of every factor interested in the potato crop, from the farmer himself to the housewife in the city.

And this coöperation has been promised—already is forthcoming. It did not have to be solicited. The farmers, bankers, merchants, shippers, wholesalers, retailers, consumers' organizations, have come of their own free will and at their own expense to Washington, and to Mr. Hoover have said: "Here we are. Whatever you need in this crisis that we can supply, is yours. You can have our time, our energy, our organizations. We're here to put our shoulders to the wheel whenever you give the word."

Such spirit, such red-blooded patriotism can and will not only move a war crop of potatoes, but move mountains. And I look to see it result in the most equitable distribution and disposition of our potato crop that has ever been recorded in the annals of our economic life.

And when this country has come through this ordeal, I look for the breaking of an altogether new day in agriculture and its innumerable ramifications, not only in the case of the potato, but in the case of everything that is grown in the soil.

GOVERNMENTAL PRICE REGULATION

BY EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN

(McVickar Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University)

Professor Seligman's position as an authority upon taxation and public finance has grown steadily through many years. The State of New York has owed much to him for his services on tax commissions, and he has been much consulted by legislative and executive authorities at Washington. His analysis, as given herewith, of the economic principles involved in the policy of price-fixing by the Government in its present emergency projects, is worthy of careful study inasmuch as every sentence has behind it the judgment of a trained expert and a knowledge of past experience both European and American.—THE EDITOR.

THE exigencies of the war have thrust upon the country problems, not only of the most gigantic character, but of the most baffling description. Among them, perhaps none has become more acute than that of price fixing—that is, regulating the prices of all commodities which are deemed essential to the proper prosecution of the war. In essence, however, price fixing is only a part of the much larger problem of production for war purposes. The chief requisite for the successful prosecution of a war is to have a continuous, a rapid and a relatively cheap, or at least no excessively dear, production of the commodities that are needed. There are thus three essential elements in the problem of war supplies: first, they must come forward in abundance; second, they must be produced with the desired rapidity; and third, the charges must not be extortionate. These objects are, or ought to be, secured in last instance by the three methods, respectively, of government management or commandeering, government control of priority, and government regulation of prices.

To many the price-fixing plan seems the obvious and simple solution. The prodigious demands for war supplies, it is said, will lead to an immense rise of prices and if individuals are left free to do as they like, prices will be run up to such an extent as to imperil the very prosecution of the war. If you give people complete freedom of action

they will take such advantage of the consumer—who in this case is the government—as to render conditions unbearable. The clear way out of the difficulty is to fix prices by government fiat.

INTERFERENCE WITH PRODUCTION

When we come to inquire into the problem a little more carefully, however, certain doubts present themselves. By the fixing of prices is generally meant the fixing of maximum prices, that is, the fixing of an upper limit to prices. Yet, as we have seen in the food bill recently enacted, another kind of price fixing often becomes necessary—namely, the fixing of a minimum price. When the food bill states that the price of wheat guaranteed by the government to the farmers for the coming year shall be at least two dollars, the object is, of course, to protect the producer and to induce him to plant more wheat, with a prospect of a reasonable profit. If minimum prices are necessary to the greatest possible production of wheat, it is at least a fair question whether maximum prices in general may not interfere with the greatest possible production of the commodities that are desired. The reason why minimum prices are advocated in the one case and maximum prices in the other certainly deserves a closer analysis.

Even assuming, however, that the logic of a maximum price has been established, the question further arises as to what prospect

of success such a policy would have in practice. A maximum price, if endurable at all, would have to be a fair price, that is, it would have to pay careful attention to actual costs as well as to reasonable profits. To accomplish this satisfactorily is not a simple matter. In the single instance of the railway business, for instance, an Interstate Commerce Commission of seven experts has been wrestling with the problem for years. To do scrupulous justice to all concerned, it would be necessary to have, not a single trade commission, but a separate commission of experts for every particular line of business; and such commissions would have to be in continuous session in order to adjust the scale of maximum prices to the ever-varying conditions of the market—the labor market, the raw-material market, and the demand of the final consumer.

SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES

Another difficulty to which attention has been called by the Trade Commission itself is the fact that the whole scheme would be unworkable unless we had an international agreement in each case with all of our allies. If we were to let the allied countries secure the commodities at the reduced maximum prices and then utilize these materials in working up articles to be sold in competition with our finished products in neutral markets, the consequences to our trade can be easily foreseen.

Again, it may be asked, is there not a much better way of dealing with the problem than by fixing maximum prices? If the object is to secure the greatest possible production for war purposes, why not afford every inducement to fresh enterprise and increased output and why not achieve the desired benefits for the government by regulating results rather than processes? In other words, why not let private individuals charge what they will, and have the Government recoup itself by a very high tax on war profits, leaving to the producer just enough to induce him to multiply his output. If we limit prices so as to yield slight profits, the Government will get so much less in taxes. What it gains in lower prices it loses in smaller tax revenues; and it incurs the further risk of diminishing the incentive to production.

Finally, it may be asked whether the whole policy of price regulation is not entirely opposed to modern ideas. In the middle ages the prices of well-nigh all services and com-

modities were fixed by law and the theory of the fair price—*justum pretium*—was the central topic of discussion by economists and theologians. The modern age of competition did away with the entire medieval machinery, and has retained the price-fixing scheme only in the case of certain definite monopolies like the public-service utilities. In the American Revolution and again in the French Revolution the rapid increase in the prices of the necessities of life led to attempts to reintroduce the medieval regulations. But in almost every case these price regulations only aggravated the evils which they had endeavored to obviate. The producers, who found that they could not get the market prices, stayed away from the market and this made the situation worse than it would otherwise have been. The recent experiences of some of the belligerents with price-regulation of foods otherwise left in private hands has not been essentially different. Does it not follow, then, that the system of price regulation is a mistake?

II

It is obvious that before an answer can be given to this question a more careful analysis must be made. In this analysis there are four considerations to be observed: (1) Is the article an absolute necessity and is it to be used by the people or by the Government? (2) Is the article produced under conditions of competition or of monopoly? (3) Is there a possibility of extending the production? (4) What is the rapidity with which the new output will respond to the increased price? Let us consider each of these points in turn.

NECESSITIES

Most of the medieval prohibitions dealt with articles of prime necessity. In a great war like the present, however, there are some commodities, like coal and wheat, for instance, which are not only a necessary of life to the individual, but also of fundamental importance to the Government. Such commodities should be put in a category by themselves. If it were simply a question of Government needs, and if an adequate production were assured, the Government could attain its ends as well by taxing profits as by limiting prices. Furthermore, if it were only a question of necessities of life to the private consumer, a policy of minimum rather than of maximum price might suffice to bring forth the necessary supplies. Where an ar-

ticle, however, partakes of the double characteristics of something necessary to both the private consumer and the Government, a more vigorous policy may be required.

THE ELEMENT OF MONOPOLY

The second consideration is the existence of competition or of monopoly. The reason why we have minimum prices of wheat is because there is competition among wheat growers. The reason why it may be desirable to set a maximum price on wheat is because the market may be so rigged as to bring about a corner or a state of virtual monopoly. Wherever there is real monopoly there is need of price regulation, whatever may be its difficulties. The question then arises as to whether the immense increase in the war demands as over against the existing and probable stocks of many materials and commodities does not constitute what might be called a quasi-monopoly. Even without proof of concerted action on the part of producers or dealers, does not the very nature of the present situation engender conditions which are analogous to monopoly and thus justify interference by the Government in order to prevent extortionate prices to the community at large. For, although the Government can, by very high taxes, make good the loss due to excessive prices, the individual consumer who purchases the commodities at the same prices has no such redress. His only chance is to secure from wages or salaries or profits an augmented income which will enable him to pay these high prices.

INCREASED OUTPUT

As to whether this quasi-monopoly exists, however, depends mainly on the third consideration, namely, the possibility of extending production. Is there an available new source of supply, and are there enough independent producers who will be lured into the business by the rise of price. Here again it is important to make distinctions. In England, for instance, where the coal fields are definitely known, there is comparatively little chance for new supplies of coal except at greatly increased cost. In this country this is perhaps not quite so true of coal as it is of copper or of petroleum. The mere increase in the price of petroleum will not lead to a corresponding increase in the output; and even in copper the number of additional low-grade mines is not unlimited. In most manufactures, however, every in-

crease of price means the bringing in of a new and lower-grade marginal producer, and under conditions of reasonable freedom augmented output will follow higher prices. In a great many commodities, therefore, increase of price will be the best guarantee of the enhanced production which is so sorely needed in war times and which of itself will tend to eliminate the quasi-monopoly features of the situation. It is only where the entire output of a particular commodity is pooled or subject to a collective or trust agreement that the monopoly feature might reestablish itself.

The fourth consideration is the rapidity with which the new production will respond to the increased price. If the price of cotton or of wheat doubles before the planting it will not take long for the farmer to grow more cotton or wheat. If the machinery required for the production of some manufactured commodity is readily procurable, the capital required for the new business can be easily borrowed. But to double the capacity of an open-hearth furnace may take many months and to build a steel ship will take still longer. Even, therefore, under conditions of competition and of an available new supply of labor and capital, the rapidity with which the production can be augmented is of the utmost consequence in relieving the pressure of high prices.

INEFFICIENT PRODUCTION

Finally, it must be pointed out that in some cases inordinately high prices may bring into existence the inefficient producer who will in reality be retarding rather than aiding production. Thus the Federal Trade Commission in its report of a few weeks ago stated as follows: "The undue price at which coal can be speculatively sold has resulted in the opening up of temporary and inefficient bituminous mines, called in the industry 'snowbirds' or 'wagon mines.' These temporary and uneconomical mines now secure part of the inadequate number of cars allotted by the railroads to the coal industry. They have none of the usual loading facilities, and the cars are often held at such mines days in the process of loading when a properly equipped mine could load them in a few minutes. The operation of such mines curtails production and is an economic waste at this time." While this is, of course, an exceptional situation, the possibility of its existence in other lines of business must be continually borne in mind.

III

The chief inference from the above analysis is the impossibility of framing a general rule applicable to all commodities. It seems reasonable to assert that a careful study would put the chief commodities needed for war purposes in the United States at present into three categories.

COMPLETE CONTROL OF CERTAIN
COMMODITIES

In the first category, of which coal and wheat may be taken as types, neither price regulation nor profits taxation will probably suffice. In Great Britain, as is well known, the government, after the failure of various other experiments, has been compelled to assume complete control of the coal mines. In Germany the government has participated in the coal pool (syndicate) and has directly regulated the conditions of production and sale. In France the government has divided the country into three coal zones and has assumed complete charge of sales. In Russia the government has taken over the coal mines. In Italy the government imports and sells all the coal. Our Trade Commission has recommended that the production and distribution of coal and coke be conducted through a pool in the hands of a Government agency; and the arguments adduced by the Commission seem to be of a compelling nature. In the case of food, several of the belligerents have been driven to resort to governmental purchase and control of the supply. We are likely to be forced to the same expedient.

ARTICLES NEEDED BY BOTH PRIVATE CON-
SUMER AND GOVERNMENT

In the second category of commodities, like copper and petroleum, the arguments in favor of price regulation are much more cogent. These articles are needed by the private consumer as well as by the Government, and the lure of high prices is not necessary to augment production. Nor, on the other hand, is there such assurance of an active competition as to warrant the expectation of prices being kept down to a fair level.

In the great mass of manufactured com-

modities, however, that are needed by Government for war purposes the policy of price-fixing is attended with far greater difficulties and seems on the whole inferior to the policy of extra taxation of war profits. In this category of commodities the chief essential is continuous, rapid, and increasing output. What the Government loses in high prices it will make up in larger taxes. The consumer of the same commodities will indeed suffer from the high prices that he is compelled to pay. But if he uses these articles in further production he will recoup himself in the corresponding prices of his productions. And if he is the final consumer, he will have to seek for some compensation in reduced consumption. What a country needs above all in time of war is increased production and lessened consumption. To the extent that high prices conduce to that result they are not altogether to be deprecated.

PUBLICITY AND ACCOUNT-KEEPING

There is, however, one corollary from the above conclusion. If ordinary business is to be subject to high profits taxation rather than to price regulation the Government must extend to it the same principles of publicity and accountability that it now applies to quasi-public enterprises like railroads and banks. If the chief resource of the Government is to consist in the taxation of profits the utmost care must be taken to see that accounts are accurately kept and profits precisely stated. With this condition observed the community would be able to endure the strain of a long and obstinate war without incurring the many difficulties and hazards which are inevitably bound up with the problem of universal price regulation.

Our conclusion then is: (1) for a few commodities of fundamental importance, like coal, wheat, ships, *etc.*, complete governmental control of the supply; (2) for important raw materials and a few manufactures where rapidly increased output is unlikely, price regulation; (3) for the great mass of commodities where actual combination or monopoly cannot be predicated, extra taxation of war profits in lieu of price regulation.

UNCLE SAM'S WAR REVENUES

BY CHARLES F. SPEARE

EARLY in August Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo descended suddenly on the Finance Committee of the Senate and announced that the costs of the war had risen so rapidly it would be necessary to extend the sums previously estimated for this year. The committee had about completed its draft of a bill that would have provided war revenues of over \$1,665,000,000. It at once set out to supplement this so as to make the amount reach \$2,000,000,000. Actually it has gone a little beyond that figure.

The additional \$330,000,000 required is not of serious consequence in itself, but interesting in its relation to the sum total of all revenue taxes before the war. Very nearly all of the emergency tax will be taken from incomes and from liquor. Thus corporate incomes contribute another \$162,000,000; surtax on individual incomes \$27,500,000, and liquor taxes \$114,000,000. To complete the bill quickly lines of least tax resistance had to be followed.

The Senate bill differs materially from the House bill in principle as well as in the amount it produces. The latter would yield \$1,867,000,000. It relieves the small taxpayer of a few obligations which the Senate bill places on him. On the other hand it would impose some unjust burdens. The greater fairness seems to be found within the recommendations of the Senate. The margin of justice between the two measures has been the subject of debate during the second half of August.

The battleground is the tax on corporation profits. There is no dispute over the fairness of taking from those who make from the war a very liberal slice of what they have made. The attitude of the Senate is summed up in this statement:

In fixing the rates on incomes and excess profits your committee kept constantly in mind the fact that the amount of revenue derived from these sources would depend upon the prosperity and activity of business, and that to impose taxes which would tend to discourage enterprise and dampen these activities would tend to defeat the legislative purpose.

This is the stock argument of the cor-

poration. There is a good deal of truth in it. The strong protest of the House leaders has been that the basis of estimating excess profits is wrong. These are regulated according to the "average net profits of the taxable person or corporation during the three years 1911, 1912, and 1913." This is termed the "pre-war period." The corporation that was prosperous in those years, and many were, would have a high average of profits to compare with when it submitted its schedule for 1917. On the other hand, the concern that had been through a period of lean years and had gained a sudden accession of wealth during the war would have an unfortunate base of comparison.

From the House bill the Senate has stricken the iniquitous retro-active tax. This would have produced \$108,000,000. It would have done many times this damage to business through loss of confidence, and through inability to determine what amounts a manufacturer should set aside as reserve or distribute in dividends or to enlargement of facilities. The Lenroot amendment placing a very high surtax on incomes over \$40,000 was eliminated, though this would have added \$66,000,000 to the tax revenue. In place of this the surtax is enlarged from \$15,000 upwards. The normal tax on incomes has been increased from 2 to 4 per cent. This compares with the original enactment of 1 per cent. Income to individuals up to \$3000, if single, and \$4000 if married, with the new provision of \$200 for each dependent child, is taxed 4 per cent. in excess of these exemption figures. The minimum exemption calls for a 2 per cent. tax for a single individual whose income exceeds \$1000 up to \$3000. Above \$5000 a 1 per cent. surtax applies up to \$7500 and 2 per cent. to \$10,000 and 4 per cent. to \$15,000. From \$15,000 to \$20,000 the surtax is increased from 5 to 6 per cent.; \$20,000 to \$40,000 from 6 to 8 per cent.; \$40,000 to \$60,000 8 to 10 per cent.; \$60,000 to \$80,000 from 11 to 12 per cent.; \$80,000 to \$100,000 from 14 to 16 per cent.; \$100,000 to \$150,000 from 17 to 20 per cent.; \$150,000 to \$200,000 from 20 to 23 per cent.; \$200,000 to \$250,000

from 24 to 26 per cent.; \$250,000 to \$300,000 from 27 to 29 per cent.; \$300,000 to \$500,000 from 30 to 31 per cent., and \$500,000, 33 per cent. This is the maximum tax application on individual incomes proposed in the Senate bill.

It was recognized by the Senate committee that a tax on the gross manufacturing sales of automobiles would greatly disturb the trade for as many as 80 per cent. were making but small profit. So this tax has been passed to the owner of motors. It is 1 per cent. on the listed retail price, or \$5 for a machine costing \$500. The moving-picture show has become a national institution. It possesses many valuable educational features. It is largely patronized by people of small means. So the original tax proposal is dropped. Also that of 5 per cent. on electricity, telephones, and gas. Here are two instances where the Senate has shown more consideration for the small taxpayer or person of moderate income than the House. It states that the last-named tax "would fall with very great severity on people of moderate means as well as on the poorest classes." It was the opinion of the committee that a tax of this sort ought to be avoided "unless a point was reached where it would become necessary to tax everything susceptible to taxation." The munitions tax is dropped. It was the first of the war revenue measures to be enacted. So is the tax on estates and on insurance. Just why the tax on chewing-gum is annulled is not indicated.

Of the whole sum to be raised by taxation as war revenue nearly \$1,500,000,000 is from the corporate and individual concerns, or \$720,000,000, and \$748,000,000 from war profits, and \$270,000,000 from rectified and distilled spirits, from fermented and malt liquors and from wines. In these three groups may be found the source of 85 per cent. of the tax provided. The other large items are taxes from tobacco, from transportation rail, and water, and from oil, taxes on sporting goods, on tickets of admission to amusements, on cosmetics, pills, powders, and syrups, stamp taxes on documents and checks, on messages, and excise taxes on tea, coffee, cocoa, and sugar.

There will be a strong demand that future issues of government bonds be taxed. It is recognized that the already great mass of untaxed wealth in the form of State, municipal and government securities and exempted property imposes an unfair burden

on those subject to taxation on necessities of life and that to let this amount grow, as it will under Government borrowing and loans to Europe, would be an unsafe financial policy. The method of adjusting the tax so as not to reduce the purchasing power of those who contribute most heavily to the loans must be worked out carefully. The experience of England has been that her taxable bonds have been in much greater favor than those giving the exemption privilege but bearing a lower interest rate.

Taxation will not accomplish all that the Government desires. Much more will have to be raised through the issue of bonds. The general opinion is that the ratio ought to be approximately 25 per cent. taxes and 75 per cent. bonds. There is a radical element which subscribes to the doctrine that the division should be 50-50. By September the call for subscription to a second Government loan will have gone forth. This will be for \$3,000,000,000, with the interest rate likely to be maintained at 3½ per cent. In some respects it is going to be easier to get support for this loan than for the original one. The farmers will be in a better position to take bonds as their season will be ending and their financial requirements less than in May and June. The country generally appreciates the existence of war where sections had only a remote attachment to it a few months ago, or before troops actually landed in France. The machinery of bond-selling, or loan propaganda, is better controlled and it exerts a greater voltage. A handicap may be the slight discount at which the Liberty Bonds are quoted on the New York market. Those who bought these bonds, however, did not do so with the idea of speculative profit. The response was nearly 100 per cent. patriotism. As bearing on the cost of the war, now nearly \$120,000,000 a day, it is worth repeating that the first \$7,000,000,000 request of the Secretary of the Treasury, which will provide for less than half a year's requirements, equalled the whole cost of the Napoleonic wars. What tends to bring up the daily cost to the United States is the huge advances being made to Great Britain and to those nations which she has been supplying with funds for the past two years. These advances have been \$4,000,000,000. Practically this entire amount will have to be transferred within the next six or eight months to the shoulders of Uncle Sam.

CONGRESS AND THE CONDUCT OF WAR

BY FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG

(Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin)

THE theory of our national military system is that Congress decides when war is to be waged and provides the money and the men, while the President controls the actual use of the armed forces for the purposes in hand.

In practise, there is no such sharp division of functions. The President may independently lead the country into war; his influence may leave Congress little discretion in providing fighting material. Congress, in turn, may put the commander-in-chief under restraint by withholding supplies, by granting supplies conditionally, by dictating a given course of action, by calling for explanations and reports, by ordering investigations, or by setting up special committees of supervision, empowered to inquire, recommend, and warn.

In every important war in which the United States has engaged there has been a pull and haul between Congress and the President as to who shall actually say how the conflict shall be carried on. The war with Germany will prove no exception. Indeed the issue has already been brought to the fore, in the Senate's amendment to the Food bill proposing to create a special joint committee to assume surveillance over war expenditures and otherwise keep watch upon the actions of the Administration. The plan was dropped, but only after the President challenged its sponsors in a letter strongly hinting at a veto of the Food bill itself unless the objectionable feature were removed.

This settled nothing. The amendment was a rider, and the fundamental question of policy involved in it was never clearly before either branch of Congress. But enough was said to indicate that, in one form or another, the proposal may be expected to come up repeatedly, and to yield much discussion, if not important action.

In his communication to Chairman Lever the President referred pointedly to Civil War experiences, declared that the Joint

Committee on the Conduct of the War created in 1861 rendered Lincoln's task "all but impossible," and made it plain that he would view the setting up of any Congressional supervising committee in this war as a public calamity. As a precedent to which appeal has thus already been made, and will continue to be made, the half-forgotten Civil War joint committee acquires a sudden interest.

This committee owed its origin to popular demand for a more vigorous war policy in the autumn of 1861. When the Thirty-seventh Congress met in regular session, December 2, public discontent quickly found expression on the floor of both houses. The disasters of Bull Run and Ball's Bluff were fresh in mind. No counterstroke had been delivered, or even attempted, in the East. The Army of the Potomac, under command of McClellan, had reached a strength of 185,000 men, being by far the largest force that had ever been brought together in the western hemisphere—larger, indeed, than Napoleon at any time led into battle. For five months preparations had been pushed. The army was splendidly drilled and equipped; it greatly outnumbered its opponents; officers and men were anxious for action; weather conditions were perfect. But McClellan was not ready to fight. Indeed, he kept begging for more troops and equipment. Lincoln met his requests at every possible point, while urging that a forward movement be not longer delayed.

In the Senate discussion soon centered on the reverses suffered by the Unionist cause, and Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, introduced a resolution calling for a committee of three to inquire into the Bull Run and Ball's Bluff disasters. Grimes, of Iowa, proposed a joint committee of three Senators and four Representatives, with more general powers; and the substitute resolution prevailed.

As finally passed by the two houses, the

resolution provided for a joint committee of seven members, charged with inquiring into "the conduct of the present war," and empowered to send for persons and papers, and to sit whenever either branch of Congress was in session. The resolution was piloted through the House by Roscoe Conkling, of New York.

At the outset, the committee consisted of Senators Wade, Chandler, and Johnson, and Representatives Julian, Covode, Gooch, and Odell. Wade was made chairman, and he and Chandler—leaders of the Senate radicals—dominated the proceedings. Johnson soon retired to become military governor of Tennessee, and was replaced by Senator Wright.

The committee began work with a vigor which was never relaxed throughout its four years of existence. Its first great task was to inquire into the causes of the ineffectiveness of the Army of the Potomac. The Bull Run and Ball's Bluff defeats were investigated and reported on. But the members conceived their mandate to extend to the operations of war in their broadest phases, and to plans for the future as well as acts of the past. Accordingly, they called McClellan into conference and, to his disgust, plied him with arguments for an immediate advance against the enemy. They made repeated visits to Lincoln and members of the cabinet to urge that McClellan be replaced by a commander who would fight, and were shocked to find that "neither the President nor his advisers seemed to have any definite information respecting the management of the war." They took independent steps to find out how strong the enemy was, how many men could be spared from the Army of the Potomac for service elsewhere, what had been done to strengthen the fortifications about Washington, why McClellan's plan to advance upon Richmond by the roundabout Peninsular route was allowed to prevail over the wiser plan of Lincoln for a direct advance. When at length the Peninsular campaign was started, they scrutinized every step of it, and submitted a lengthy report vigorously assailing McClellan's generalship.

As the war progressed, scarcely an important operation failed to be brought within the committee's range of action. In most instances the investigations were ordered by Congress, but Wade and his colleagues did not hesitate to act on their own initiative. Frémont's campaigns in Missouri, the Hatteras expedition, the Fort Pillow

massacre, the battle of the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, Burnside's Beaufort exploits, the battle of Petersburg, B. F. Butler's famous raid on Fort Fisher—these are but a few of the subjects on which reports, aggregating eight portly volumes, were brought in. Many of the reports were given wide publicity; some were accompanied with photographs and other illustrative materials.

The objects which the committee itself avowed were (1) to ferret out the mistakes that were made in the conduct of the war, (2) to bring together information which the President and heads of departments were too busy to seek, and (3) to place the results of its investigations at the disposal of Congress and the executive officers, "with such recommendations and suggestions as seemed to be most imperatively demanded." In carrying out these purposes the committee showed untiring energy and exercised high prerogatives. It visited every section of the country in search of evidence; it called generals and statesmen before it, and "questioned them like refractory schoolboys"; it became a stern and jealous censor of army and Government alike; it brought in bills, and influenced the course of legislation; it boldly overrode the judgment of such men as Grant and Meade on military matters, and made and unmade reputations with a free hand.

It goes without saying that the committee lived perpetually in an atmosphere of controversy; and it was itself, as Nicolay and Hay remark, "assailed with furious denunciation and defended with headlong and indiscriminating eulogy." Its decisions were at times hasty. It habitually sought expert opinions, but its judgments were not always in accordance with the weight of testimony. Its inquisitorial methods were often irritating. It was not above prejudice. Julian admits that the majority of its members reached a point where it was impossible for them to do justice to McClellan.

None the less, the committee steadily retained the confidence and support of Congress; and the press and public opinion of the loyal States, with remarkable unanimity, not only recognized its earnestness, patriotism, and honesty, but credited it with large usefulness to the country. From the White House it must have been viewed with less satisfaction. Yet Lincoln saw in it an important organ of public opinion and took no such haughty attitude toward it as did some of his subordinates. Its nagging on the subject of McClellan in 1861-62 was wearisome.

Still, its position was sound, and Lincoln was obliged eventually to accept and act upon the fact.

A close reading of the evidence does not indicate that the committee really hampered the President in the conduct of military operations. On the contrary, it exposed many blunders, gathered much useful information, gave wholesome advice, and served as a useful link between the executive and legislative branches. It is true that in the closing months of the war Lincoln and

it were working at cross purposes. But this was because of a clash between the moderateness of the one and the radicalism of the other on questions relating to reconstruction and the status of the negro. The conflict was really between the President and the radical majority in Congress; and Wade's unfeeling remark, made when the committee first called to pay its respects to President Johnson—"By the gods, there will be no trouble now in running the government"—is not chargeable to the committee as such.

THE COLLEGES IN WAR TIME

THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICA'S HIGHER INSTITUTIONS THIS AUTUMN

BY LYMAN P. POWELL

Dr. Powell, who is president of Hobart College, New York, has at our request made widespread inquiry regarding the prospects of the colleges and other higher institutions as they are about to enter upon the new academic year. His summarized statements are thoroughly representative of the trend of the best thought in our educational world. After writing this article for the REVIEW last month, Dr. Powell went abroad to make an authoritative study of conditions in the universities and higher institutions of Great Britain, France, and other countries as affected by the terrible emergencies of war. He represents the association of American colleges with the coöperation of the Bureau of Education at Washington,—THE EDITOR.

"PRECARIOUS guessing," President Mezes, of New York's City College, calls any effort to forecast the immediate future of our universities and colleges. Nevertheless, I venture to transmit the impression of a summer's correspondence with a hundred university and college presidents, all of whom seem somewhat anxious, many speculating, and some estimating with meticulous care.

Few seem altogether certain. President Benton makes out a good case for a 90 per cent. attendance at the University of Vermont. Up from the South comes the convincing estimate of Dean Petrie that the Alabama Polytechnic Institute is to fare almost or quite as well. Union College will be content with a two-thirds enrolment, and far out west the University of California reports already a 10 per cent. increase in registration of *new* students with an accompanying certainty of losing 50 per cent. from the

two upper classes and 20 per cent. from the Sophomores.

Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Cornell, Dartmouth, and their kind early got into the war, and early suffered. Some mourn their dead. None are entirely sure what the future has in store. But—to quote President Luther, of Trinity College, Hartford—they are proud of their anxieties. Harvard may well bear herself with a new dignity since Victor Chapman died carrying oranges to a hurt comrade. Virginia needs no prompting to proclaim that when young McConnell last March flew to his death "he bound about her brow some of his own glory."

President Hadley is not dismayed at the outlook of a two-thirds attendance for Yale. The biggest building operation in Yale's history will go on. Princeton is too keen for patriotic service to lisp at all in numbers. The price due for unusual excellence in military training has already

been paid in part by Cornell, and the *Alumni News* can bear to speak without apology of a possible loss of one thousand paying students. Dartmouth means both to do her full duty in the present and to maintain her organization so steadfastly, no matter what it costs, that no momentum will be lost, however long the war. What matter that incidentally—as President Hopkins writes—there may this year be a shrinkage of 50 per cent. in the size of the three upper classes! President Slocum (Colorado) speaks like a seer for all such patriotic institutions in a stirring letter written to announce that it would be better—as it would—for many colleges to close than that they should not respond to duty's call without question or delay.

On the educational map geographical and sectional boundaries have all disappeared. If some institutions nearer the sailing ports were quicker than some others to let their students go, without loss of academic credit, to the fighting front, none were overlate in starting. Illinois is not afraid of any shock the autumn brings. President Nollen, of Lake Forest, figures on a two-thirds attendance in the Middle West. President Bell, of Drake University, is inclined to drop as low as a one-half registration. President Vincent (until recently of Minnesota) speaks—admittedly at a venture—of Northwestern budgets adjusted to a 70 per cent. enrolment, and in the Southwest, President Wilbur confesses that at Leland Stanford they are in the dark as to the upper classes, but expect at least a 90 per cent. registration in the two lower classes.

Two executives—McCracken, of Lafayette, and Ferry, of Hamilton—seem to have taken some kind of a national reckoning—and their estimate of shrinkage ranges from 20 to 40 per cent., with Dr. McCracken inclined to split the difference. As to professional schools, agreement is general that they will suffer little. What they have to give is in immediate demand and even their apprentices can be sure of almost a living wage. This "card-catalogue war" has put a higher premium on technical training; and the Council of National Defense regards it as a more patriotic duty to register in a technical school than to enlist in army or in navy. No institution of technology is flying any signal of distress—and one in Georgia expects more students than ever. The Drexel Institute at Philadelphia is even developing new courses.

College women are evidently planning as usual to go to college. The "co-eds" east and west will soon be back. Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, and Mount Holyoke have as hitherto their large and comfortable waiting list, and the entering class at Smith is to be record-breaking. Some of the prosperous junior colleges in the Central West—like William Woods—are actually this very month increasing their dormitory accommodations to house the largest number yet of women students. President Serena writes that any girl out there can go to college because every parent appears prosperous.

The sky, however, is not without a cloud or two. Any new development in the war zone may oblige us all to take up our belts a hole or two. The sinking of a liner or another break-up on the Russian front may change the plans of many a family, forced to revise the family budget, and keep the daughter home from college even though she has "signed up" and packed her trunk. Too many exemptions from the draft or the conscription of a boy whose turn had not seemed near may hold back the girl from college for family affection's sake. "Bumper" crops and "the plenty of money" said to be circulating on the western coast may find their offset in the higher cost of living. Into commerce, industry, agriculture, transportation, girls here as in Europe may be drawn whose only thought now is the good times they will have in college. For initiative, organization, administration, leadership, college women—actual or potential—will be sought, if women are required at all. Mount Holyoke and Rockford expect a full attendance, yet their presidents are evidently not unmindful of such possibilities.

State institutions and others least dependent on tuition fees are comparatively free from worry. Yet they must know that they are particularly representative and most quickly responsive to the pull of public feeling. They give military training, too, and the Government will naturally turn to them, if need arises, for its minor officers. With the tempting bait of abnormal wages due to scarcity of labor dangling before many an impecunious student's eye, some who need to keep at their books may be drawn off. The three forces likely to affect attendance, in the composite judgment of the Dean of Syracuse and other educational experts, may play alike on all our institutions: conscription, volunteering for various forms of service, and subtle economic pressure as yet unfelt which

may bear on those who have to count their pennies and also on the well-to-do whose incomes even pledged to college benefactions may be in part diverted to war needs or for the time withheld.

For whatever comes we must be ready; even the projection of the war to our own shores. We must think ahead in terms of any possibility as President Wheeler, of California, dares to do in a letter from which I quote the portentous sentence: "By another year I expect that the attendance of men in the two upper classes will have been reduced practically to zero." This is a world war. Anything may happen.

What are our universities and colleges doing in the premises?

(1) They are keeping cool. They are meeting the needs of the hour and making ready for that reconstruction hour we all await with eagerness. To meet these two supreme conditions they all at last are sure the teaching staff must be as far as possible maintained. This stand Dartmouth promptly took last spring, though she knew her deficit was to be colossal. Not all colleges could act so reassuringly at once. Some had to let instructors go. In various institutions, large and small, no three months or Easter notice could be given. In fact, one of the biggest universities in the land was as late as June withholding word as to the financial year beginning July 1. Provision was elsewhere made to terminate any teaching contract at thirty days' notice. With the loss of tuition fees and of dormitory charges looming large, with a rise already near of 25 per cent. in the cost of manual labor and of 50 per cent. in fuel, with surplus incomes going to the Government which might else come perhaps to subscriptions and endowments, budget-making was no easy task last spring. But almost everywhere the task was so performed as to keep the teaching unit practically solid. The universities and colleges did not lose their heads.

(2) The President and the Secretary of War want this year to see more students than last year in college. Smaller classes mean better instruction and better trained men. President Pendleton, of Wellesley, writes: "The generation which is now represented by our college students will have to deal with the conflicting and difficult problems involved in reconstruction when peace comes. They must therefore stay in college

these days." The upper classes can not be so large in men's institutions. Presidents Rhees and Comfort stress this point. But every loss can be offset this very month. The duty rests on everyone who loves his college or his alma mater to work these weeks at any sacrifice of time or money to ensure a freshman class at least twice as large as ever in the past. If you must sacrifice, let it be—as the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* says—"something less important." Alumnus, student, friend—whatever college has your love—do your bit for it, and do it *now*.

(3) A nation-wide campaign of patriotic education is rapidly developing. No one can doubt that who knows what took place at the Hotel Astor in New York on July 26. Vassar's president is already devoting himself solely to "the mobilization of educational institutions for the war emergency." Various presidents are on leave of absence in the public service. Under President McCracken's direction ten teams of four speakers each are planning to start within a fortnight to speak in every city, town, and village in New York State on the causes of the war, our reasons for participation in it, our military and our economic needs, and what is to be done when the war ends. Our universities and colleges are assuming leadership in all this work.

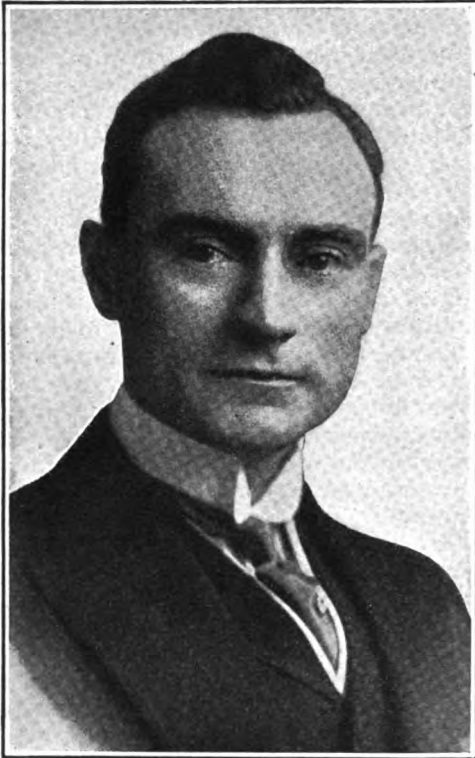
They are proving—no matter what their faults—that they are necessary both to the well-being and to the existence of the nation. They are helping mightily and intelligently to make "the world safe for democracy." No loss of income or of students will blind them to their duty or paralyze their energy. They trust their friends to help them over the financial strain and to increase their financial strength when war is done. They know that for every student this year missing there will be many a substitute in years to come when all the forces of society combine—as they all will—to multiply, if only for the public weal, the number who will want to go to university and college.

America has barely begun to send her boys and girls to college. Only about one-half of one per cent. were there last year. When we complete our cosmic and colossal job, there will be no keeping our young people out of college. Even now one need be no great prophet to foresee

A throng is on the brightening way
All hail, swift-coming larger day.

MUNICIPAL REVOLUTION UNDER MAYOR MITCHEL

BY H. S. GILBERTSON



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MAYOR JOHN PURROY MITCHEL, OF NEW YORK CITY

THE Mitchel administration in New York City is now on trial for its life, the real grievance of the complainants being that instead of merely talking and promising municipal democracy, it has actually executed an unprecedented program of government for all the people.

January 1, 1914, was doomsday for those who looked upon the city government as something to live on, rather than under. Mayor Mitchel distinguished himself at the outset by his manner of filling the commissionships. In just a day or so the district political leaders found out that this administration demanded something more in the way of fitness than a vote-compelling per-

sonality. Those who felt themselves ordained or slated to fill important berths in the municipal building were handed application blanks which asked a number of searching questions concerning their particular training and experience. The mortality among the practical politicians of no special ability was high, and men who knew municipal administration in its several branches were called to service. The Mitchel administration has been one of experts.

This has been the city's salvation. Years of extravagance and mismanagement under both Tammany and Fusion administrations had nearly exhausted the city's credit. By placing the valuations on property at a full hundred per cent. and by neglecting needed public improvements it had been possible to keep the debt within the constitutional 10 per cent. limit. Early in this administration the coming of the European war compelled the city to meet maturing obligations of \$100,000,000 in gold at a critical time in the money market. The Mayor and the Comptroller sat down with the leading bankers of the city and took account of the city's financial methods. It appeared that no longer could non-revenue-producing improvements be passed up to the future for payment, but that all such charges (after a period of transition) must be met out of current revenues. This policy has been made law and will be in full effect next January. Because the city is now paying as it goes instead of buying brooms with the proceeds of fifty-year bonds, and because of other conditions beyond the control of the present local authorities, the budget, which reached \$211,114,136.82 for 1917, does not in any way reflect the administration's achievements.

How to keep down expenses and still do what they wanted to do for the people was the hard problem put up to Mitchel and his commissioners in 1914. In spite of a growing population and increasing demands and a much-expanded program of

service, the actual running of the administrative departments cost \$3,000,000 less in 1916 than in 1913. By employing an advertising expert and putting intelligence into its methods and particularly by cutting out waste circulation, the Civil Service Commission reduced the cost of its advertising for the position of firemen from \$1,003.28 in 1912 to \$93.29 in 1914 and increased the number of applicants from 4810 to 7028. The Charities Department discovered that to reach its institutions on Blackwell's Island ten ferry-boats were employed, with crews and dockage facilities. By the simple expedient of building a nine-story storehouse under the Queensboro Bridge (which crossed the island without communicating with it) and providing elevator connections, it will be possible to eliminate the ferry service and pay for the cost of the improvement out of savings in three years, with all its modern facilities thrown into the bargain. These are typical economies.

SERVICES FOR THE WHOLE PEOPLE

By far the greatest practical measure ever taken in America to secure the permanent well-being of a city's inhabitants is the zoning resolution of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, of July 25, 1916. It limits the height and restricts the character and usage of buildings in such a way as to check the dangerous drift toward crowded, unsanitary housing conditions in offices and factories. It insures that residence districts shall remain residence districts and commercial districts remain commercial districts until the owners of property therein shall decide otherwise—irresponsible individual invaders may no longer ruin a neighborhood at will. It goes a long way to insure the future adequacy of the transportation and sewerage systems upon which the city has spent great sums. So scientific and thorough was the investigation upon which this resolution was based, and so completely was the public taken into the confidence of the city government, that it finally was passed without the slightest opposition from the real-estate interests—a most remarkable victory for the principle of regulation.

In the field of public health, this administration will be known for the great advance it has made as a public teacher of hygiene and for the gradual reaching out into new fields of control, such as of conditions in public conveyances and in factories—policies

whose practical value is attested by a diminishing death rate. The street-cleaning department had made no material advances since the famous administration of Colonel Waring, twenty years before. The present commissioner reduced the cost of regular work in 1916 to the lowest figure in six years and yet increased the average wages, provided a more effective and frequent flushing of the streets, and executed a more satisfactory garbage contract. Fire losses dropped from \$29,008,383 in 1911, 1912, and 1913 to \$22,721,233 in 1914, 1915, and 1916—the result of better equipment and organization in the fire department, and particularly the cutting out of political appointments, and greatly increasing the number and thoroughness of inspections by the Fire Prevention Bureau.

Upon the police department a peculiar obligation to make good had been imposed by the revelations of corruption in the department in connection with the sensational Rosenthal murder in 1912. Thorough study had been made of the administration and the organization of the department and recommendations had been made for its improvement. Arthur Woods, Mitchel's Police Commissioner, put into effect most of these recommendations, together with others of his own, based upon an actual experience in the department. He broke up the organization of gangsters who had killed for hire. The number of murders dropped from 286 in 1913 to 257 in 1914, to 246 in 1915, to 192 in 1916. Burglaries decreased 20 per cent. Gambling has appreciably diminished. As for the "red-light" district, New York has none.

The law department has broadened its scope from a routine agency for the giving of legal advice and the prosecution of suits on behalf of the municipal corporation and has brought on behalf of citizens a number of suits for the reduction of public-service rates, in one instance bringing about savings to consumers of electric current of about \$1,750,000 per annum.

FACILITATING COMMERCE

To the credit of the Mitchel administration also belongs the conscientious, thorough plan for settling the grade-crossing nuisance on the west side of Manhattan Island, a project involving an expenditure on the part of the New York Central Railroad of approximately \$100,000,000. This great improvement, temporarily in abeyance, will

make available to the citizens several new park areas, eliminate a long-standing eyesore in one of the best residential sections, remove the cause of many accidental deaths, and, by the establishment of greatly increased yard spaces, contribute largely to the settlement of the market problem and the reduction of the high cost of living in the city.

Important plans for municipalizing a great portion of the waterfront facilities of Brooklyn through the purchase and extension of existing privately owned marginal railroads have been worked out, but not yet consummated. Within its restricted jurisdiction the administration has done much also to develop the facilities of New York for handling transatlantic traffic by the erection of a number of large new piers at several points in the harbor. Full development of the harbor according to consistent plans, however, awaits a more complete coöperation of the State of New Jersey and of the Federal Government.

The commercial interests of New York have good and honest reasons for desiring the return of the present administration.

THE CHILDREN OF THE CITY

The four years have brought improvements in the conditions surrounding childhood. In the July number of the *REVIEW* the most interesting of the Gary schools in New York was described. It remains to add that four years ago more than 100,000 children in the city were receiving considerably less than their full quota of the mere elements of an education. William Wirt, the school superintendent in Gary, Ind., was called to New York to experiment with his plan in the great city. It was soon discovered that New York, with a moderate expenditure of money for new equipment, and by employing all the school plant all of the time, could not only meet elementary school needs for every child, but could supply lectures, auditoriums, shops, gymnasiums, playgrounds, and numerous other incidents of a liberal education, which have heretofore been at the disposal of the children of the rich in private schools.

Playgrounds have been more than doubled in number and, in portions of the city where they could not be established, the police have closed to traffic certain streets during a few hours of the day for play purposes. The policeman, by the way, has become the children's friend and helper instead of their arch enemy as formerly.

Not only the children in normal circumstances, but the orphans in asylums, came in for a better deal. It had been the custom of the city for many years to accept unquestioningly the State Board of Charities' certificate of fitness for the scores of institutions under denominational control as their warrant for receiving city funds for the care of dependent children. The Charities Commissioner, like the rest of the administration, decided to call a halt on this free and easy way of disposing of responsibilities. From such information as he had, he ventured the assertion that the management of many of these institutions constituted "a scandal and a disgrace." The Governor ordered an investigation, which revealed a shocking state of child neglect and abuse. This exposure, which trod heavily on the toes of some of Mayor Mitchel's own co-religionists, put the institutions permanently on their good behavior, and the city now knows, when it makes its annual gift of \$5,000,000, just about what it is to get in return. Apart from this, the Charities Commissioner has introduced and gradually extended a system whereby as many normal children as possible are placed in private homes, the city, if need be, contributing a sum to their support to the foster parent instead of to an institution. The city now places no child of less than eight years in an institution.

At Randall's Island, where the city maintains one of the largest institutions for defective children in the country, unspeakable conditions prevailed. The administration has taken steps for the establishment of a new plant thoroughly modern in its equipment and manned by medical experts instead of by brutal, ignorant, under-paid political hacks.

BETTER CARE FOR UNFORTUNATES

The Municipal Lodging House, an institution of importance, particularly in hard times, was, until the winter of 1914, a dumping ground for miscellaneous humanity in distress. A number of beds were occupied by permanent political boarders on the mailing list of Tammany Hall. The Commissioner of Charities, after some thrilling experiences with the powers that used to be, instituted a new method of dealing with these unfortunate people. He segregated them according to the causes of their dependency. An employment bureau was established for those who could work, and the sick and the criminal were assigned to appro-

appropriate treatment. The Lodging House became, in short, a constructive agency for the salvage of human derelicts.

Towards those who have offended against society the city has assumed a new and humane attitude. In 1916 the system of indeterminate sentence which had been applied with great success to juvenile offenders was extended to adults committed to the workhouse for minor offenses and to the penitentiary for more serious ones. The Parole Commission, set up under a new law, began thoroughly to investigate the antecedents of each prisoner and his crime and to apply such corrective measures as might be necessary to make him a fit member of society. Many lives which would have been wrecked under the old legalistic theory of punishment have been rehabilitated. The system as a whole is, on the one hand, a boon to first offenders and, on the other, a terror to hardened criminals, who are gradually seeking more comfortable working arrangements in less progressive cities.

THE CITY'S EMPLOYEES

Such are a few of innumerable details of the revolution which has been going on around City Hall Square. The public knows about it but vaguely. Little of it is picturesque; much of it for the moment is exceedingly unpopular. But it wins in the long run, working its way down through the rank and file and out to the man on the street. The spirit of the leaders has been infused into the army of the 100,000 workers who constitute the great municipal machine. For several years there has been going on a minute and careful investigation of the nature and amount of service and the compensation to each of the city employees. Astonishing discrepancies prevailed until, after a minute investigation of every city office and employment, there was laid down a code of work specifications, a standard of service and compensation which has replaced the old system of favoritism and pull for increased pay and promotion. In this way the city has given a square deal to its employees and has exacted from them the same in return.

For those about to enter the city offices a radically new point of view has been adopted by the Civil Service Commission.

The charge that such investigation put a premium on mere "book learning" no longer holds in New York. For every office requiring special fitness and practical ability, special tests under actual work conditions are provided. More and more, also, considerations of professional merit, as determined by competitive examination, are applied to the higher officials. The commission, so far from being merely, as formerly, an instrument for eliminating political parasites and the conspicuously unfit, is rapidly becoming a highly specialized employment bureau.

In its dealings with its own personnel and organization, the Mitchel administration has been distinguished by an eagerness for self-examination, and it has never hesitated to use the axe, even in dangerous proximity to its friends. It ruthlessly exposed the shortcomings of the coroner system by delving into the acts of its own associates elected on the 1913 Fusion ticket and, when the facts so warranted, backed a measure for its reorganization. Sixty thousand dollars a year in political patronage was thus voluntarily alienated.

Within recent months the murder of a young woman which was concealed for many days, finally disclosed a weak spot in the Detective Bureau of the Police Department. Mayor Mitchel immediately ordered the Commissioner of Accounts to investigate the facts and spare none. Out of this incident will doubtless come measures of wholesome reorganization.

WILL MITCHEL COME BACK?

Reform administrations have an unhappy habit of failing to come back. But this year a brighter outlook presents itself. Tammany has been starving for eight years; its vitality appears to have been greatly lowered. The fact is that with the growth of social needs, the increasing demands of commerce, and the general habit of looking to the city for help in all directions, the city must perform a certain amount of service for all its citizens, and unless it is performed with the utmost economy, by men who know what they are about, the treasury and the credit of the city will break under the strain. The people of New York appear to be recognizing that fact.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

WHAT THE ROOT MISSION LEARNED ABOUT REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

THE return to America, last month, of the Root Mission was the occasion of an article in the *New York Nation* referring to the message delivered by Mr. Root and his associates to Russia, and commenting, at the same time, on the message that he has brought back from the Russian revolutionists to America. Mr. Root's first public pronouncement at Petrograd is characterized as "one of the masterly documents of the war." That speech, says the *Nation*, showed perfect understanding blended with an intelligent sympathy—qualities that are equally manifest in his utterances since the return of the mission to the United States.

In reply to an inquiry about the stability of the government at Petrograd, Mr. Root remarked: "We took a long time to form the Government of the United States of America, and I judge from the newspapers that we have not yet perfected it and that a good deal remains to be done." This, the *Nation* reminds us, is exactly the tone of Mr. Root's first addresses to the Russian revolutionists. He began by telling them that America had no desire to patronize, on the one hand, or to prostrate herself in humility, on the other. We were what we were, and we were ready to take the new Russia for what she was, confident only that beneath the differences of national temper and organization, there was the essential bond of democratic aspirations.

The *Nation* lays stress on this conception of the ultimate purpose of the American mission as being "less to teach the Russians than learn, less to help them than to understand what they are doing to help themselves. What the Root mission has been, and we hope will continue to be most useful in, is the education of the American people to faith in Russia and sympathy for her tremendous tasks."

All of Mr. Root's public addresses made

since his return to this country, have been in line with this thought. Thus, in responding to the welcome extended by the City of New York through Mayor Mitchel, on August 15, Mr. Root said:

The duty which was imposed upon the special diplomatic mission to Russia was one of very great importance and significance, but its performance required no extraordinary qualities and involved no extraordinary merit. The way was plain, and we had, each one of us, merely to do our bit as best we could in the discharge of a simple and imperative duty. We did the best we knew how. We did it with the most perfect harmony and with whatever strength comes from united action. Drawn from all parts of the country, selected with an evident purpose to represent different points of view of the American people—a soldier, a sailor, a manufacturer, a retired capitalist, a banker, a labor leader, a Socialist, a New York lawyer—we all were absolutely united in our conception of the spirit of our mission and in the union of effort to perform our duty.

The speaker proceeded to relate and interpret the sequence of events from the outbreak of the Revolution last spring, to the present moment:

It is not the first time that the importance of the cause has been transferred to the individuals who have represented the cause. It was a great cause, it was a great mission. There never was in history a people finding itself in a more difficult and perilous position than the people of Russia found themselves in a few months ago.

They had been accustomed to receive orders and to obey. They had no habits of thought which would enable them, the great body of them, to evolve institutions through which to govern. And so this vast people which had never been permitted to speak or write or think upon self-government was left confused, bewildered, gathering in little groups in aimless and endless discussion. Then came the propaganda of the extreme Socialists and Anarchists, of the Internationals, the analogue in Russia to the I. W. W. of this country; the men whose model is that the worst is the best; the men who seek to destroy the industrial organization of the world, to destroy the nationalism of the world with a far-off dream in

its place of a universal brotherhood to govern all the world in harmony and peace.

These men, aided by thousands who had swarmed back to Russia from America, thousands who returned villifying and abusing the land that gave them refuge, gave them security, gave them liberty to think and speak and act; these men returned to Russia, declaring America to be as tyrannous as the Czar, and calling for the destruction, not for the setting up, of competent government in Russia, but for the destruction of all Governments—of America, of England, of France, of Italy, and, incidentally, of Germany. They poisoned the minds of the workingmen and of peasants and of soldiers. Their definite and distinct object was to destroy the whole industrial and national system of Russia. And they had the power in Petrograd, for there at the beginning the garrison adhered to them.

Into this condition of vast confusion and bewilderment was thrust a great German propaganda. Thousands of German agents swarmed over the line immediately upon the coming of the revolution. They awakened all the pro-Germans in Russia. They spent money like water. Millions upon millions were used. They bought people; they bribed people; they bought newspapers; they established newspapers; they circulated literature; they went to and fro among the troops at the front. They said, "Why go on fighting? This was the Czar's war; it was not your war; why go on? Let us have peace."

And the people of Russia, the soldiers of Russia, were wearied of war, as all the rest of Europe, and peace seemed so desirable to them that for the moment it seemed as if this German propaganda had captured Russia, had done what her arms never could do, captured Russia; and they made common cause with the internationals, the extremists. These men who were preaching a great world union of human freedom made common cause with the bribing and insidious agents of the German autocracy to overcome the freedom of Russia, and against these influences, with this attempt, with untrained minds, to build up a new republic, with the enemy at its gates, and the insidious influences sapping all their power, a few men in Russia made the bravest, noblest, most gallant fight of our time for the safety of human freedom and the building up of free self-government in their country.

It was the function of this mission not merely to carry a message of friendship and good feeling from the United States to Russia. As events developed before we reached Russia, it became the function of this group of American citizens to carry to the people of Russia a message of faith in democracy, to say to them: "Take heart, be of good cheer; faint not, despair not. We say to you from the hundred million free people of America, who for 140 years have been fighting the battles of democracy, that there lives a power in democracy that will overcome all evil, and it is with you, and with it you will triumph."

And since our departure from Petrograd processes that began before have been going on along the lines that were explained to us before we left, and the results that the Government then had in mind have been worked out and are there today, with Kerensky, that man of conviction, of intense purpose, of tremendous personality, devoted to his great cause to the last drop of his

Sept.—6



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MR. ELIHU ROOT

(From a photograph taken on the steps of the New York City Hall last month when the mission was welcomed back from Russia)

blood. Kerensky, who, when we were there, was agreed upon by the members of the government for his present position, now rules the destinies of Russia and with him are wise, prudent, sagacious men of affairs.

And so we have come back with faith in Russia, faith in the qualities of character that are the essential tests of competency for self-government, faith in the purpose, the persistency, and the power of the Russian people to keep themselves free, and they know that they cannot be free; that they cannot build up a structure of government based upon and conforming to the life and character and genius of the Russian people if Germany is allowed to dominate in their land.

Speaking at the New York Chamber of Commerce on the difficulties of the men now

at the head of the Russian Government, Mr. Root observed:

The extraordinary ease with which the Czar's government was removed was due not merely to the fact that it was an autocracy, but also to the fact that it did not govern efficiently; it was not up to the job; it had allowed Russia to drift into a position where there was vast confusion and they were on the verge of bankruptcy, and the government had become, practically, merely a government of suppression, a government of negatives that ceased to lead the people, so that the Czar and the bureaucracy were slipped off as easily as a crab sheds its hard shell when the proper time comes.

Now, into that state of affairs there came intervention by that malevolent power which is intermeddling with the affairs of every nation upon earth, stirring up discord, stimulating, feeding, financing all the forces of evil—doing it here among us now—that power that finds its account in alliance with all evil passions, all the sordid impulses of humanity in every nation in the world, entered into Russia. Thousands of agents poured over the border immediately upon the revolution.

Notwithstanding all this, in a country with no central government that had power to force its decrees, in a country with no police, a country in which the sanction and moral obligation of the laws had disappeared with the disappearance of the Czar, there reigned order to a higher degree than has existed in the United States of America during this period.

In the first enthusiasm for freedom in the liberation of political prisoners a great many ordinary criminal prisoners were also released and they went about and committed some depredations which, of course, all found their way into the newspapers, but even with that, the general average of peace and order, of respect for property and life in Russia was higher than could reasonably be expected from any 180,000,000 people in the world under any government.

Now that extraordinary phenomenon called for a study, a careful study, not merely from the newspapers or from talking with government officials, but by countless serious interviews and conversations with men of all grades and stripes and callings and conditions of life, and those studies satisfied all the members of this mission

that the Russian people possessed to a very high degree qualities that are necessary for successful self-government. They have self-control equaled in few countries of the world. They have persistency of purpose; they have a most kindly and ingrained respect—not only respect—regard for the rights of others. They will not willingly do an injustice to any one, and that sense of justice carries with it a broad character. They have a noble idealism which is developed and exhibited in the minds that are enlarged by education, and they have a strong sense of the mission of liberty in the world, and they have an extraordinary capacity for concerted action.

If their character is unequal to the task, all the aid of all the great countries in the world cannot give them their freedom. Freedom must find its foundation, its sure foundation, within the people themselves and we think the Russians have that sure foundation.

As to Russia's financial future, Mr. Root has reminded us, since his return, that Russia's paper money is not in any worse case to-day than our own was in the Civil War. To members of the New York Chamber of Commerce, he said:

Now there is great financial difficulty in Russia; the old régime brought the country into a very involved and critical condition financially; there is great disturbance industrially. But when I have met people, and I did, a great many, who shake their heads over the industrial and financial conditions there, I have thought always, with a cheerful reassurance, of what a fine character are the people, and I have remembered that our dollar in the Civil War was as low as the Russian ruble, and I haven't any doubt that the character of the Russian will pull up their finances just as the character of America pulled up our finances.

No one can tell what the outcome will be, but this is certain, that Russia, tired of the war, worn and harried by war; Russia, which has lost 7,000,000 of her sons, every village in mourning, every family bereaved, Russia has again taken up the heavy burden; she has restored the discipline of her army; she has put away the bright vision of peace and rest, and returned yet again to the sacrifice and suffering of war in order that she might continue free.

RUSSIAN TRAINING FOR DEMOCRACY

IN THE report of an interview with Mr. Elihu Root, head of the Russian Commission, appearing early in August, shortly after his return to this country, he is quoted as stating that the Russian people had had a preparation for democracy in their rural communes. Much light is thrown on this important statement in a letter from Russia to the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne), together with much else of interest. The author, Ossip-Lourié, says:

The penalty of death is abolished. The liberty of the press is established, and that of free assemblage. Women will have the right to vote. Why not? When we see how men have used all the rights with which they are taxed, the voting of women should not disquiet us. What could they do that is worse? In the different phases of the great drama which has just burst upon the world the Russian women have been present, not as passive figurants, but as ready auxiliaries of the men. They have taken a very active part in the work of enfranchisement and renovation. Many radiant figures emerge from the circles that have struggled for liberty.

Could the revolution which cries to the oppressed: "Down with injustice, down with servitude, down with despotism!" say to the Russian women, "You alone shall have no part in emancipation"? The woman who has the right to act openly and freely will be of more worth, perhaps, than she who, under the old régime, sought to influence men by occult methods.

The writer goes on to remark that Europe has long been a laboratory for social and political experiments and that Russia may well be allowed to make a few in her turn. Commenting upon the rapidity with which all the world has accepted the new order of things, he makes some caustic comments on the interested behavior of the grand dukes, who, on finding they had nothing more to hope from their old masters, slammed the palace doors and became republicans like everybody else:

The grand dukes found it not beneath them to flaunt in the public press the intimate troubles of the Romanoff family. . . . I prefer the attitude of the common law prisoners in the prison of Odessa, who, as soon as they learned of the end of the old régime, dismissed their guards and elected a Guardian Committee after having dispatched a promise of adherence to the Provisional Government. The cells are no longer locked, for the prisoners have sworn not to escape and to lead exemplary lives. . . . I have more confidence in these than in those sorry individuals whose names figure in the lists seized at Okhrana (secret police of public safety) and made public. Their rôle consisted in espionage, provoking confidences and denunciation. In order not to be suspected in their surroundings they threw suspicion on honest people. Ah! How many victims the terrible bacillus of suspicion has made!

Ambassadors, consuls, princesses, favorites, former ministers, the Holy Synod—Pobedonostsev must be turning in his grave!—all of them, with the same impulse, are turning away from what they seemed to venerate. The most irreproachable articles are published by the press which but yesterday exalted the benefits of the old régime. Monarchists? Czarists? They seem to no longer exist. Doubtless Nicholas Romanoff, in his solitude at Tsarskoe-Selo, has become a republican, too. Perhaps he has been one all along without knowing it; it requires exceptional circumstances like the fall of the empire to reveal it to him, as to so many others. Everybody is republican, and since, thanks to the dismissal of Milinkoff, civil war has been averted, the world will soon number another republic.

The writer here explains his rather surprising observation that Russia is essentially democratic and that the idea of a republic has found fertile soil in the great mass of peasants by saying that the traditions created by the *mir* and the *artel* have already prepared them for such a form of government.

The *mir*—a rural commune—and the *artel*—an association in which every member takes an active part in a determined collective labor—are of very ancient origin; they existed as early as the eleventh century. Each member of the *artel* must perform without objection the work assigned him by the *starosta*—a manager who is usually elected unanimously; no one is allowed to occupy himself with any work outside the jurisdiction of the *artel*. The fundamental principles of this organization are the partial alienation of individual rights, collective responsibility, and solidarity.

There are *artels* of fishermen, of hunters, of artisans. The *artels* of carpenters and joiners are as celebrated as those of bank cashiers. There are even *artels* of agricultural laborers, a very modern formation. There are *artels* which possess millions and others whose capital consists solely of their tools. The great rich *artels* have sections in different cities. In our time the *artels* have undergone considerable development. Private individuals, companies, and even the Government likes to employ them, since guarantees of probity are a tradition of these organizations.

The *mir* and the *artel* are, in fact, essentially a mode of self-government. The peasants have the habit of assembling, and in their assemblies they are accustomed to express themselves freely and independently, especially when an agrarian question is concerned. Agricultural Russia is teaching itself to talk, and its voice will be immense, not in an infinity of tones, as some pretend, but blended to a single note, the earth. . . . The movijik does not know how to read or write, but he has republican tendencies.

Mr. Ossip-Lourié relates further that in the middle ages the Russian principalities were veritable republics, in spite of their monarchical form, the prince being elected by the *vetsche*, whose origin is to be discerned in the *mir* and the *artel*.

Narodopravstvo—popular sovereignty—was the basis of these old democracies. In the fifteenth century Viatka was a republic. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Novgorod the Great was the capital of a vast republic governed by *prosadniks* (presidents). In the fifteenth century it was ruled by a woman president, Marfa Possadnitsa, the widow of the *prosadnik* Boretski, and said to be a great orator. The city still preserves the Place of the Bell, at whose stroke the sovereign people assembled.

Russia, therefore, has republican traditions, and everything leads to the belief that the Constitutional Assembly will proclaim a republic—e. g., the evolution of the Cadets, monarchists yesterday, republicans to-day. . . . Tchekhov would not recognize his world. A great wind of idealism blows over the ruins of the Czarist autocracy. They are all drunk with liberty and enthusiasm. Will it prove a creative intoxication or a blinding one, sleeping upon illusions? . . . But is it not beautiful to see a great people lift itself from putrid débris to consciousness and action?

Let us accord them our confidence and hope that they will accomplish loyally their duty to themselves and to the allied nations?

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION IN FRANCE

FOR many years the famous editor of *La Revue* (Paris) has conducted a brisk campaign against alcoholic abuses. Since the beginning of the war his efforts to rid his country of this scourge have been redoubled. In the June number of his magazine appeared an article from his pen called "King Alcohol," and in the August number he returns to the attack under the title of "The Passion of Our Lord Alcohol," opening with these words:

The government has just given partial satisfaction to the demands we have not ceased to press upon it since the beginning of hostilities. . . . The government thus fulfils its primordial duty after three years of war!

He continues in this section of his article, entitled "Incomplete Repentance," to criticize the government harshly for the inadequacy of its measures, stating that since the beginning of the war alcoholism among women and minors has become alarming. He is especially severe on the laxness of the laws in permitting the sale of "legal wines" as well as of natural wines, *i. e.*, of artificial beverages compounded of various elements including grain alcohol and manifold essences and drugs. He is, however, an advocate of protecting the wine industry of France and permitting reasonable use of natural wines, which he classes among hygienic beverages. He approves the new fiscal project of a tax of 50 per cent. on places selling spirits or alcoholized wines to be consumed on the place and of 25 per cent. on shops selling exclusively goods to be taken home. But he thinks it a mistake to tax resorts selling only "hygienic drinks, in which we include natural wines," believing that if such resorts were untaxed they would greatly favor temperance and provide places of social relaxation for women and minors as well as men. Passing over this repetition of well-known arguments against the use of spirits as a beverage, we quote a section of his article of special interest in America, as follows:

At the present moment France is attracting the eyes of the world more than ever before. It is not enough to show our enthusiasm regarding the English, Americans, Italians, Portuguese or Russians who are dwelling among us. We must likewise watch over their moral security. But alcoholism menaces all in the same degree. The "Teddies" who arrive from the United States total or partial prohibitionists are exposed to multiple dangers and temptations. The great American

republic accepts with heroism the sacrifices it, men and in money which the war against the Germans may demand. But let us take care! We shall commit an evil action if her children find themselves exposed not only to the danger of being slain at the front, but to that of being poisoned by alcohol. Many writers in the United States have already manifested fears upon this point. A few concrete cases would suffice to cause an outburst of opinion on the other side. The Germans are watching and they will not be slow to exploit such sentiments, which are justified, indeed, to paralyze the grandiose impulse which is drawing the noble population of the United States towards the sacred cause of the Allies.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs in France has a new rôle to fulfil. It is the elementary duty of the government and the Parliament to think of this and to assist him. The heroism of the soldiers at the front demands to be completed by the dignity of our life at the rear! Who would dare contend that this condition indispensable to our success is realized to-day!

We cannot lay too much emphasis upon the decree issued by the British Military Authority, January 15, 1917, prohibiting the circulation of alcohol in all the French regions occupied by the English Army! And this "in order to respond to the declarations of civil and military authorities signalizing alcoholism as an obstruction to the agricultural and industrial production required by the necessities of national defense." Shall we wait until the American too, perhaps, shall inflict a like humiliation upon our Ministers of the Interior, of Munitions, of Supplies, and many other of their *confrères*?

Both our national honor and the vital interests of the country are here concerned.

The English consider themselves the better authorized to act in this manner, since, without troubling themselves about the exorbitant power of English alcoholism, they have taken such energetic measures that convictions for drunkenness in the United Kingdom have fallen more than 50 per cent. from 1913 to 1916. The Central Commission of Alcoholic Control which enjoys the most extensive authority in England, declares, in its third report, for the year 1916, that female alcoholism has diminished in England by about 50 per cent. One trembles with indignation when one compares the criminal inactivity of our authorities with what has been done in this respect in Great Britain and elsewhere.

The above-named commission succeeded in establishing canteens for almost one million workmen employed in the factories controlled by the Government and in Governmental establishments. And it states that "This is not merely a question of hygiene and of output, but is also an excellent guarantee against alcoholism."

What shall we say, finally, to the experiments it carried out at Carlisle and at Gretna? It bought, in the neighborhood of these two industrial centers, all the drinking resorts and took them under its direction. In consequence alcoholism was diminished to an utterly unexpected degree, since in these conditions the interests of the liquor-sellers in stimulating consumption were entirely eliminated.

OUR ENGINEERS' BIG JOB IN FRANCE

THE American engineer troops already in Europe, and those soon to follow, have before them a most important part to play, ranging as it does from the construction of wharves at the point of the army's disembarkation to the providing of camouflage, or concealment, at the actual battle front. These American engineers must establish railway communication from their base to the very trenches; they must install water supply for cantonments, camps, and fortifications; and it is planned even to light by electricity the very dug-outs on the first lines wherever possible.

Those who know the extent of the preparations now being made in the United States, and the supplies and equipment that are being sent to Europe, are amazed at the magnitude and completeness of the arrangements. While the war area of France is a well-settled agricultural region, from an engineering standpoint it means virtually the opening up of a new country for occupation and habitation by a stranger population of a million men, providing for them convenient and adequate transportation, and the essential facilities of a well-organized community. Such a project, aside from its rapid execution and confessedly temporary nature, with but the essential comforts of life, properly might be likened to constructing a collection of interrelated cities, so far as streets or roads, water supply, sanitation, lighting, and intercommunication are concerned, whether such work is done on the very front line or at the reserve or training camps in the immediate rear. All of this building and installation must be done with a minimum of draft on the resources and population of the country occupied, and in addition, not for one instant must there ever be lost sight of the fact that the primary and only function of this great transitory population is its offensive and fighting power.

A résumé of the work before the United States Engineers authorized by the Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army, has appeared recently in the American technical press. It begins

with the extraordinary statement that the value of railroad materials and rolling stock alone being purchased in advance of the coming of the great American army is about five times that of all purchases made annually in the United States for the Panama Canal during the last four or five years. There has been, of course, important railway construction by the allied armies in France, but much of the older systems has been overtaxed and now needs extensive repairs and additions.

Likewise, there must be highway and bridge construction and repairs to enable the vast supplies to be brought up to the firing lines, and for this purpose approved Ameri-



Photograph by Jacques Boyer, Paris

RAILROAD BRIDGE-BUILDING ON THE WESTERN FRONT

can road machinery is being sent forward. A forestry regiment is to cut and dress European timber, using American sawmills, and prepare it for wharf and pier construction and the building of cantonments. Electrical engineers will provide central stations for lighting and power, with current available for searchlights and other purposes at the front-line trenches.

For water supply an engineer connected with recent improvements at Washington, D. C., and at Toronto, a West Point graduate recalled to the Army, has been sent to France to assume charge of the military water system. Well-driving apparatus, pipe, pumps, and other supplies will be shipped forthwith, if they are not already on the ground.

Behind the lines European engineers have

devised satisfactory system of broad- and narrow-gage railway, and it only remains for the Americans to bring over rails and rolling stock and install similar systems for their needs as speedily as possible. Indeed, these lines running to the very front, are designed not merely to bring up men and supplies, but to remove the wounded and the material salvage from the field, for modern military economy demands that used cartridge cases and other material should be remade and re-used and the waste minimized.

Battle-mapping in Europe has been reduced to a most exact science, and American engineers will have to learn from French and British experts the modifications in topographic methods required by modern conditions of war. The same is true of battlefield illumination, for which the appliances already found useful are being manufactured in the United States on a large scale. Furthermore, with the American engineers the sign-painter is coming into his own also as a fighting man, for experts who have beautified our highways with more or less original conceptions, now, under well-known artists and men skilled in color effects, will show Europeans what really can be accomplished in the way of camouflage.

The presence of expert mining engineers among the officers and practical miners in the

ranks, lends color to the belief that extensive mining operations along American lines are contemplated. As American practice in mining is less conservative and involves much more rapid and bolder construction than is customary in Europe, its application is awaited with interest.

The engineering equipment of the American Army includes the necessary tools and appliances used in every branch of engineering, from mere intrenching tools to power trench diggers, wrecking cars, concrete plants, and pile-drivers.

The duty of the American engineers is, in large measure, twofold, inasmuch as they will have to assist materially their allies in their transportation troubles as well as perform the many and diversified duties required for the well-being and fighting efficiency of the American expeditionary force. Indeed, it is so large an undertaking that not merely is American military engineering and the American army put to a heroic test, but all American non-military engineering as well, for the undisputed triumphs in the way of bold conception and economic organization and execution must be repeated in France if the American forces are to be supported properly and made efficient to render valuable assistance in striking the last hard blows that will bring the war to its close.

THE AGRICULTURAL RESTORATION OF FRANCE—NORTH AFRICAN AID

ONE cannot too strongly emphasize the importance of the adequate cultivation of French soil after this fearful time of "storm and stress" shall have passed away. What with the devastated areas requiring special attention and the great need of agricultural products, it will be most essential to enlist as many fit hands for the task as possible. Georges Aimel, in a late number of *La Revue* (Paris), advocates with earnest conviction the immigration of labor from the French possessions and protectorates of North Africa. The immigration should, he claims, be selective, since certain elements of the population would be ill-fitted to labor under climatic and other conditions so different from their own.

We reproduce the leading points of M. Aimel's article:

If there is one problem, he observes, out-

side of the pressing needs of the hour, which should engage the attention of those looking beyond the war, it is that of the recruiting of agricultural labor.

Even years before 1914, the depopulation of the rural districts was a recognized fact, passively or actively deplored. Sporadic good will, however, exerts but slight effect upon social phenomena whose causes are complex and deep-seated. Thus, despite warning and propaganda, the youths of the rural population were more and more lured to city life in the opening years of the century. This danger of flocking to the towns will be likely to grow more acute after the war.

We shall have, in the first place, great gaps in the male population of the country districts from the age of eighteen to forty-five. It might be said that the void would soon be filled by the children of the present, but,



A GROUP OF ALGERIAN ZOUAVES

unfortunately, we strike against another indisputable fact: a stationary, or even decreasing, birth-rate.

And even if the small landowner, returned from the war, works his bit with added zest, the simple husbandman, the day-laborer, feeling no such binding ties to the soil, will he willingly resume his monotonous country-life? It is hardly probable, and that for two reasons—one, psychological, the other, economic.

After having lived as comrades with all sorts and conditions of men, he will feel drawn to town life in whose atmosphere he would find a continuation of that social mixture.

The second, and main reason is that in the industrial centers of the invaded regions the mass of ruins and the mines will necessitate a vast amount of labor, with attractive wages.

The situation is threatening. At a time when it will be more than ever essential for the rich soil of France to yield all its treasures, there is reason to fear that a great portion of it will lie fallow or be but scantily cultivated. The outlook is grave. Let us seek a remedy.

The remedy, which ought to be immediate, can only be found in an immigration of labor which would not involve a risk of national danger, but, on the contrary, be an eventual source of enrichment. Let us think of the patient tenacity which the Germans, failing to subdue us by fire and sword,

will exercise in order to resume—unless care be taken—a slow, insidious, quiet invasion as if by infiltration. . . . We must, then, think of but one thing: an immigration of the natives of the French dominions and protectorates beyond the seas.

Among those peoples, who have not only evidenced their perfect loyalty but have shed their blood for France, there will be those who would continue to be devoted helpers after the conclusion of peace. But in view of the efficient aid expected from them, a selective method must be employed. Owing to a rigorous life in our climate, where the winter is at times severe, to the regular and arduous labor, we can count upon those people alone that are ethnically related to us, thus eliminating the Negro and the Annamese, who would ill bear our frosts, and would, moreover, adapt themselves with difficulty to our agricultural methods. In a word: we need whites, not negroes and Mongolians; these whites we find in the Berber or Berberized population of our Northern Africa.

• • •

It is a fact that the greater part of the natives of North Africa, whom people in general decorate with the generic and commodious term of Arabs, are but little entitled to that designation. Before the Moslem invasion there were no Arabs in Northern Africa; outside of Negroes there were only Berbers. "The type which seems the most widespread," says one authority, "the one which two-thirds of the inhabitants of North Africa more or less resemble, is one with a lengthened cranium, black hair and eyes, medium height, which is likewise the dominant type in Southern Europe, in Spain, Italy, in south-eastern France. It is, doubtless, one of the great races which have peopled Europe . . ." As a matter of fact,

there are nuclei, more or less dense, of people who in spite of time, invasions, and consequent mixture of blood, have abstained from contact with their Moslem conquerors to an extent which strikingly differentiates them from the latter.

While the Arab, by his character, his habits, is distinctly of the Oriental type, the Berber, physically and morally, is rather closely allied to the European. The first is as naturally indolent and improvident as the latter is active and saving; it may be added that the Arab is inclined to a nomadic and pastoral life, the Berber to a settled and agricultural one.

Now, the distinctive traits of the Berber are strikingly exemplified in the Kabyles and the Moroccans—that is, in a considerable part of the population of North Africa. The Kabyle is above all a husbandman; jealous of his independence, he sought refuge, and still lives, among his mountains, though, gradually grown docile by the French penetration, he may be found in all parts of Algeria. Tall, strong, adroit, he engages in all sorts of agricultural labor, and saves up a little hoard; he has, besides, in commerce, almost complete monopoly of the native retail grocery trade; of a sociable nature, finally, he quickly assimilates the improvements around him.

Like the Kabyle, the Moroccan Berber is a settled agriculturist, but the Atlas Mountains, which isolate him from the rest of North Africa, have allowed him to spread more generally in the plain between the mountains and the sea. He is willing to emigrate; enduring and robust, he is not repelled by hard labor; teachable, he makes an excellent soldier, a skilful and faithful domestic, while—another significant analogy with the Kabyle—the small grocer of every Moroccan port is a Berber.

The Kabyles of Algeria, the Moroccans of

Houz and of Susa, inured to labor of the soil, to a rigorous climate, and, finally, evincing a great likeness of character to the inhabitants west of the Mediterranean, seem, thus, to be expressly designed, in the colonial empire of France, to furnish her with the labor which she is seeking and of which she stands in such great need.

* * *

The eventuality contemplated here is not a mere adventurous proposition; it is based upon facts furnished by the Kabyle immigration in France in the four or five years prior to 1914, and upon the successful employment of Moroccan labor in the French ports in course of the war.

The advantages of a systematic recruitment of Berber labor would be twofold: It would promote French agriculture, and, particularly in Morocco, colonization, or, to be more exact, a closer, more sincere, and happier collaboration of the European with the native.

We must regard it as an established fact that if we do not put forth all our resources for our agricultural needs, we will incur the serious injury of another invasion by the Boches, disguised as Flemings or as Swiss, parasites rendered necessary by the urgent need of strong arms.

If, on the contrary, the labor-market can count upon obtaining a North-African contingent, we shall have, besides the immediate benefit, the indirect one of training adepts in our modern methods of farming and cattle-raising, who, on returning to their *bleds*, will become overseers or first-rate farmers. Moreover, the money saved by these laborers will not be spent abroad but will circulate in French colony or protectorate, thus enhancing their prosperity. Finally, by his sojourn in France the native will have acquired needs of which he was ignorant before, and which will make him a customer of our national industries.

HOW PARIS HAS STOOD THE TEST

THE heroic endurance of the French in the Titanic European conflict has become a commonplace. The conception of a nation light, frivolous, eager for glory, has made way for that of a people who have stood their awful test with a courage and in a spirit that have elicited the admiration of the world. That Paris, too, that Mecca of pleasure, should have shared in the noble attitude of the rest of the nation is an inspiring example.

M. Mithouard, writing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris), describes and explains the animating impulses of the Parisians, and his observations are elevating and interesting.

He says in part:

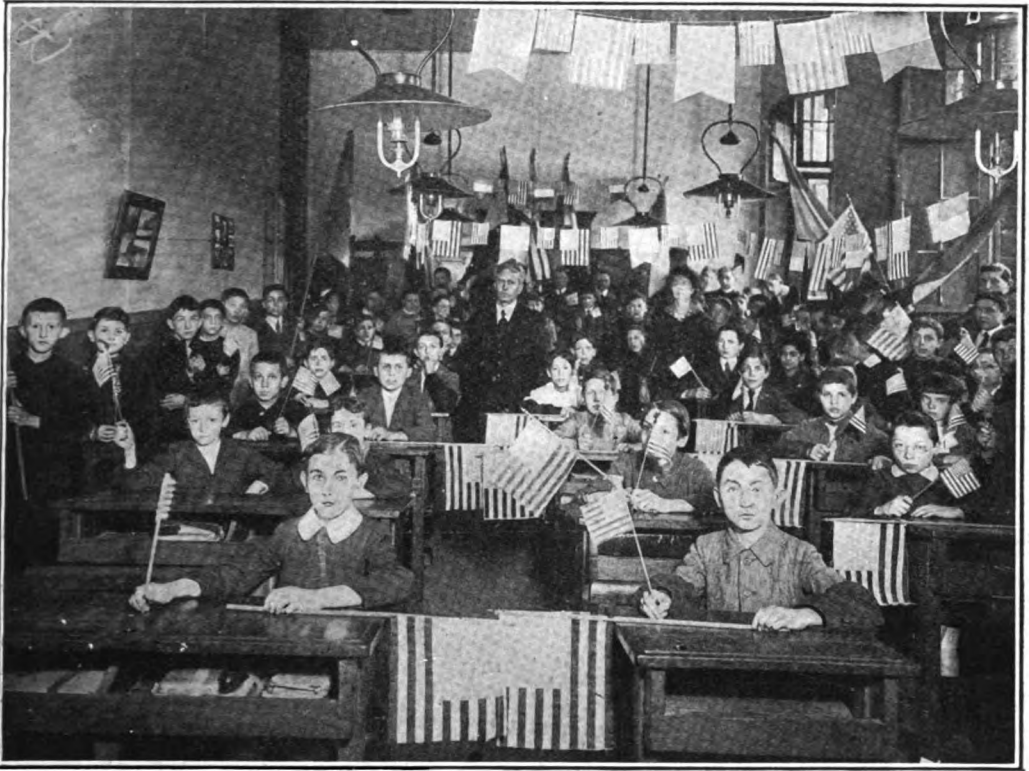
Modern wars differ from those of olden times

in that in the latter combatants alone were supposed to exercise courage, while the first draws upon all the moral forces of a country, assigning to them a military value. The risks are graver, all participate, the offensive power of the armies rests upon national discipline and popular resolve.

This characteristic did not escape the Germans, and with their usual painstaking calculation, their idea was in 1914 as well as 1870, to systematically incite a moral disorder among the French. To threaten the capital in the first place, hastily throw hordes of formidably armed men into the surrounding region, massacre the inhabitants, start conflagrations, and appear before the Parisians while they were still stunned with surprise—all that would have struck the city with a dismay which could not fail to precipitate political convulsions.

The stake was important, the prey easy: is not Paris the seat of all frivolity?

Outsiders know us but little for the most part, and in the case of the Germans, their wish of



A French official photograph, from Pictorial Press, N. Y.

SCHOOL CHILDREN OF PARIS LISTENING TO AN ADDRESS ON THE UNITED STATES ON THE FRENCH NATIONAL HOLIDAY, JULY 14

finding us pusillanimous urges them to misunderstand us.

There is no city as impenetrable as Paris to those who do not spend their lives there. That critical spirit, which is exercised against authority, even when it is in favor, that swiftness of judgment which strikes outsiders as a lack of judgment, exposes the Parisian to every sort of calumny.

When the Germans marched upon the capital with such fierce haste, they thought to finish us by striking France in the head. That good head—the Parisian deemed it an honor to show that they had no idea of losing it.

From the first day, the people of Paris were fixed in their resolve and displayed a sagacity equal to the occasion. While the diplomatic events which resulted in war were in progress, while the most menacing news was being circulated hour by hour, Paris remained calm.

Suddenly the news of Jaures' assassination is noised about. Everyone is in a state of tension, in fear of a revolution—which no one unchains. A single sentiment agitates all hearts: will the national defense be compromised by civil dissensions? Parisians have always been wont to consider facts in the order of their importance, and one dom-

inant, all-pervading thought throws sorrow and indignation into the background: the crucial thing is self-defense. The very ones who it was supposed would indulge in violent language, set the noblest example.

So it was evidenced from the first hour, under the most trying circumstances, that the population of Paris is not the "credulous, blind, hot-headed crowd" that Francisque Sarcey once termed them.

The writer goes on to describe the opening days of the war in Paris—the sudden suspension of activities, the provincial quiet of the town, the lack of news, the alternate anxiety and confidence of the people, their fortitude on receiving trying news—satisfied, since the authorities were telling them the truth—the sad influx of refugees, when all else was forgotten in the eager effort to succor them.

There is a feeling which makes itself felt by the Parisians at certain turning-points in their history—when the city is transported by a great joy or is wholly carried away by a lofty idea. All hearts are then drawn close together, all minds filled with the same thought, all faces bear the same expression.

When, after ten long days of waiting, the news was spread of the victory of the Marne, it found the Parisians as much masters of themselves as they had appeared in the trying days. Marvelous intelligence of a people prompt to consider at a glance all the aspects of a thing! That victory was the pride of Paris: the battle that liberated it under the given circumstances strikes it at once as the culminating point of its history. Yet, the aspect of the suburbs is unchanged; there is no outburst, no illumination. For the task is far from finished. For there is no manifestation grandiose enough not to seem paltry in face of such a splendid stroke of French genius.

A population that one fancied turbulent and frivolous, suddenly shows itself clear-sighted and determined, and the intuition with which it was credited, that volatile spirit which in happy times seized the bloom of every passing hour, hides a splendid gift, the growth of centuries—a sound sense, ever equal to the grandeur of events.

That a population surprised and shaken by turns, in less than two months, by German diplomatic duplicity, the declaration of war, the tragic death of a tribune, the news of the first reverses, the approach of the barbarian armies, and the sudden agitation of victory, retains its balance, is master of its nerves, indicates a moral power of the highest and noblest sort. That serenity does not astonish the well-informed: the Parisian owes something to himself, always.

But that fine courage is to be subjected to another assault: it must thenceforth face the test of time. Now, no matter how high an opinion one may have had of the Parisians, there is one virtue that one hesitated to accord them—patience.

There is not a single Parisian who is not convinced that the German nation is obstinate, submissive, and disposed to evil. To check a hatred so powerfully organized, there is no Parisian who does not secretly make it a point of honor to endure everything; and if impious voices are heard demanding a premature peace, it is not from Paris that they proceed, and it does not heed them.

It would be a mistake to compare the privations of 1870 to the present trials. Then the crisis was acute and brief. To-day, on the contrary, the hardships stretch over a long period: the continued anguish does not succeed in bending the people's souls.

One may boldly say that half of Paris is suffering from the most straitened circumstances. Yet not a murmur is heard, no disorder is manifested. Just the contrary,

the public tranquillity is more striking than at any other period of its history. Less crimes are being committed, and the police force has been diminished by a quarter without causing inconvenience.

Gradually, the necessary commodities are attaining such prices that the poor women of Paris wonder each morning how they will get through the day. Yet they do not overturn the stalls or bargain more than usually.

Who would recognize in this Paris the Paris of old, so difficult to impress, so free in its ways, impatient, and rebellious? It accepts with docility the regulations which succeed each other, even contradict each other.

To all the trials it supports without murmuring must be added the mourning of its homes. Not a family that has not spilled its blood, not a person whose friendships have not been snapped.

Such is the sum of the sorrows and sufferings of Paris, and it is evident that that vast assemblage of people, agitated before by so many passions and capable now of such steadfast wisdom, has but one thought and one wish.

The great drama which the Parisian is witnessing fills his vision. The Marne, the Yser, Verdun—these are what he thinks about. He feels himself struck with the combatants, he suffers, rushes forward, with them. He hears the noise of the conflict. Those peoples are superior whose souls are composed and whose intelligence is heightened by danger.

Those who regard Paris as a Babylon *en fête* shoot wide of the mark. They have not made a tour of the city—that is, they have not visited the suburbs. They have not seen the Paris workman in his workshop or in a factory—ingenious, enduring, productive. They have not come in contact with that laborious section of the people, who, in their regular, simple lives conserve the probity of the home. Nor do they know how studious are the eager youths of the schools, how passionately they absorb the teachings of their masters.

That city of luxury is a city teeming with labor. The war having dispersed the idle and outsiders, one could see at once its fundamental morality, maintained through the centuries by the tradition of work.

He who labors faithfully finds a rule of life in the exercise of his calling. He learns to eliminate distraction which is harmful to his work. He purifies his heart by activity.

We cannot doubt that it is this daily duty which was the moral guide of the Parisian workman, and when war closes the shop he remains a man, practised in courage and ready for every form of sacrifice.



Photograph by Paul Thompson

SENEGALESE TROOPS READY FOR AN ATTACK

THE NEGRO SOLDIER UNDER FIRE IN FRANCE

IN 1916 the Section Sanitaire Americain No. 3, while serving in France with the French army, had an opportunity to observe the behavior of French Senegalese troops. Mr. Hugh Brown, who was attached to the organization at that time, and who has also been at the front in northern Greece and in Serbia, writes in the *Southern Workman* (Hampton Institute) concerning the conduct of the Senegalese on at least one occasion when they won the admiration of all who saw the action.

A regiment of Senegalese had been ordered to advance along a road commanded by German batteries which kept up a continuous and terrific fire. The wounded, who were able to walk, had to be conducted over the same fire-swept thoroughfare. There were more than three hundred of them. The hospital corps in charge of these wounded finally reached a building, only to find it occupied by two companies of effective troops. Since it is customary to give effectives precedence over wounded men in cases of this kind, the hospital corps was about to continue on its way when an officer of the Senegalese offered to move out his men and leave

the shelter for the wounded. What followed is thus narrated by Mr. Brown, writing as one who has been in contact with troops of various nationalities:

Shells were now coming in every minute. To stay out in the open was almost certain death. The Senegalese knew it, the officer knew it, our wounded knew it. An order given, the effective troops began to move out of their shelter. A shell dropped near to some of them, literally tearing them to pieces. There was no word of protest, no excitement, no panic. The troops moved as if in a trance. They were giving up their safety for wounded. That was enough!

"Allons! Allons!" came the cry, and with a rush these black men in long, darting lines went up the road. Many were wounded before they got far, but the rest kept on, going to what seemed almost certain death. Our wounded took their places. Some had been seriously hit and could no longer walk. Others were lying, though alive, in the open. Volunteers were asked for to get them in. Those who were only slightly wounded offered their services. We had only half finished our task, when a detachment of twenty Senegalese troops under their native officer returned to give us aid. Everybody was got under shelter, and when the black troops came to say "Good-bye," a little muffled cheer broke out. No cooler, no better, more efficient workers had ever been seen. In every case they showed control, although under the most terrific strain.

The Senegalese, it seems, have won a reputation as fighters in France:

They are excellent with the bayonet and stand the strain in the trenches even better than some of the white troops. It is particularly significant that the Senegalese Negroes were used to aid in the retaking of Douaumont; it is an excellent compliment to their ability. In glancing over the art posters of the war and the literature of the last year, one finds any number of references to the

soldats noirs of France. They have made a name for themselves.

Not only are the Senegalese troops brave and efficient, but they have the physical strength which enables them to undergo constant fighting with but little food and rest. They have more than once formed the backbone of France's fighting force. They have fought in the battles of Champagne, Soissons and Verdun in France. They were in the expedition at the Dardanelles and afterward in Northern Greece and Serbia. They have been worthy of the French.

REINDEER MEAT: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE NATION'S FOOD SUPPLY.

THERE is an Eskimo tradition in regard to the difficulty of getting near enough to reindeer to kill them. It relates that many ages ago the reindeer had very large eyes of extraordinary range of vision which prevented man from approaching them without their taking alarm. Once when there was great suffering in the Northland on account of the scarcity of meat, the Eskimo prayed the Great Spirit to take pity on them and change the eyes of the reindeer. The Great Spirit heard their prayers and made the eyes of the reindeer small so that the Eskimo hunters could approach near enough to spear them for food.

Undoubtedly in ancient times the reindeer or caribou was one of the principal sources of food for mankind. Mr. John Curtis Underwood wrote in "An Empire In the Making," published in 1913, that the "day was in measurable distance when the big reindeer ship from Arctic and sub-Arctic Alaska would roll into Seattle and other Western cities as the big cattle trains roll into Chicago."

At the present time, Secretary Lane reports that reindeer meat could be and should be made a very valuable part of the nation's meat supply.

The history of the United States' experiment in breeding reindeer in Alaska begins properly speaking with the shocking death-rate of the natives of the Alaskan Islands covering a period of several years, because of lack of food. The wild supply had vanished, the seals were driven farther north, the native reindeer slaughtered with modern firearms. Dr. Sheldon Jackson, Presbyterian missionary to Alaska, found in 1890, that whole villages on the points of the coast of the Arctic ocean, Bering Sea, and on the islands had been literally wiped out by star-

vation. Captain M. A. Healy of the United States Revenue Cutter *Bear*, suggested to the Government, that it would be highly advisable to introduce reindeer cultivation. This suggestion was followed by the urgent appeal of Dr. Jackson, and Lieutenant E. P. Bertholf was sent to Russia where he purchased a number of reindeer which were sent across Bering Strait into Alaska.

The REVIEW OF REVIEWS for May, 1903, reprinted from the *National Geographic Magazine* an account of the experiment:

Twelve years ago (1901) Dr. Sheldon Jackson brought his first herd of sixteen reindeer across Bering Strait from Siberia and started his colony at Unalaska, off the bleak coast of Alaska. Many then smiled at the experiment and declared his plans for stocking the great barrens of Northwestern Alaska with thousands of animals, which for centuries had been indispensable to natives of Lapland and Siberia, was impracticable and wasteful of time and good money. But the experiment prospered from the very first. Other reindeer, numbering nearly 1,000 in all, were brought over from Siberia. To-day (1903) there are nearly 6,000 head in the various herds distributed along the coast from Point Barrow to Bethel.

The Catholic World, August, 1917, contained an article by Clio Mamer pertinent to the present food situation: "Alaska's Prospective Contribution to Our Food Supply." The author writes in regard to the launching of the reindeer industry:

About 1,200 of these animals were brought from Russia between the years of 1902 and 1906, and the reindeer industry, which has since proved the salvation of countless Alaskan Indians and Eskimo, was launched by the Government at a cost of about \$225,000. With this small beginning Congress had to be content, as Russia firmly refused to part with any more deer at any price.

It is the writer's conviction that it is our patriotic duty to assist the Government in



GROUP OF PEARY CARIBOU ("RANGIFER PEARYI"), ARRANGED BY "FROZEN TAXIDERMY" AND PHOTOGRAPHED BY FLASHLIGHT

developing its latent resources and that the possibility of increasing our meat supply with reindeer venison should not be overlooked.

Alaska has tremendous possibilities, and this far-away territory of ours, which we purchased from Russia at the unheard-of price of two cents an acre, has done nobly under American rule and is entitled to all the aid and encouragement we can give her. Now that she is producing a supply of venison in excess of that required to feed her meagre population, it behooves us to assist her in disposing of her surplus, and thus encourage her to make this comparatively new industry yield maximum results.

Last winter marked the entrance of the reindeer upon the scene as a possible economic factor in the great World War. The Swedish Government sold to German agents, and gave to them the requisite permission to ship to Germany, 43,500 carcasses of reindeer, which, it was estimated, provided 3,480 tons of venison for the German soldiers. . . . These same reindeer, which our enemy was so glad to purchase in order to augment a rapidly decreasing meat supply, were, in all probability, closely related to the reindeer which are raised in Alaska.

It would seem that the reindeer industry ought to appeal to Alaskan agriculturists and to young men fresh from agricultural institutions. Until 1914, the Government confined the industry to the natives and Laplanders in Alaska, but now these people are

permitted to sell their surplus deer to white men.

Reindeer can be raised for the market much more cheaply than cattle, for they find their feed both in winter and in summer, and they can live on the barren wastes which would support no other kind of animal.

Robert E. Peary wrote in regard to the ability of the reindeer to forage under desperate weather conditions:

I am often asked how the herbivorous animals, like the musk-ox and the reindeer, survive the winter in the snow-covered lands. By a strange paradox, the wild winds that rage in that country help them in their struggle for existence, for the wind sweeps the dried grasses and scattered creeping willows bare of snow over great stretches of land, and there the animals can graze.

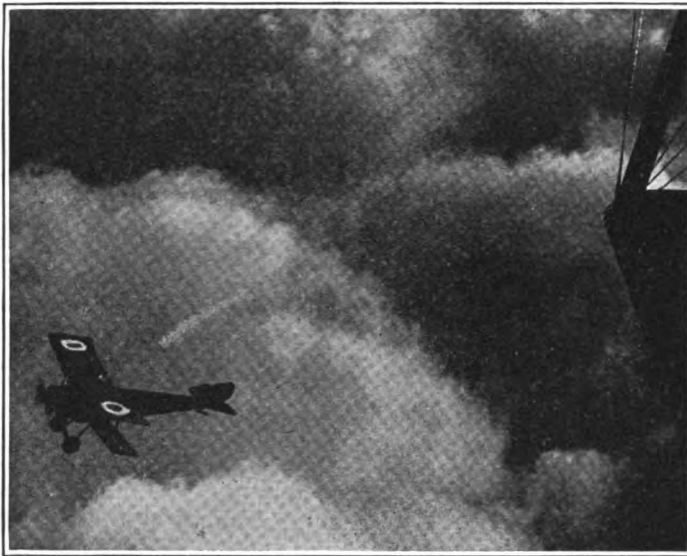
A fawn during the first four years costs the owner less than \$1 a year. At the end of four years it will bring from \$50 to \$100 for its meat at the mines in Alaska. The German Government paid an average of 28 cents a pound for the Swedish reindeer venison. It is easy to keep from spoiling, pleasant to the taste, as nutritious as beef or mutton. With the completion of the Alaskan Railroad this source of meat supply should be developed.

WEATHER HAZARDS IN AVIATION

THE time is near at hand when aeronautical meteorology will be one of the most assiduously cultivated branches of science. In the middle of the last century mariners all over the world were supplying the American hydrographer, Maury, with the data that enabled him to place maritime meteorology upon a firm footing—an enterprise that meant the saving of millions of dollars in shortened sailing routes. At the same time, the development of the law of storms was responsible for the saving of thousands of lives at sea. Within the next generation

or may not be wholly justified. For example, the author disposes quite comfortably of the notorious dangers and obstacles which the weather opposes to flying. It is interesting to compare with his remarks under this head those of the veteran English meteorologist and aerologist, W. H. Dines, published in *Nature* (London). Mr. Dines says:

I do not wish to emphasize the difficulties which lie in the way of regular air services, but they are there, and the first step toward overcoming them is to recognize them.



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FRANCE'S PREMIER AVIATOR CLIMBING THE CLOUDS

(Captain Guynemer is the daring pilot of this machine. He is on duty guarding the observation biplanes from German airmen. The photograph was taken from one of the planes, part of the wing showing in the picture. Note the peculiar cloud effects. Shortly after this picture was made a German machine made appearance and a lively battle followed. Within a few minutes Guynemer sent his opponent crashing to earth from that great height—10,000 feet. This is considered to be one of the most remarkable aerial photographs ever taken. It shows the aeroplane with droning motor pushing its way upward through the cloud bank, 10,000 feet above the earth.)

The author reviews the services which the British Meteorological Office has rendered to shipping since the days of Admiral Fitzroy, in issuing storm warnings at the various ports and signal stations, and points out that the general adoption of steam and the increased size of vessels have made the mariner less dependent upon the weather than formerly.

The case is likely to be different with aeroplanes if they are to take the place of mail steamers, and a heavy responsibility will be thrown upon the Meteorological Office or upon whatever body undertakes to issue forecasts for their guidance.

Too much wind, low clouds and fog are the kinds of weather most inimical to flying, and of these fog is probably the worst.

The ways in which wind affects an aeroplane are various.

we shall doubtless witness analogous and even greater achievements in the study of the air with a view to the practical necessities of the aeronaut.

Last month we published a brief abstract of Mr. Holt Thomas' address before the Aeronautical Society of Great Britain on "Commercial Aeronautics." The original is the most important document that has yet appeared on the subject of utilizing the world's immense resources in aircraft and aeronautical talent after the war, but it is marked by an exuberant optimism that may

There is the difficulty of starting and landing, but the days on which this is serious are not numerous, even in a windy country like England. But still there are days when landing is unsafe, and it is the misfortune with an aeroplane that it must in some way or other come to the earth as soon as its stock of petrol is exhausted. It cannot, like a ship outside a port, with a dangerous bar, wait until conditions are more favorable; it must come down, whatever the risk. Once in the air, a steady wind has no effect upon the flying of an aeroplane, although it has a great effect upon the direction of its course. . . . The pilot, if the earth is hidden from him by a sheet of clouds, is absolutely and entirely ignorant of the strength and direction of the wind in which he

is flying; it is just the same to him if it be a dead calm or if it be blowing at the rate of a hundred miles an hour from the east or from the west.

Thus Glasgow lies very close to a point 400 miles due north of Plymouth, and an aeroplane leaving Plymouth and flying due north at eighty miles an hour would find itself close to Glasgow in five hours' time. Should, however, a strong west wind be blowing of which the pilot did not know, and also clouds so that he could not see the earth, he would, if steering by compass, find himself in five hours' time over the North Sea, and quite possibly much nearer to the Danish than to the English coast.

Hence long-distance flying in countries where clouds are as prevalent as in England will, if the flyer must keep to a regular schedule instead of choosing his time, be carried on very commonly at low levels, and the disadvantage of this is that the lower winds are more likely to be gusty and irregular than the winds of high levels.

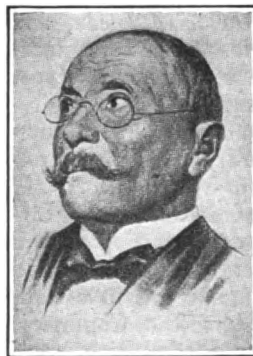
Clouds introduce a difficulty of their own, apart from the point that has already been considered. It would seem at first sight as though a man would retain his sense of the vertical direction in any circumstances, but this is not so. Were a man placed inside a hollow vessel that was falling freely without air resistance, he would be entirely without sense of weight or direction, and

the pilot of an aeroplane in an extensive mass of cloud is in much the same position. He cannot see any definite object, and, apart from sight, his sense of direction depends upon the reaction between him and the seat he is sitting on. So long as the motion is uniform this reaction is vertical, but an acceleration of the machine alters the direction and intensity of the reaction and so confuses the sense of level. The same effect is produced upon a spirit-level or similar instrument, and so confusing is the effect that it is said the machine may almost be upside down without the pilot knowing it. It would seem as though a gyroscope might to some extent meet the difficulty. One result of this uncertainty of level is that astronomical observations for the determination of latitude and longitude are not possible unless the horizon can be seen, and thus the amount of the error produced by want of knowledge of the drift cannot be known.

Fog, which conceals the landing place and hides from the pilot until the last moment his distance from the ground, is the greatest hazard of all. The author does not comment on Mr. Holt Thomas' ingenious proposal to meet this difficulty by means of a sort of aerial buoys, *i. e.*, small kite-balloons sent up above the fog, to indicate the location of landing-places. The same writer suggests the use of smoke signals and, at night, penetrating searchlights.

A GREAT ARGENTINE POET, ALMAFUERTE

A RECENT dispatch from Buenos Aires brought the news of the death of the distinguished poet Alfafuerte. Though long famous throughout South America, he was little known abroad before the present war, which gave occasion to his widely known poem, "Apostrophe," a virulent satire upon the German Kaiser which has been translated into many tongues. Together with Carlos Madarriaga, Francisco Barroetavena, and Manuel Lainez, the director of the great daily *El Diario*, Alfafuerte valiantly supported the cause of the Allies. It is to these men that much of the credit is due for the Argentine pro-Ally attitude, despite a furious pro-German propaganda. Writing in *La Nouvelle Revue* (Paris), Georges Lafond says:



ALMAFUERTE, THE ARGENTINE POET

love of the valiant, flayed the invader, and rallied the wavering crowd to the cause of right. No task could have better suited his temperament or his aspirations. None knew better how to plead the defense of these two sources of Latinity than this exasperated Latin who found in the very depths of his race the fundamental influence of the triple tradition of Castilian honor.

"*Évangélique*" and "Apostrophe," his two latest works, have all the magnificent *nuances* of the purest romanticism. His lyric music of phrase, his complex sentiments, his violent passions, his optimistic melancholy, his Sibylline attitudes, his bold images, his quest for verbal rhythm, Alfafuerte received from Hugo, from Gautier, from Lamartine, and from Banville also. He was one of the romantics in the full force of the term. And how could he be otherwise? Was

The enthusiastic and impulsive Neo-Latin masses demand the sonorous word and the evocative image. Alfafuerte, a poet imbued with a sense of his high mission—like the ancient *vates*—acclaimed heroism and martyrdom, sang the

not everything in the young democracy through the rapid and turbulent stages of whose development he had lived propitious to such a formation of his talent—the struggles for independence, the political struggles against the dictatorship of *caudillos*, the prodigious epic of voluntary warfare, the legitimate pride in national glory?

Romanticism in Almafuerte is not a peculiar

form of thought; it is the mainspring of his whole life, as lyric as his verses, as the life of his country, breaking away from a banal obscurity to rush towards the light of freedom along a road beset by struggle, rebellion, and anarchy. And thus the only accent of his poetry is the elevation of the noble, the execration of that which is vile, the scourging of vice and of social inertia.

JOSÉ ENRIQUE RODÓ: URUGUAY'S MOST EMINENT WRITER

ONE of the most enthusiastic promoters of the "American spirit," using the word in its larger sense as pertaining to the two Americas, is the distinguished South American litterateur, José Enrique Rodó, of Uruguay. In a warmly appreciative sketch of him which appeared in *l'Information*



JOSÉ ENRIQUE RODÓ

Universelle (Paris) for May 26, he is acclaimed as being incontestably one of the most eminent personalities in "American letters," counting numberless disciples from the Antilles to Tierra del Fuego and accounted even in Spain by such writers as Valera y Claria, Rueda, and

Altamira to have a genius for prose comparable with that of Ruben Dario as a poet among Uro-American intellectuals.

He was born on July 15, 1872, at Montevideo and began his literary career by founding the *National Review of Literature and Social Sciences* in collaboration with Martinez Vigil and Victor Perez Petit, a journal which has met with considerable success not only in Uruguay but in various other countries of the American Continent. The present writer thus sketches his career:

Later he was attracted by politics. He was elected a deputy to the National Parliament and on various occasions presented notable motions and projects, such, for instance, as that of "Labor Legislation in Uruguay," which had hardly been propounded when it attracted the attention of sociologists and jurisconsults in both the Americas and in Spain. He subsequently deserted politics, abandoning more than one illusion. Perhaps he was thinking of himself when, in writing the life of Montalvo, the first equatorial statesman, some years later, he said: "He was a Liberal

to the farthest bounds of nobility of sentiment, but never a demagogue or a plebeian. In the quality of his ideas, the temper of his soul, and the distinction of his style he was a *chevalier* from head to foot."

Though he had no taste for public speaking, he nevertheless delivered addresses on various occasions, which were unanimously regarded as admirable. It is even affirmed that he owed his greatest triumph to the one he gave at a solemn session of the Chilean Parliament in December, 1910.

He owes his fame far more to the quality, the superiority of his genius than to the fecundity of his talent. His works, which are few in number, are known all over the American continent; some of them have merited the honor of official editions . . . in Central America and in Spain.

Rodó's chief works are *La Vita Nueva*, 1897; *Ruben Dario*, 1899; *Ariel*, 1900; *Liberalismo et Jacobinismo*, 1906; *Motivo de Proteo*, 1909; and *El Mirador de Prospero*, 1913. They are said to be animated by a common inspiration—the formation of an American consciousness, an American ideal, an American intellectuality. In a recent interview with an Argentine journalist he made use of the following words:

We desire a literature which shall be a positive force for the formation of an American consciousness; which, having this sentiment for its motive power, embraces all the complexity of the moral and intellectual elements of our culture—and, so far as concerns myself, I have pursued this ideal of Americanism since the days of my earliest endeavors.

It is this ideal, according to the author of the present article, which inspired *Ariel* and which has been Rodó's guide in his biographical studies of Bolivar, Montalvo, and Juan Maria Gutierrez, studies which he intends to supplement by others dealing likewise with personages of equal significance from the American point of view.

Rodó has said in speaking of Montalvo: "He brings to the vocation of literature all the fervor, the perseverance, the respect, and the zeal of a priest." This judgment fits himself to a marvel.

A REUNITED, INDEPENDENT POLAND

RUSSIA'S declaration for an independent and united Poland has been enthusiastically endorsed by France, Italy and Great Britain. However, the promises of the Provisional Government of New Russia are held by many to be as vague as those of the old Russian régime; for example a delegation of Lithuanian separatists was assured that autonomy would be granted to the Lithuania at present within the limits of the Russian state as well as to the part that to-day belongs to Prussia, and that this autonomous Lithuania would remain a component part of Russia. Yet the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania is a part of the territory seized in the 18th century from Poland; it was part of the former Polish Republic. Such a promise to a Lithuanian faction, as well as the probably still unchanged old Russian aim to withhold the large Ruthenian population from reunion with the reconstructed Polish state,—moves the most famous Polish philosopher of the present day, Prof. Vincent Lutoslawski, to ask in an article written for the Polish *Dziennik Zwiazkowy*, of Chicago: "Are we to trust the Russian Liberals and Socialists more than the Holstein-Gottorp family?"

It is true [says Professor Lutoslawski] that the new Russian Government at once promised us independence, but only in the ethnographical limits, giving us only the minute part of the territories stolen from us in which the majority of the population speaks Polish. For us the political union of Lithuania and the Ruthenian territories with Poland is a condition of our independent being, and any independence limiting our possessions to territories ethnographically Polish will be fictitious.

Consequently, the Muscovite government, in offering us such a fictitious independence is delivering us into the hands of the Germans. We cannot accept such a present as constitutes a covert sale of us into the worst slavery. If the Muscovites are abjuring their czars, then let them restore to us what the czars seized from us. This is demanded by historical justice and by the security of the new Muscovite state. For, if ethnographical Poland shall fall under Prussian dominion, which menaces us inevitably; if there shall not hold the union of the three peoples that was formed five hundred years ago—the German influence will still more easily reach the Ruthenian territories and Lithuania, and having mastered these borders of Poland it will overpower Muscovy also.

¹Black Russia (governments of Grodno and Minsk), White Russia (governments of Mohilew and Witebsk), Little Russia (governments of Kiev, Czernichow, Poltawa, and Charkow), and Red Russia (Galicia, which is under Austrian dominion).

Poland united with Lithuania and the Ruthenian territories will be able to defend herself from the German influence and to guard Muscovy also. This rôle ethnographical Poland alone will not be able to perform,—for if five centuries ago she was too weak alone and needed the union for defense against the Teutonic Knights of that time, the union is still more indispensable to-day, when the descendants of these Teutonic Knights dominate the whole German nation.

The regarding of the Ruthenian territories [Black, White, Little, and Red Russia] as Muscovite land is based upon a falsifying of history and ethnography. Historically, the Ruthenian territories have been united with Poland for 500 years, and even in the time of Boleslaus the Valiant [992-1025]—when there still was no Muscovite state—the Russians were already attached to Poland. Ethnographically, the Ruthenians are far nearer to the Poles than to the Muscovites, as they belong to the Aryan race and are Slavonians, whereas, among the Muscovites there preponderates the Turanian descent. The Little Russian tongue approaches so near to the Polish that every Pole after a short abode in Little Russia is able to understand everything the people say. A hundred and fifty years of the dominion of the Muscovites could not obliterate the traces of the centuries-long communion of the Russians and Poland, which was confirmed by the participation of the Ruthenians in the last Polish Revolution, in 1863. But, even though there were not these historical and ethnographical considerations; even though the Ruthenians were entirely foreign to Poland—the very fact of their situation together with the Poles and Lithuanians between two so rapacious peoples as the Muscovites and Prussians, would compel them to a close alliance with the non-rapacious neighbors. In Poland the Lithuanians and Ruthenians always had such freedom as no people in the Muscovite state has possessed.

We cannot delude ourselves by the fancy that the imprisonment of the Czar, or be it even his condemnation to death, will suddenly change everything in the state of the czars, says Professor Lutoslawski. The ministers and governors will be changed, but how can there be found the thousands of officials that have become accustomed through their entire life to arbitrary abuses and bribes? Not one czar nor even a series of czars produced the character of the Muscovite people, but, on the contrary, this slavish character of the people produced the czars,—and in place of the dethroned Nicholas there will make their appearance in every county minor, yet no less autocratic czars.

Amongst us [continues this Polish writer] the centuries-old tradition had educated series of generations in entirely different conditions. Later, the century and a half of terrible persecution roused a yearning to liberty and justice so strong as the Muscovite people does not know. In this school of life we have kept company with the Lithuanians and Ruthenians. Lithuania had her Muraviev, the Ruthenian territories their Bibikov, just as Warsaw had her Hurko and Aputchtin. It was not allowed to write and to speak not only in Polish, but also in Lithuanian and Little Russian. These prohibitions will be abolished—but the spirit that excited them, will not let itself be so easily transformed. Not long ago yet a well-known Russian Liberal said to a Polish magnate living in Paris: "Haggle and get for yourselves what you can from the Czar, you Poles; for, we, when we shall come to power, shall give you nothing!"

If nations of old civilization, like the Western Allies, indicate an extraordinary selfishness in the cause of our national being, it is not strange that we cannot hope for more from the Muscovites, who after centuries of slavery will not soon yet be in a condition to comprehend and appreciate true freedom. Let us, then, not rely on their promises, which, for the most part, are entirely unsatisfactory; but let us demand that there should first of all be restored to us all that has been seized from us since 1772, if the partitions of Poland were a crime of the same kind as the invasion of Belgium or the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

If in the reconstructed Polish Republic

the Ruthenians and Lithuanians shall decide to claim their independence, the Poles, assures Professor Lutoslawski, will not oppose them with force. However, in the absence of such a verdict, "the Poles must be bound by the union that was formed 500 years ago and that was profitable to all the participants." In concluding his article, therefore, he maintains:

It is not our business to withdraw from the union, nor can we regard as qualified the voices of sundry wranglers, that are spreading in foreign countries hate to Poland grounded on an ignorance of history. Qualified only will be the voice of the representatives of the Ruthenian and Lithuanian peoples elected under the protection of the free Republic—and these will themselves understand that neither Poland without the Ruthenian territories and Lithuania, nor Lithuania and the Ruthenian territories without Poland will gain and hold true liberty. Therefore, we cannot to-day agree to the cutting out of the frontiers of Poland according to the ethnographical conditions. We must demand historical justice and satisfaction for the outrage of the partitions, which were as infamous as the other German outrages. The Russian revolution does not by any means alone decide the Polish cause, because the Polish cause is not an internal cause of Russia. This revolution merely gives us a larger liberty to speak and write to claim what is just and consistent with the conscience of regenerating humanity.

NEW MACHINE FOR TRITURATING SOIL

THE Chinese are past masters in the art of intensive cultivation of the earth, and their empirical observations long ago taught them that an excellent method of increasing the yield of crops is to pulverize the soil, even making use, for this purpose of man's most ancient tool, the human hand.

It remained for Occidental scientists to discover the chief reason for this increased yield, which resides in the superior nitrification of finely divided earth. Thus the experiments of Dehérain and Schloesing proved that a cubic meter of earth finely triturated will produce 2.88 kilograms of nitrate, whereas if not broken up it will yield only 25 grams.

The difference this makes in crops is rendered evident, according to a recent writer in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne), by a comparison between the crops on the ordinary French farm and those in certain regions of China where the laborious pulverization of the earth referred to above is

practiced—namely, 12 quintals per hectare [1100 pounds per acre] in France and as high as tenfold that amount on some Chinese farms. Obviously, however, neither Europe nor America possesses the cheap labor which makes this possible in the patient Orient. Hence the world will welcome the news of an agricultural machine for soil trituration invented by Mr. Xavier Charmes, a member of the Academy, but also a landowner with a keen interest in agricultural matters. This machine is described as consisting of an automatic plow provided with a series of knives mounted on a rotating disc. It is stated that this system of revolving knives not only cuts up the soil but crumbles it to powder while leaving the surface perfectly level. The instrument has already been put to use in Tunisia and is expected to render valuable service in Europe also. It is hoped that by its employ the New Zealand yield of 20 quintals per hectare may at least be equaled or surpassed.

ITALIAN SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S POSITION

AN appreciative estimate of the sentiments that moved President Wilson to favor the entry of the United States into the arena of war is presented by Signor Ezio Flori in *Rivista d'Italia*.

The President's declaration of war against Germany was due to the fact that the latter, by violating the liberty of the seas, had revealed herself as the enemy of humanity, as the enemy of all nations. He will carry on the war with a calm and unshaken conscience until those directly responsible for the violation shall have been eliminated, without asking anything for the United States, neither indemnity nor recompense, satisfied with having vindicated those human rights which he champions.

The history of England shows us a somewhat similar state of things. When that country has been drawn into a European war, its enemies have been the enemies of Europe as a whole, not of England alone; Spain in the sixteenth century, then Napoleon I, and now Germany.

The writer sees in President Wilson the perfect type of a democratic mentality. The primal factors of his policy are a profound humanitarian idealism and a lively consciousness of America's mission in the world; and since these must be based upon a universally recognized principle of law and a dominant conception of justice, the defense of this law and of this justice is equivalent to the national defense.

For this reason President Wilson long hesitated between resisting the Teutonic aggressions and his own repugnance to war. He waited until the national motive should coincide with the universal motive, at first exhausting all the pacific methods imposed by his conscience and his convictions.

His patience under the great provocation of the terrible *Lusitania* disaster enabled him to induce Germany to give to the United States the well-known guarantees regarding the liberty of neutral commerce and navigation, and it was not until these guarantees were repudiated by the note of January 31, 1917, proclaiming the ruthless intensification of submarine warfare, that the United States declared the existence of a state of war with Germany. In the meanwhile the President had been able to feel the pulse of the people, as the saying goes.

In Germany's refusal to recognize the rights of neutrals to self-defense, President Wilson saw not only a violation of human liberty, but an attempt at exploitation and enslavement. The temporary violation of the rights of third parties, strangers to a conflict, might be explained, if not justified, by contingencies of an equally temporary kind, by unforeseen conditions resulting from the state of war, destined to pass.

To prohibit the self-defense of neutrals, on the contrary, indicated an intention to destroy every activity that was not in accord with Germany's aims. It was a hegemony imposed upon those outside of the conflict. The President, in his pursuit of humane and pacific aims did not swerve from his course, even though instead of leading to an immediate peace it provoked a more violent outburst of war. "Look to the end!" only after the elimination of the enemy of the human race can peace spread her wings over humanity!

The distinction established by the President between the German government and the German people has its roots in his ideal moral philosophy, and is at the same time in touch with one of the leading postulates of his political theory. Hence Signor Flori realizes that we cannot fail to accept his declaration that he feels neither hatred nor resentment against the enemy people, that, on the contrary, he has both sympathy and friendship for it. He does not hold the German nation responsible for the war; the government declared it without even consulting the people.

In this, however, the Italian writer thinks that he has failed to grasp the very essence and hence the significance of what is and remains the primal factor of the German war; namely, the national consciousness of the German people, a consciousness that is not a superficial, collective, and irrepressible sentiment, but a highly individualized consciousness, whose power and efficiency is multiplied by the common consent of the race. The barbarity shown in the systematic devastation accomplished in France, the machinations of spies in the United States, the complete preparation for war on the part of all Germans, wherever they might be, constitute the most eloquent proof of this.

WAR FINANCE: AN ITALIAN VIEW-POINT

THE relative merits and demerits of the three principal methods for raising the immense additional revenue required by the exigencies of modern warfare are discussed in *La Nuova Rassegna* (Rome), by Giulio Alessio, vice-president of the Italian Chamber of Deputies.

Of the three courses open to a nation, the emission of paper money, the raising of loans, or increased taxation, the writer recognizes that the first-named is by far the most pernicious and the most dangerous; hence it is generally admitted that the choice lies between the other two. Here, however, no hard-and-fast rule can well be laid down, for the preference to be accorded to the one or the other method depends upon the economic structure of the individual state, and under the crushing burdens imposed by the present conflict, both must necessarily be employed.

As rich a country as Great Britain was able to finance her wars from 1853 to 1900 by taxation alone, especially by her income tax, but the cost of the Boer War, small as it was when compared with the war costs of to-day, required the raising of considerable loans.

The question as to whether war expenses should or could be covered by increased taxation alone has been much debated of late. It has been urged that higher taxes are really more equitable and less oppressive than large loans, the theory being that the latter drain the savings of the nation and tend to raise the rate of interest, this in time causing higher prices for commodities. Moreover, the sums expended by the state out of the proceeds of the loans are not evenly distributed among the different classes of citizens, but go to those interested in certain special industries. Therefore, while the larger part of the population suffers from the enhanced prices for necessities, a minority enjoy wages or profits high enough to offset all added expenses.

Within this sphere, however, the conditions are stable enough. If the money for the loans is derived from the savings of those who earn high wages, as well as from the bank credits of industrial enterprises whose profits have been greatly increased, and, as

must normally result, the amounts realized by the state are soon expended and find their way back to the favored class of wage-earners and industrial enterprises, then the process could go on almost indefinitely.

It is easy enough to insist on the apparent inequity of a financial policy based on loans, but this is the only one capable of attaining a definite and satisfactory result. In the present state of public opinion, however much greater may appear to be the sacrifice made by the combatant at the front, when compared with the highly recompensed aid given by the lender of funds to the national treasury, it is nevertheless impossible to secure the large sums of money imperatively needed for war expenses by having recourse solely to intensive taxation. Investors must be attracted by the prospect of eventual restitution, and by the reward of a rate of interest higher than the current one.

In pursuing a different policy, one founded in the idea of forcing unwilling contributions, the desired effects would not be attained, either in the industrial or in the financial field. If, for example, a very large share of industrial profits was taken by taxation, the development of the industries would be checked, and the efforts of the workers, threatened with a curtailment of wages, would be relaxed. The writer is ready to admit that in richer countries than Italy an intensive taxation can be more easily and willingly borne.

In conclusion, Signor Alessio insists upon the urgent necessity of revising the system of taxation on agricultural lands in Italy. Here, a fixed rate based upon an average of returns in past years, has been maintained, so that the national treasury does not benefit by the larger production realized by improved methods of cultivation. This is of quite exceptional importance in a land where three-quarters of the national income is derived from the land. A reform in this direction and a wider application of the income tax, which has proved such a potent lever in the hands of the British and German financiers, would do much to relieve the undue pressure exerted by loans derived from the savings of labor and from accumulated capital.

THE NEW BOOKS

WORKS RELATING TO THE WAR

America's Case Against Germany. By Lindsay Rogers. Dutton. 264 pp. \$1.50.

A good, brief account of the origin and development of the controversy which became the immediate cause of war between the United States and Germany. The author furnishes in this book a chronological record of the Wilson policy. His method is narrative and explanatory, not critical or defensive, since he believes that it is still too early to pass definite judgment. Professor Rogers treats the points of international law involved, briefly and untechnically, particularly with regard to the submarine as a new weapon, the status of armed merchant ships, the problem of munition exports, and the difference between the English and the German "blockade."

The Peril of Prussianism. By Douglas Wilson Johnson. Putnam's. 53 pp. 75c.

A brief discussion of the opposing ideals of government represented, respectively, by the United States and Prussianized Germany.

The British Navy at War. By W. MacNeill Dixon. Houghton Mifflin Co. 90 pp. 75c.

An account of what has actually been accomplished by the British Navy since the war broke out in 1914. It includes a full and graphic description of the Jutland battle and of other important engagements of the war.

War Food. By Amy L. Handy. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 76 pp. 75c.

As a measure for conserving our food supply in war time, the extensive circulation of this little book would be highly desirable. It gives practical and economical methods of keeping vegetables, fruits, and meats. If every housewife could carry out its suggestions, even to a limited extent, the efforts of the Federal food administration under Mr. Hoover would be greatly facilitated.

The Rebirth of Russia. By Isaac F. Marcossion. John Lane Company. 208 pp. \$1.25.

Mr. Marcossion was one of the first to reach Petrograd after the revolution of last March. The present volume is a journalist's statement of what was to be seen and learned by a keen American reporter during the early weeks that followed the great outbreak in the Russian capital. He heard the story of the revolution from the lips of the leaders themselves—Kerensky, Lvoff, Milyukoff, and others.

Gems (?) of German Thought. By William Archer. Doubleday, Page. 264 pp. \$1.25.

The wrapper of this anthology of German scriptures is fittingly decorated with a Prussian angel in full military uniform, steel helmet, boots

and spurs, plus wings and a quill and scroll wherein to write the names of all who love Junkerdom. Within the covers are snatches from the chorus of German egoism, self-laudation and majestic contempt for all that is not German that has filled the ears of the world since the beginning of the war. The quotations are divided into six sections: "Deutschland Ueber Alles," "German Ambitions," "War-worship," "Ruthlessness," "Machiavellism," and "England, France and Belgium—especially England." Many choice selections are from Germany's three major prophets—Nietzsche, the prophet of ruthlessness; Bernhardi, of ambition, and Treitschke, of tribalism. The things that most impressed Mr. Archer were the spiritual aridity of modern German thought, and the shocking interpretations of Christianity appearing in the sermons of the German clergy.

Carry On: Letters in War Time. By Lieutenant Coningsby Dawson. John Lane Company. \$1.00.

Victor Chapman's Letters from France. With memoir by John Jay Chapman. Macmillan Company. 196 pp. \$1.25.

One Young Man. Edited by J. E. Hodder Williams. Doran. 156 pp. 75c.

It is in the letters to the people back home that we get the most interesting glimpses into the soldier's real life at the front. Many such volumes of personal revelations of warfare penned on the battlefield in the intervals of action have already been published in book form. Among the most interesting may be mentioned the inspiring messages of Lieutenant Coningsby Dawson, author of "The Garden Without Walls" and other books; the letters of Victor Chapman, member of the Foreign Legion and later a brilliant and knightly aviator in the Lafayette Escadrille; and the simple story of "One Young Man," a modest English clerk, who obeyed the impulse in 1914 and served for nearly two years on the Western front, until wounded at the battle of the Somme.

The Reserve Officers' Handbook. By S. J. Sutherland. Houghton, Mifflin. 289 pp. \$1.25.

Another handy volume for those ambitious for a commission in Uncle Sam's armies is "The Reserve Officers' Handbook," by Captain S. J. Sutherland, which covers in a clear and concise way infantry drill regulations, administration, small arms firing, field service regulations, topography, military law, and other miscellaneous topics.

Soldiers' Spoken French. By Helene Cross. Dutton. 128 pp. 60 cents.

A simple, concentrated, short-cut to the French language, compiled from a real course of spoken lessons as given by the author to New Zealand's soldiers. It is pocket size, light, and has waterproof binding.

Trench Warfare. By J. S. Smith. Dutton. 144 pp. \$1.50.

The author of this little book is an American who enlisted with the Canadian troops early in the war and has seen the entire development of trench fighting on the Western front. He is now

a Second Lieutenant with the British Expeditionary Force in Flanders. His manual gives all the technical details of building, holding, and taking trenches. The information contained in this work must sooner or later be mastered by every American officer and private who is to serve in France.

POLITICS, ECONOMICS, SOCIOLOGY

Constitutional Conventions. By Roger Sherman Hoar. Little, Brown. 240 pp. \$2.

The fact that the Constitutional Convention now in session in Massachusetts is not authorized by the existing constitution of that State, and that for this reason it has been denounced by certain citizens of Massachusetts as void and of no effect, gives special pertinence to this discussion of the nature, powers, and limitations of constitutional conventions by one of the ablest members of the Massachusetts bar, a former State Senator and Assistant Attorney-General, and the son of the late United States Senator George F. Hoar. Two years ago, when the New York State Constitutional Convention was in session, many questions arose relating to the convention's powers and the lack of an up-to-date text-book on the subject was felt and expressed. But the New York convention had been authorized by the constitution of the State and the same thing is true of the New Hampshire convention, now pending. In the State of Indiana, however, it has been proposed to hold a convention without the sanction of the constitution, and similar action is likely to be taken, from time to time, by other commonwealths. Mr. Hoar's careful analysis of the various problems arising whenever a revision of a State's fundamental law is undertaken, is applicable in every State, and will, no doubt, be the standard treatise for many years to come.

The State and Government. By Jeremiah S. Young. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 180 pp. 50 cents.

An attempt to clarify the popular understanding of the principles of government, as developed in our own national history. Since the knowledge of government is fundamental, this book is presented as one of the first volumes of the "National Social Science Series," edited by President McVey, of the University of North Dakota.

State Socialism, Pro and Con. Edited by William English Walling and Harry W. Laidler, with a Chapter on Municipal Socialism by Evans Clark. Holt. 649 pp. \$2.

This book offers a striking exhibit of the replacement of private by governmental industry throughout the world, before and during the war. It is wholly based upon official documents and other authoritative sources. The selection of materials was guided by experts. The general topics treated are: finance, agriculture and the conservation of natural resources, transportation and communication, commerce, industry, and mining, while the last six chapters deal with the relation of collectivism to the individual as citizen, consumer,

producer, and taxpayer. The purpose of the editors has been not to formulate a brief for state socialism, but rather to portray the extent of these new governmental activities and to suggest their probable future development. We all know that since the outbreak of the war governments have been doing an increasingly large part of the world's work—operating railroads and mines, nationalizing and distributing the food supply, and controlling many manufacturing industries. We are all curious to know how many of these activities will cease with the war and whether new ones will be added.

Government Partnership in Railroads. By Mark Wymond. Wymond & Cark. 178 pp. \$1.50.

The author's studies of our American transportation problem have led him to the conclusion that the present system of regulating railroads through many independent acting bodies has resulted disastrously to interstate commerce, but since the area of the country is too great for sufficient regulation from Washington alone, he proposes to divide the country into eight sections with boundaries coinciding with those of the present principal traffic territories of the railroads. His suggestion is that the present organization of the Interstate Commerce Commission be expanded by creating eight district commissions of seven members each, the commission at Washington to have supervision over these district commissions to coordinate their work and to prevent discrimination between districts. The make-up of each of these district commissions would be representative of various interests within the district—agricultural, industrial and commercial, railroad labor and railroad administration. One member of each commission would be a lawyer, one an engineer, and another would represent finance.

Equal Opportunity for All. By Frederic E. Kip. Privately printed.

The chief principle for which Mr. Kip contends in this little book is that all railroads and other corporations doing an interstate business should be incorporated and regulated exclusively under Federal laws, instead of the laws of the State in which their headquarters happen to be located.

The County: The "Dark Continent" of American Politics. By H. S. Gilbertson. National Short Ballot Organization. 297 pp. \$2.

Several of Mr. Gilbertson's chapter-headings indicate very clearly the scope of his work—"A Political By-Way," "Just What Is a County," "A Creature of Tradition," "A Base of Political Supplies," "Urban Counties," "County Government

at Work," "Roads and Bridges," "County Home Rule," "Consolidation," "The County of the Future." For several years Mr. Gilbertson has made a special study of county government in the United States. Some of the fruits of this study have already appeared in this Review in the form of a special article by Mr. Gilbertson. There has been no attempt to compile a hand-book or treatise of information on counties, but the problems of county government are clearly outlined and suggestions are made for the improvement of existing conditions—suggestions all the more valuable because they are the outcome of keen observation, tested by appeals to official experience. Since Mr. Gilbertson began the inquiry, something has been done here and there towards untangling the county knot, for example, the work of the Public Efficiency Society of Cook County, Ill., the Westchester Research Bureau of New York, and the Tax Association of Alameda County in California—and the results of this work justify a degree of optimism for the future.

Town-Planning for Small Communities.

By Charles S. Bird, Jr. Appleton. 422 pp. \$2.

This is a practical book of suggestions for all who have to do with the planning of new towns or the improving of old ones. It is based on the work already done in Walpole, Mass., and, with modifications to meet local needs, the surveys and proposed organizations for the town of Walpole would be good for any other small place. The illustrations are effective and interesting.

The Emancipation of the American City.

By Walter Talmadge Arndt. Duffield. 312 pp. \$1.50.

An argument for home rule for cities and a study in the growth and improvement of municipal government in the United States since James Bryce said, a generation ago, that "the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." Mr. Arndt discusses the basis of home rule for cities and its advantages, municipal finance, public utilities, administration and civil service, the short ballot, charters, the elimination of parties, the initiative, referendum, and recall. He explains the error in our conception of the character of cities, that they are the corporate agents of States, a conception which naturally arose from the colonial system of charters and royal grants. One would have welcomed a more detailed account of the beginnings of municipal reform in this country, with some comment on the pioneers of the movement. But nevertheless the volume is a succinct analysis of our forms of municipal government and in its revelation of substantial progress an incentive to good citizenship.

Municipal Ownership.

By Carl D. Thompson. B. W. Huebsch. 114 pp. \$1.

A brief review of the arguments against private ownership, the failure of regulation, and the advantages of municipal ownership. The writer's conclusion is that "Labor stands to gain by municipal ownership; the consumers or the users of the public utilities stand to gain by mu-

nicipal ownership, and the public stands to gain by municipal ownership. Only those who own and operate the utilities stand to lose—and theirs will be only a temporary loss."

Municipal Functions.

By Herman G. James. Appleton. 369 pp. \$2.

An attempt to familiarize the public with the standards of accomplishment by which a city government should be measured. As Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff emphasizes in an introduction to the book, city government touches more points more frequently than any other branch of government. In one respect this work differs from most books of its class. The author approaches the discussion from the standpoint of the smaller community rather than the metropolis.

Municipal Year Book of the City of New York—1916.

Prepared under the direction of the Assistant Secretary to the Mayor for distribution by the Municipal Reference Library. 235 pp. 15 cents; 20 cents, postpaid.

All readers who are interested in the details of the government of New York City—and they are by no means confined to New Yorkers—will find this compact, well-edited year-book extremely useful. No other publication of an authoritative character gives this information. Taken in connection with Mr. Gilbertson's survey of the Mitchel administration, in this number of the Review, the year-book answers in the completest possible way such questions as are likely to arise in this campaign year.

Is Civilization a Disease?

By Stanton Coit. Houghton, Mifflin. 136 pp. \$1.

A lecture delivered on the Weinstock Foundation of the University of California, which provides for lectures by scholars and men of affairs on various phases of the moral law in its bearing on business under the new economic order. Mr. Coit's study differentiates sharply between civilization proper and that which is often confounded with it, namely, humanism. He finds that the great communists, Fourier, Prudhomme, Robert Owen, and their disciples are agreed that civilization is a disease that preys upon the bodies and the spirits of men. And that with the communists are arrayed all the more radical groups of society. He asks us to seek relief for the living foundations of society that groan, while those who are able to dwell above in freedom bend every effort to muffle the groans and delay the upheaval that periodically arrives. His theory of the war is that it has been largely precipitated by inventions, ideas, discoveries, new social contacts rushing in with unprecedented force and bringing about fear in the minds of the privileged lest they be forced down to a common life of equality and brotherhood. The war therefore becomes a protest against the leveling process. But something better than civilization arrives, a "new social mind." It comes through travail, but it comes, and it is in part the personal realization H. G. Wells has voiced, of our individual responsibility to the Almighty, our transition from citizens to sons of the Ever Living God.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, REMINISCENCE

The Danish West Indies. By Waldemar Westergaard. Macmillan, 359 pp. Ill. \$2.

A brilliant piece of historical writing, particularly significant to students of American history. Dr. Westergaard tells the story of the settlement and administration of the Danish West Indies from 1671 to 1754, and in a supplementary chapter gives briefly their history from the middle of the eighteenth century to 1917, the date of their purchase by the United States. The historical perspective embraces European colonial expansion in the West Indies, covers the great romance of trade in St. John, St. Croix and St. Thomas, dealings with pirates, the growth of agriculture, and the success of the island plantations in the days when "sugar was king." There is much about the slave trade and its attendant abuses and accounts of the insurrections of the negroes. One episode connected with the colonization of the islands is of interest at the moment. Following the year 1680, Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, made a movement toward the entry among nations of Brandenburg as a colonial and sea power, by making arrangements with Denmark for a West Indian sugar experiment to the end of gaining a permanent foothold in St. Thomas. The account of the affair is excellent reading. Professor H. Morse Stephens says in the preface that no Danish scholar has written the history of these islands and that it should be a matter of pride that the first scholar to go to Denmark and secure the old archives of the islands from the files of the Danish West India and Guinea Company is an American, a son of a Danish family which emigrated to North Dakota. Dr. Westergaard received his training in history at the University of California. He is at present Assistant Professor of History at Pomona College.

Russian Court Memoirs. Anon. Dutton. 515 pp. Ill. \$5.

A series of personal impressions of court, political, and social life in Petrograd by a native Russian of the inner circle. While the book is written frankly from a monarchical point of view, no reactionary measures are advocated, but rather a middle course, the shaping of Russia into a constitutional monarchy. It is the author's opinion that the Russian people are in the main temperamentally unfit for a republican form of government. But that was in 1914. The picture of society in Petrograd in that year seems, however, to prefigure the ensuing state of political affairs. "Society," he writes, "resembles a ship that has lost its helmsman and drifts in different directions according to each change of wind." There is a sympathetic sketch of the ex-Czar and his children, but the former Czarina is criticized for her associations with wandering monks, of whom Rasputin was a notorious example. There are chapters on Russian history, anecdotes of statesmen, generals, and politicians, impressions of American women in Russian society, of the Foreign Office, the press, and of the first shock of the war. The illustrations give added interest to these piquant pen sketches.

A History of Williams College. By Leverett Wilson Spring. Houghton, Mifflin. 341 pp. \$3.

This is a well-written and appropriately illustrated history of the college in the Berkshire Mountains of western Massachusetts. Any history of Williams must necessarily be largely given up to biographical sketches of personalities who as presidents and professors have built up the institution. Although always a small college, relatively speaking, Williams has, throughout its history, exerted an influence in the nation out of all proportion to its size.

The Literary History of Spanish America. By Alfred Cooster. Macmillan. 495 pp. \$2.50.

This is a pioneer work, at least so far as American scholarship is concerned. It is stated in the preface that only two really valuable works by Spanish-American authors exist in the United States, one in the library of the Hispanic Society of America, in New York City; the other in the library of Harvard University. Although neither of these is complete, each in a measure supplements the other. With the exception of the histories of the literature of the several countries written by natives of Argentina, Venezuela, and Uruguay, the field has not been worked. This writer begins with chapters on the colonial and revolutionary periods, and proceeds with treatment of each country separately.

The Insurrection in Dublin. By James Stephens. Macmillan. 148 pp. \$1.25.

This little book is not so much a history of the Irish insurrection of last year, as a disclosure of the mind and temper of the revolutionists. In fact, the book was written in Dublin at the very time of the insurrection, which is attributed to certain political leaders who gave pledges for Ireland to England which they had no right to give. Mr. Stephens advises Irishmen not to talk of Ireland as a nation until they make her one.

Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections: 1866 to 1885. By the Rt. Hon. Lord George Hamilton. Dutton. 344 pp. \$4.

Lord George Hamilton began his public career as a Tory and Free-trader in the days of Benjamin Disraeli and remained continuously in public life until 1906. The present volume covers rather less than half of that period, during which the author was on terms of personal acquaintance with every British political and social leader.

My Life and Work. By Edmund Knowles Muspratt. Lane. 320 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

The author of this work has been for many years a leading figure in social and political life of Liverpool. Among the celebrities of whom he gives accounts are Charles Dickens, Samuel Lover, Sheridan Knowles, and Charlotte Cushman. In early life the author studied with the great German chemist, Liebig, whom he regarded as "in many respects one of the greatest men of the nineteenth century."

Stevenson: How to Know Him. By Richard Ashley Rice. Bobbs-Merrill. Portrait. 395 pp. \$1.25.

Even those who know Stevenson best will find interest and the freshness of warm appreciation in "Robert Louis Stevenson: How to Know Him," by Richard Ashley Rice, Professor of English Literature at Smith College. The introductory chapter, "The Companionable Author," is one of the best appreciations and tributes to Stevenson that we have in modern literature. The second chapter, "Child's Play," makes one see Stevenson as a real dweller in the immortal Story-book World, who spent a few years in our unhealthy, practical climate for the delectation of all children, those in years and the grown-up ones, too. Whatever Stevenson did and wherever he was, his eyes were forever turned toward some world where there was time for "play," where "make-believe" was true simply because one chose to have it so. Of the later days in the South Sea islands at Vailima, he has much to say that is constructive. What he meant to the Samoan chiefs, as a man and a friend, is given a larger interpretation and ripens what he calls—a most perfect acknowledgment of Stevenson's citizenship in the world.

Timely Recollections. By Reverend John Shearme. Lane. 320 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

This unpretentious book of reminiscences is truly delightful. The reverend John Shearme, Honorable Canon of Winchester, was born in Cothill, Stratton, North Cornwall, in 1842. His recollections therefore cover a period from the days of highway robbery to the present time. Some of the most interesting years of his life were spent as vicar of Ryde, a large parish on the Isle of Wight. His pictures of famous personalities have a fine flavor. Among them are Gladstone, Lord Tennyson, Elizabeth of Austria, Emperor Francis Joseph, Empress Eugenie, and Queen Vic-

toria, whom he last saw lying in state before her funeral in the royal lodge at Osborne.

My Reminiscences. By Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan. 273 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Personality. By Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan. 220 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

"My Reminiscences," by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, tells the story of his inner life from childhood to maturity and presents in a series of vivid pictures the evolution and growth of his literary genius. It is a fascinating narrative and an almost necessary commentary upon the peculiar content of Tagore's mystical writings.

In a volume of essays collected under the title "Personality," Tagore analyzes man's joy in art, the mystery of personality, man's second birth into the extra-natural world, and impresses the truth that to establish perfect relationship with the moral world is life. Other papers describe his school for boys at Bolpur, India, ideals of education, and women's place in the modern world. One must bear in mind, while reading Tagore, the difference between the Eastern and Western mind. The mind of the East is a mirror that reflects the universe, while the dynamic Western mind more closely resembles that fountain in the pleasure domain of Kubla Khan, "with ceaseless turmoil seething." Tagore writes as he lives, in "the spirit of oneness which goes beyond the thoughts of the mind." Of this soul consciousness the Isha Upanishat has said: "It moves. It moves not. It is in the distant. It is in the near. It is within all. It is outside all."

Stray Birds. By Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan. 91 pp. \$1.50.

Typical sayings of the Bengali poet, aphorisms of such concentrated thought and beauty that they could easily in many cases be expanded into lengthy poems or essays.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND ENTERPRISE

Religion In a World War. By George Hodges. Macmillan. 103 pp. \$1.

Eight sermons for the average man and woman that outline the position of the church in the present war, and sturdily battle for the permanent ideals of the race. Dean Hodges analyzes war in general, and the present war from a basis furnished by the report of Mr. Bryce's commission on the conduct of the war in Belgium. He reminds the church that Christianity is a militant religion and that Sir Philip Sidney's advice was sound: "When you hear of a good war go to it . . ." But it is the interior war in man's personality that we must first subdue. The subjective battle, before the objective, the victory over Beelzebub, the "god of flies . . . the devil of petty annoyances, of trifling irritations, of our besetting sins, of the difficulties of the common life." A most stimulating book that can be read to mental, moral, and spiritual profit.

The Religions of the World. By George A. Barton. The University of Chicago. 349 pp. \$1.50.

A terse, well-written text-book packed with the facts concerning the great religions of the world. An outline is given of the religions of Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt—the faiths of the Hebrews, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Zoroastrianism, the religions of China, Japan, India, Greece, Rome, and of Christianity. Through the condensation and clarity of the material the student will easily perceive the psychological unity of man, the nature and universality of religion, and become familiar with beliefs common to all religions.

The Sympathy of Religions. By George R. Dodson. The Beacon Press. 339 pp. \$1.25.

One of the best books the person who is despondent over the spectacle of a world at war

can read. To all who believe in the necessity of the revitalization of the Christian religion and in the long lines of comprehension of truth which we see "converging to a new unity of civilized and humanized thought on the heights," this eloquent interpretation of the spiritual values of six leading religions will bring gladness and inspiration. It includes many quotations from Plato, Emerson, the Vedas, and from Buddhist sages.

Do We Need a New Idea of God? By Edmund H. Reeman. George W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia. 214 pp. \$1.

The author reads human history as a long and painful search after God and a continual reaching after goodness on the part of men. His book brings God out of abstractions and down to the average man in the street, to the workers of the world who need a divine comradeship, a Friend, the sense of at-onement with God. This conception of God as the master spirit of struggle, the "eternal toiler" of the universe, is shown to be in line with the facts of modern experience. Mr. Reeman writes: "Religion is not a matter of saving the soul for the future; it is a matter of actual identity here and now with God in the struggle of life."

A Confusion of Tongues. By Paul Revere Frothingham. Houghton, Mifflin. 256 pp. \$1.25.

Mr. Frothingham feels that we have been living in an unfamiliar world since 1914. While men are dying everywhere and millions of persons suffering mental and physical strain in the performance of their duties, we cannot turn our thoughts from the war, but our spirits still have need of a wider range in the contemplation of eternal principles and ideals. The aspects of life as affected by the war are presented in this series of comforting essay sermons.

We Believe. By Paul Revere Frothingham. Boston: The Beacon Press. 117 pp. 90 cents.

A small volume of eloquent sermons called forth by the revival meetings held in Boston in 1916-17 under the leadership of the Rev. William Sunday. They are: "The Fatherhood of God," "The Brotherhood of Man," "The Leadership of Jesus," "Salvation by Character," and "The Progress of Mankind."

The New English Translation of the Bible. Jewish Publication Society. Gift Edition, India paper, leather binding, \$5.

This new English translation of the Bible has been made to satisfy a twofold need, that of a translation based upon the most recent results of scientific research, and the natural desire of the Jews to secure a translation which should be the work of the representative scholars of the Jewish faith. The translation is modeled after the style of the Authorized and Revised versions and is divided according to Jewish tradition into three divisions: Law (Torah Pentateuch), Prophets (Nebi'in), Writings (Ketubin). In matters where Assyriology, archaeology, zoölogy, and botany can speak authoritatively, this new translation presents the latest results of investigation. The arrangement of the biblical books follows the Jewish order. Ruth, Lamentations, and Daniel are

all placed among the division of Writings, not among the Prophets, as in non-Jewish versions. The late Dr. Solomon Schechter was elected to the chairmanship of the committee in charge of the translation, succeeding the late Dr. Marcus Jastrow. This committee was merged in a Board of Editors, of which Dr. Cyrus Adler was chairman. The sections of the Pentateuch which are traditionally read on the Sabbath are indicated and also all readings for feast days and fast days.

The Story of Bible Translations. By Max L. Margolis. Jewish Publication Society. 129 pp. Ill.

The author confines his work to the translations of the Hebrew Scriptures. As early as the second century it became necessary to render the sacred tongue of the Hebrew priests into the dialect understood by the unlearned. The rabbis called the translations Targum, which at first consisted only of an oral simplification of the text. Later the Targum became specifically the Aramaic version. Among the famous versions is the Targum of Babylonia, which is called Onkelos, after the proselyte who did the work. Other Targums are described, also the Septuagint and later Greek versions, ancient Christian translations, translations in the Middle Ages, those of the Reformation, and modern translations. Additional chapters reveal the inherent difficulties of Bible translation and enumerate the various agencies for the circulation of the Scriptures.

An African Trail. By Jean Kenyon Mackenzie. West Medford, Mass.: Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions. 222 pp. Ill. 30 cents.

African Adventures. By Jean Kenyon Mackenzie. West Medford, Mass.: Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions. 30 cents.

Jean Kenyon Mackenzie, whose missionary letters from the west coast of Africa were published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, and later in a volume under the title of "Black Sheep," has written a text-book on the approach of the Gospel to primitive peoples, entitled "The African Trail." It is presented to the public by the Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, of which Mrs. Henry W. Peabody is chairman. The chapter headings are: "The White Man in Africa," "The Bulu," "The Bulu and God," "The Ten Tyings" (the Ten Commandments), "The New Tribe," and "The New Custom." There is not in existence any other missionary text-book that presents with such power the underlying psychology of certain African tribes. Miss Mackenzie has also written a junior study book, "African Adventures," a marvelous story of the jungle and of the beauty of the simple Christian faith of African children.

Judging from the narratives of this experienced missionary, the conversion of a native black in West Africa is not an emotional religious experience, but an adventure of the reason or will, or an economic investiture, a regeneration, built up from the basis of the primal things of his old wisdom, a new "ten tyings," that must constitute his honor and become the secret of his service.

Church Advertising. Arranged by W. B. Ashley. Lippincott. 200 pp. Ill. \$1.

A book that is a life-saver for the church with empty pews. A series of lively discussions of church advertising and publicity methods by authorities on the subject, who presented their views in these papers at the first national conference on church advertising held in Philadelphia in June, 1916. Seemingly nothing has been omitted in the way of church advertising, from the out-of-door devices, steeples, bulletins, etc., to moving pictures and newspaper publicity, that assists in making the

"goods of the other world" desirable to the average man.

In the Wake of the War Canoe. By the Venerable W. H. Collison. E. P. Dutton. 351 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

A missionary's record of forty years' labor among the Indian tribes of northwestern British Columbia, including the Queen Charlotte Islands. The book contains detailed descriptions of these savage tribes and the regions in which they live.

VARIOUS TOPICS

Lighthouses and Lightships of the United States. By George R. Putnam. Houghton, Mifflin. 308 pp. Ill. \$2.

When one thinks of lighthouses and lightships there are certain names that come into the mind on the instant: Grace Darling, the heroine of Longstone Lighthouse on the Farne Islands off the Scottish coast; Robert Stevenson, the great Scotch lighthouse engineer, and his grandson, Robert Louis Stevenson, who sketched his life; Abbie Burgess of the Mount Desert Light, Celia Thaxter of the Isle of Shoals beacon, Abigail Bates and the pretty patriotic story of Minots Ledge, and Meade, the Gettysburg hero, who built the Sand Key Light. The first full and authoritative book on the subject "Lighthouses and Lightships of the United States," by the United States Commissioner of Lighthouses, George R. Putnam, begins with the building of the Boston Light two centuries ago. In a descriptive narrative he takes up the lighthouses of the Atlantic coast, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific, explains the mechanism of the lights, the various improvements in construction, and the romance and adventure connected with each famous light. A supplementary chapter describes famous foreign lighthouses. He says: "The building and the keeping of lights is a picturesque and humanitarian work of the nation." While the great toil of the business machine necessary to maintain this work is not slighted, the romantic aspect of perpetual adventure with the sea fills this book with genuine thrills and recommends it to all classes of readers. The beautiful cuts of the lighthouses and life-saving stations past and present give vivid interest to this admirable record.

The Margin of Happiness. By Thetta Quay Frank. Putnam. 238 pp. \$1.50.

A timely book of lectures suitable for classes in cooking and household efficiency, of great use to all housekeepers and to every one who believes in thrift and in conserving the food supply of the nation. The question of sound nutrition has first place, and a quotation from John Burroughs is used to give emphasis to this important subject:

"Malnutrition is the door through which come most of the foes of our physical system. Our bodily life revolves around the digestive tract, we are built around a gut, and we are never for a moment to forget or ignore that humble, not to say vulgar, fact. A man ideally nourished could defy all the hostile germs that surround him, or lie in wait in his own body."

The Complaint of Peace. By Erasmus, The Open Court. 80 pp. 50 cents.

A translation from the *Querela Pacis* of Erasmus written A. D. 1521, and reprinted from a rare old English version, which is probably the print of 1802, translated by T. Paynell, and published anonymously. The publishers acknowledge indebtedness to Mr. C. K. Ogden, editor of the *Cambridge Magazine*, for calling attention to this timely publication and furnishing typewritten copy. Peace speaks in her own person on the continual racking of the world by war and on the interior wars of the passions that rage in every man's bosom. Every argument that has been advanced by the lovers of peace against militarism and its attendant horrors is cogently stated in this quaint document.

General Types of Superior Men. By Osias L. Schwartz. Badger. 435 pp. \$2.11.

Max Nordau writes in the foreword of a new philosophical and analytical study of genius, "General Types of Superior Men," that the author, Mr. Osias L. Schwartz, is "Isaiah holding forth on the structure of modern society and on the barrenness and wickedness of the souls of contemporary men." Jack London commended the book as the reasoning of an intensely original thinker, who is not afraid to touch upon the fierce class struggle that threatens to strangle human progress. It is vastly stimulating reading and much can be gathered from its torrential attack upon Philistinism. Nietzsche's shadow falls over the exposition of genius. The familiar Superman emerges in the contrasts of genius and Philistinism. We discover our superior man via Locke's method, but we perceive some incomprehensibilities in the flowing process of his construction once the reflective intellect gets to work. One takes it that humanism in the philosophical sense and also in the social sense constitutes Mr. Schwartz's religion. His ideas would have been promulgated to better effect if the material had been divided between two or more volumes. They aim at genuine constructiveness, toward the shaping of a higher type of humanity.

Desk-Book of 25,000 Words Frequently Mispronounced. By Frank H. Vizetelly. Funk & Wagnalls. 906 pp. \$1.60.

This desk-book gives the correct pronunciation of English words, foreign terms, Bible name, personal names, geographical and proper names of all kinds current in literature besides many

others that have proved stumbling blocks to the unwary. It is offered as the most complete consensus of English pronunciation that has ever been compiled and examination of the work will quickly prove its great value. The introductory material might well be printed and cast broadside in pamphlet form as an aid to the correction of the habit of slovenly speech.

The Finger-Print Instructor. By Frederick Kuhne. Munn & Co. 155 pp. Ill. \$2.

The method of identification by finger prints is now widely established both in this country and abroad, and is constantly coming into more general use. Wherever identification is needed, not only by police departments, but by private corporations and institutions for their clients and employees, the finger-print method commends itself for its efficiency and low cost of installation. The "Finger-Print Instructor," by Frederick Kuhne, of the Bureau of Criminal Identification of the New York City Police Department, furnishes an elementary and practical manual that will be of value both to the expert and the layman interested in the subject. Numerous illustrations accompany the text.

Surnames. By Ernest Weekley. Dutton. 364 pp. \$2.25.

There is scarcely any study so fascinating, or one which offers such intellectual reward, as the study of the sources of different kinds of names. This volume treats with great thoroughness certain groups of surnames, many of which have not been previously explained. The index contains six thousand names, including some French and German and a few from other countries, and the body of the book almost an equal number. One interesting chapter explains the Shakespearean type of surname which is common to all European related languages. This volume and two previous studies by Professor Weekley, "The Romance of Words" and "The Romance of Names," should be in every home library.

Rings. By George Frederick Kunz. Lippincott. Ill. 381 pp. \$6.50.

A veritable encyclopedia of fascinating lore connected with rings. All kinds of rings from the earliest historic times are described and pictured, those found in Egyptian mummy caskets, Celtic mounds and Babylonian tombs, rings worn by kings and prelates, used in religious ceremonies, and those hiding in museums and in the cabinets of private collectors. The rings of famous men and women are described, also rings that have served as charms and talismans, or have other romantic history. One chapter relates legends of certain rings of healing that even nuns were permitted to wear in case of illness. Stories, fables, and medieval tales complete this remarkable volume, which is one of a trilogy on jewels. The previous volumes are "The Curious Lore of Precious Stones" and "The Magic of Jewels and Charms." Reproductions of paintings of persons wearing rings are included in the 220 illustrations in color, double-tone, and line.

Domestic Architecture. By L. Eugene Robinson. Macmillan. 378 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Although a text-book of architecture, this book

has to do almost altogether with the simple, every-day things about the house, and its suggestions are meant as much for the owner and builder as for the professional architect. The author deals with a great number of perplexing problems in connection with the construction and maintenance of houses—problems that are sure to present themselves sooner or later to every household and a clear understanding of which would have saved many a builder from unnecessary vexation.

The Healthful House. By Lionel Robertson and T. C. O'Donnell. Battle Creek, Mich. Good Health Publishing Co. 191 pp. Ill. \$2.

The authors of this book have not confined themselves to details of hygiene and sanitation, as these terms are commonly understood. They have attempted rather to emphasize "the health importance of beautiful colors and beautiful lines and masses, beautiful wall and floor coverings, equally with fresh air and light—in short, to present to the reader a house that is healthful because it satisfies the demands of hygienic and esthetic sense alike."

Saving and Investing Money. By Thos. E. Sanders. The Thrift Publishing Co. \$1.

Ten lessons in thrift for the person in humble circumstances who must be cautious in the investment of his savings. Specific instructions are given about different securities.

Decorative Elements in Architecture. William Francklyn Paris, L. H. D. Lane. 152 pp. Ill. \$5.

A series of essays emphasizing the relative importance of interior embellishment. There are one hundred page illustrations printed as inserts.

Foster's Auction Bridge For All. By R. F. Foster. Stokes. 220 pp. \$1.

A strictly up-to-date book containing the new rules that have become necessary with the elimination of the old spade bid, and the laws fixing new bidding values. A book useful to beginner, to the average player and to the expert.

Foster's Pirate Bridge. By R. F. Foster. Dutton. 189 pp. \$1.50.

A variant of "Bridge" which distributes the privilege of picking the partner who could best support the trump or who could offer the best defense against it. This game was first introduced in this country at the Knickerbocker Whist Club in the Autumn of 1916. It met with an enthusiastic reception and has been tried out by all classes of players.

The Complete Auction Player. By Florence Irwin. Putnam. 381 pp. \$1.50.

All the essentials of a high-grade game, and advices to beginners by an author of several books on the game who is an instructor of unexcelled merit.

Expert Auction. By E. V. Shephard. Harper & Bros. 245 pp. \$1.25.

An excellent, practical book by an Auction expert. He shows how expert players actually

bid and play their hands and calls attention to the basic scientific principles of the game. It is suited to the needs of both beginners and finished players.

Lake and Stream and Game Fishing. By Dixie Carroll. Verse by Albert J. Cook. Stewart Kidd. 250 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

A book of fish and fishing conceived in the spirit of Izaak Walton but actually written in the modern vernacular of the disciples of the rod and

reel. A delightful book to read if you do not fish. The amusing introduction is by Jack Lait.

Through the Year With Thoreau. Edited by Herbert Gleason. Houghton, Mifflin. 135 pp. \$1.

A beautiful gift book illustrated with many photographs of places and objects described by Thoreau, accompanied with selections from his writings. A book for every nature lover, one that gives intimacy with "sights, sounds, and fragrances, that put together convince us of our immortality."

NOVELS WHOSE SCENES ARE LAID IN NEW ENGLAND

EDITH WHARTON draws a grim picture of New England in her story "Summer."¹ Even the ordinary reader will question the uncompromising texture of life in the village of North Dormer. And if that is incomprehensible, what of the "Mountain," that community of outlaws, ne'er-do-wells, and drunken vagabonds set in the fastnesses of the hills fifteen miles from this sedate New England hamlet? The characters seem drawn in the flat; they are two-dimensional so far as their emotions go. All the joy and pleasantness and tenderness has been extracted from their lives with a hand so skilled in literary portraiture that the sentences bite like the acids of the etcher. Charity Royall, a girl of the "Mountain," rescued in infancy from degrading surroundings and brought up in North Dormer, reverts to old blood strains and flees the monotony and repression of her narrow life to seek one care-less summer of rapture with the first young man who chances to happen her way. She has her summer and pays toll to heredity. Then the grip of engrafted conventions strangles her impulses to do the fine thing when the young man leaves her to follow his own path; the animal instinct of the wild creature asserts itself and she seeks safety in marriage with the elderly man who rescued her in childhood from the "Mountain."

It is a sordid story. Possibly Mrs. Wharton has a distinct object in dragging to the light the worst side of a disappearing rural life. Possibly her exquisite descriptive passages contrasted with the delineation of the clutching ugliness of these country districts point the way to necessary missionary work which shall restore equilibrium. It has been said since this novel was published that no community similar to the "Mountain" has been known to exist in New England. In justice to Mrs. Wharton, it is only fair to state that but one remove from New England, in New York, there were just such communities before transportation problems had been solved and the country opened up by the use of the cheap automobiles. She has portrayed the sullen wildness and clannishness of the natives with extraordinary fidelity and she is correct in her statement that the only outside

force that touched them at all was that of religion.

The splendid quality of Alice Brown's novel, "Bromley Neighborhood,"² becomes more apparent on a second reading when the consideration of idealistic values assumes first importance. Ellen Brock, the lively girl whose love story forms the major part of the tale, has no kinship with Mrs. Wharton's Charity Royall. She is a sturdy New England girl, earthly in the strong, repressed way of her kind, a brown beauty "red under the warmth of her cheeks." If her love story and those of the other young people who whirl through the pages are strangely unreal, the larger interests of the narrative give recompense. There is the war as a background and a glimpse of the rapidly changing consciousness of America. There is Mary Neale with her unswerving devotion to her family, the inimitable silhouette of Aunt Tab, that eccentric maiden lady, whose nature reflects twin rays of madness and common sense. And Larry Greene, the quiescent gentleman of Bromley, who wrote and played the violin, and dreamed that the men and women of Bromley would arise and give him the neighborhood again as it was in its dignified and gracious past. When he speaks of the war's arousing men to vision the preciousness of their heritage, it is the novelist herself who assumes the character.

"He had done black and white studies of New England men and women, the spirit of the thing he could not summon. But now he began to see the vision of life more clearly, to hear her actual voice. He saw—and the war had made him see—how men are linked together, not in sentimental brotherhood that riots in strikes and class hatred and will not stand gigantic sacrificial tests, but linked by the winds, by the sun, by the stars, by the fiat of what we call God."

The potent essence of old New England and of the New England of to-day lies in the fact emphasized in "Bromley Neighborhood," that the men of this section—forebears down to the newest stock—have never been content to be citizens of the earth only. What else was Puritanism? A very fine novel, a better sermon on the recovery of the lost values of American citizenship.

¹ Summer. By Edith Wharton. Appleton. 291 pp. \$1.50.

² Bromley Neighborhood. By Alice Brown. Macmillan. 418 pp. \$1.50.



FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—THE POSITION OF THE EXCHANGES OF THE WORLD

THE period of the war when economic conditions play as large, if not a more important part than the military, has been reached. For instance, much attention is now being given in the state departments to the regular loss of gold by the German Reichsbank. For nearly three years there was a steady gain, but the value of the mark has constantly declined. Finally, Germany has been forced to part with some of her treasure to maintain her credit in neutral countries, as Switzerland, Holland, and the Scandinavian nations. She has also been forced to give gold to Turkey and Bulgaria. The exchange situation in Russia is very serious. Only a little less so is that of Italy. The ruble has been at a discount of over 60 per cent., and the lira is 40 per cent. below the normal parity of 19.3. France has been unable to hold up her exchange. Sterling has been "pegged" for months. In Switzerland, American dollars are at a discount.

Spanish exchange, in peace times about the weakest of the continental exchanges, has been at a premium ever since the Germans crossed the French frontier in 1914 and transfers of credits from France to Spain began. One of the curious phases of this situation is that, although Spain owes the United States nearly \$50,000,000 on trade balance, there has been a heavy flow of gold from this country to Spain. This undoubtedly represents payments on triangular operations, as England to Spain through the United States.

Germany

The exchanges are reflecting the great cost of the war and the increased issue of paper currency. This obviously is the trouble with the mark. Germany has been on a paper basis longer than the others and to a greater degree. She has had difficulty in buying outside of her boundaries, except in the neutral countries contiguous, and there on a scale below normal. On the other hand, she has been unable to export to them, as what she manufactured she needed for home consumption. So the balance has been heavily against

her at these points. Unquestionably there has been considerable liquidation of commercial debts with securities. That is why in Holland, for instance, it is possible to-day to buy American or German stocks and bonds, formerly held by German investors, at a large discount from New York prices.

Russia

Russia has no securities to sell except those of her own creation. In these, on account of the speculative possibilities of the ruble, there has been a large commitment through New York and London. It is estimated that several hundred million dollars' worth of ruble bonds were taken in this country last year. In addition, about \$300,000,000 of ruble exchange was bought by these two markets on the supposition that the war would not last long and that rubles at the first heavy discount after the war began were a great speculative chance. It has turned out differently. They have been dropping month by month until now they are about 21 against the normal of 51.50. Political conditions since the revolution have caused liquidation of speculative accounts so there is no recovery and no further buying for either investment or speculation.

Italy

The lira is quoted 7.40 when it should be 5.18. There are conditions affecting Italian exchange that do not operate against the others. In peace times, Italy receives possibly \$100,000,000 a year in remittances from her sons and daughters in the United States and in the South American countries. Now this flow has been stopped. There are also no tourists' payments, which amounted to another \$100,000,000. Instead, the Italian Government is compelled to remit to America in payment to families of soldiers fighting against Austria.

Austria

Very little is known, by the way, of the conditions of Austrian finance. There have been no statements of the Austrian Govern-

ment Bank since the war began. No transactions have occurred in Austrian crowns from the day war was declared on Germany. At that time Austrian exchange was in a state of decomposition. It is told of an American contractor who had construction work under way in Austria when the war started three years ago that he was able to take such advantage of the depreciation in exchange on Vienna as to cut the cost of his buildings down from \$250,000 to \$175,000. American bonds held in Vienna have been sold in New York at the equivalent to the owner of 25 points above the market price.

Europe's Debt to America

What the different countries of Europe owe the United States on the basis of trade relations in the eleven months to May 31 is as follows:

Denmark	\$46,000,000
France	818,000,000
Greece	11,200,000
Italy	278,000,000
Holland	78,000,000
Norway	66,000,000
Russia	392,000,000
Spain	49,000,000
Sweden	20,000,000
Switzerland	3,000,000
United Kingdom.....	1,050,000,000

Since the fiscal year 1915 there have been almost no relations with Austria-Hungary and very small transactions with Germany. The exports to Germany for the eleven months, of \$2,196,000, compare with \$283,000 last year and represent the commercial U-boat cargoes. In 1916 the exports to Denmark were larger than they have been this year, but those to Holland have increased \$17,000,000, or about 20 per cent., and those to Spain \$25,000,000, or 50 per cent. Shipments to Sweden have diminished. Those to Switzerland have about trebled. Ordinarily, the United States is debtor to Switzerland on trade account quite a considerable sum.

The Neutral Exchanges

With the decision of the United States Government to limit shipments to neutral countries the exchange situation in Scan-

dinavian countries and in Holland may undergo a change. The premium against New York of 15 per cent. or more is, as will be seen by the foregoing table, not due to direct trade relations, for these are all against Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Here again the triangular operation has been most influential in creating the premium. The fact that sterling exchange is not natural, but is held at a certain point of advantage to the British Government in her great purchasing program in the United States, exaggerates the position of neutral exchanges, for it permits of arbitrage. Then again the gold holdings of all the neutrals have been increasing while those of the belligerents have been falling. The gains have been so large that one of these nations enforced a law against further gold imports. Prices of securities have been inflated.

While the United States 3½ per cent. Liberty bonds are at a discount and 4 and 5 per cent. war bonds of Great Britain, France and Germany are much below par, the Swedish 3½s are at 112. Scandinavian banks were buyers of a portion of the last Government issue of \$300,000,000 3½ per cent. treasury certificates of indebtedness. It pays them well to sell their domestic securities and buy the American short-term papers. Swiss bankers have been among the foreign buyers of American investment issues.

Germany's Economic Future

Getting back to the original proposition that economic conditions are being watched with more concern than military operations, it must be obvious that a crack in the financial structure of the Central Powers has already been made and that it will widen until it becomes a threatening fissure. If it were not for the resources of the United States, it would be equally ominous for Russia and Italy, for the advances of \$4,000,000,000 made by Great Britain to her allies have been a serious strain. These allowances will rapidly be absorbed by this country. Michaelis, the new German Chancellor, is quoted as having said that the economic future of Germany is now of more concern than territorial gain. This future grows darker each month.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

In the August issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS some out-of-date figures relating to the cost of the war to the United States were inadvertently used.

On August 1, the United States extended additional credits of \$185,000,000 to Great Britain and \$160,000,000 to France; and on August 2, made a loan of \$2,500,000 to Belgium—the latter in addition to the credit of \$45,000,000, established in June. These additional loans and credits brought the total of all loans made by the United States to all its Allies up to \$1,870,500,000. Of this total Great Britain received \$955,000,000, France \$430,000,000, and Belgium \$47,500,000.

Later estimates place the total cost of the war for the United States for the first year at \$18,000,000,000.

No. 861—HOW TO BUY INVESTMENT BONDS

In the June number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS on page 113 a list of investments is given which you appear to endorse. Will it be possible for you to put me in communication with these different companies? I am looking for reliable investments for a few thousand dollars.

We presume you refer to the following bonds mentioned by a correspondent whose inquiry we answered in the July issue:

Armour & Company $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., Dominion of Canada 5 per cent. of 1931, Commonwealth-Edison 5 per cent., Union Pacific refunding 4 per cent., and American Telephone & Telegraph collateral trust 4 per cent. bonds.

It is true that we consider bonds like these suitable for conservative investment. It would not be possible, however, for you to buy them or any securities like them direct from the issuing companies. The way to make such investment is through some reliable investment banking firm. We suggest that you get in direct personal touch with some banking house of good standing. Such a house, if unable to obtain for you these specific securities, would undoubtedly be able to supply investments of equally high average quality.

No. 862—THE DECLINE IN A REPRESENTATIVE ISSUE OF PUBLIC UTILITY BONDS

Some weeks ago Detroit-Edison 5 per cent. refunding bonds due in 1940 were selling at 101½, now they are quoted five or six points below that price. Can you tell me if this drop is because they are not considered safe? I would like to know also if these bonds are subject to a tax of any kind.

In our opinion the recent decline in the market price of the Detroit-Edison bonds has been due rather more to general market conditions than to the development of anything reflecting seriously upon the underlying position of the bonds as an investment.

While the Detroit-Edison Company, in common with almost every public utility company, has had its earnings adversely affected by the rising costs of practically everything entering into operation, we think about the worst has been seen in this

respect and that definite improvement ought to be noticeable before very long.

It is our understanding that the Detroit-Edison Company covenants to pay the normal federal income tax on these bonds, and that they are also free of the personal property tax in the hands of holders legally resident in the State of Michigan.

No. 863—WHAT THE NEW WESTERN PACIFIC SECURITIES ARE WORTH

I owned some of the old Western Pacific 5 per cent. bonds. By adding to my cash investment, I received new securities in the reorganization. Will you kindly tell me what these securities are now worth and whether the reorganized road is making progress.

For each of your old Western Pacific bonds upon payment of the subscription called for in the reorganization plan you received, we believe, \$400 par value of new bonds, \$550 par value of new preferred stock and \$950 par value of new common stock. The new bonds are now quoted at about 85, which would represent a value of \$347 for your holdings; the new preferred stock at about 46, representing a value of \$253 for your holdings, and the new common stock at 16, representing a value of \$152 for your holdings, or a total of \$779. These quotations are nominal, but seem to represent, with fair accuracy at least, what might be obtained if you were to undertake to sell under prevailing market conditions.

We find that the Western Pacific as reorganized has been making fairly satisfactory progress in the development of earnings, and in view of this we think if we were in your place we should not consider the disposition of the bonds and stocks at the present time.

No. 864—B. F. GOODRICH COMMON STOCK

I would like to have you tell me something about the common stock of the B. F. Goodrich Company, especially its dividend record and its general position as an investment.

Our records show that dividends on this stock were paid at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, or, in other words, 1 per cent. quarterly, from August, 1912, to February, 1913, inclusive. In May, 1913, the common dividend was passed and was not resumed until 1916, since which time it has been 4 per cent. per annum.

The company's surplus for the year 1916, after the payment of the 4 per cent. common dividend, amounted to over \$5,000,000. This represents a very safe margin for normal times, and, in our judgment, would ordinarily entitle the stock to a good rating. There are, however, so many uncertainties in the general industrial situation at the present time that no stock of this character can, in our judgment, be properly regarded as an investment, unless, perchance, as a business investment for one able to keep in constant personal touch with developments in the issuing company's affairs and with the general market situation.



THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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A NEW PICTURE OF PRESIDENT WILSON AND HIS CABINET

This photograph, made outside of the White House executive offices, is the first picture of the complete Cabinet made out of doors. Summer lingers a little longer at the Capital than it does further north,—hence the prevalence of light attire.

On President Wilson's right is Secretary of State Lansing; on his left are Secretary McAdoo, of the Treasury, and Secretary Burleson, of the Post Office. Immediately behind Mr. Lansing are Secretary of Commerce Redfield (left) and Secretary of Agriculture Houston (right). In the rear row (reading from left to right) are Navy Secretary Daniels, Labor Secretary Wilson, War Secretary Baker, Attorney-General Gregory, and Secretary of the Interior Lane.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LVI

NEW YORK, OCTOBER, 1917

No. 4

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Wilson and German Politics

President Wilson's reply to Pope Benedict's proposals for peace was made public at about the time the September number of this periodical was reaching its readers. Our extended discussion of the Pope's appeal, as presented last month, stands unmodified for what we believe to be the real sentiment of the United States; and it is in full accord with the views that President Wilson had expressed on earlier occasions, while equally in keeping with what he has now said in his reply to the Pope. We are told that all Germany is highly indignant at President Wilson for his attack upon the German Government and its policies, as not expressing properly the will and the character of the German people. The German press says that Wilson should mind his own business and not meddle in German politics. Outside interference in family quarrels is usually resented by every faction engaged in the family fight. And when such family differences have to do purely and strictly with domestic concerns, it is generally well for outsiders to keep aloof. It happens, however, that the political situation in Germany is not merely one that victimizes the masses of the German people, but it is one that has brought fearful calamities upon the entire world. If the German people had been in control of the German Government, and had been able to shape its policies, the present war could not have occurred. For this reason, we are strictly minding our own business when we concern ourselves about autocracy in Germany.

"An Irresponsible Government"

It is now nearly a month since President Wilson gave his answer to the Pope. Many statements of a sufficiently authentic character have been made to the effect that President Wilson's answer is acceptable to Great Brit-

ain and France. The answers of Germany and Austria appeared on September 22. They evaded the Belgian question, and were too general for practical purposes, though showing a hopeful trend of sentiment. President Wilson's answer had gone far to clarify the situation. It had expressed the best sentiment and judgment of the peace-loving, democratic peoples of the world, whether belligerent or neutral. The Pope had proposed, in a general way, the return to the status that had existed before the war, with an understanding that there should be adopted disarmament by land, freedom by sea, arbitration of disputes, and settlement of particular questions by negotiation. President Wilson declared that before these things could be done Germany must have a government representative of the German nation; because the present governing group in Germany held tenure through arbitrary use of power, and could not be trusted to make peace agreements with a group of nations having pure motives and having no sinister designs. Let us quote exactly what President Wilson said, and then let us proceed to discuss the question whether he was justified by the facts, and whether if true it was well to "rub it in" on the German people at a moment when they were trying to achieve political reform.

The President's Indiscretion

The part of President Wilson's answer that relates to the German Government is as follows:

The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long established practices and long cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no

barrier either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only but the blood of innocent women and children; also of the helpless poor; and now stands balked but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world.

This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people.

It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of its purpose, but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.

To deal with such a power by way of peace upon the plan proposed by his Holiness the Pope would, so far as we can see, involve a recuperation of its strength and a renewal of its policy; would make it necessary to create a permanent hostile combination of nations against the German people, who are its instruments, and would result in abandoning the new born Russia to the intrigue, the manifold subtle interference and the certain counter revolution which would be attempted by all the malign influences to which the German Government has of late accustomed the world. Can peace be based upon a restitution of its power or upon any word of honor it could pledge in a treaty of settlement and accommodation?

*Two
Main
Questions*

This is plain, hard talk in sentences that will go down through the ages as one of the most unsparing indictments ever made under similar circumstances by the head of one great government in respect to the nature and character of the government of another great contemporary power. It is not suave or diplomatic, or in any way ambiguous. It strikes as directly at the moral character of the German Government as Gladstone struck at the government of the Sultan of Turkey in the time of the Bulgarian atrocities more than forty years ago. But Gladstone was then out of power, and his speeches were not state papers. He was attacking his own government for being on good terms with the diabolical government of the Turkish Empire. President Wilson raises two questions, as our readers will at once perceive. One of these has to do with the international conduct of the German Government, and the other has to do with its ruthless mastery of the German people at home.

*(1) German
World
Policies*

In respect to Germany's international conduct, the facts of history will speak for themselves. Having adopted the view that might makes right, and that Germany was entitled to anything in the world that she could grasp and hold, the German autocracy proceeded to make ready for Germany's future of expan-

sion and domination. We have repeatedly expressed the opinion that the imperial policies of Germany's rivals have in many instances been pursued by indefensible methods. But British imperialism, whatever its mistakes or its misdeeds, is always subject to the redeeming and chastening power of the British democracy. If the British jingo took the Boer republics, let it be remembered that the British liberals, by way of restitution, gave back those republics to the Boers and gave them the whole of South Africa to boot. The policies for German imperial aggrandizement as worked out by the Kaiser and the military, naval, and commercial magnates who form the ruling autocratic clique, have been very different from those that characterize the British Empire during a corresponding period of time. Great Britain has not, in fact, been a menace to liberty whether within British realms or in other countries. No small state in Europe has had any reason to be afraid of Great Britain or of France.

*German
Methods in
War*

Not only, moreover, have the aims of the German autocracy been a menace to the world, but Germany's methods in her conduct of this war, and in her relations to other peoples, have fully deserved President Wilson's unsparing denunciation. He was not, in this answer to the Pope, dwelling upon matters of detail. Otherwise he might have laid

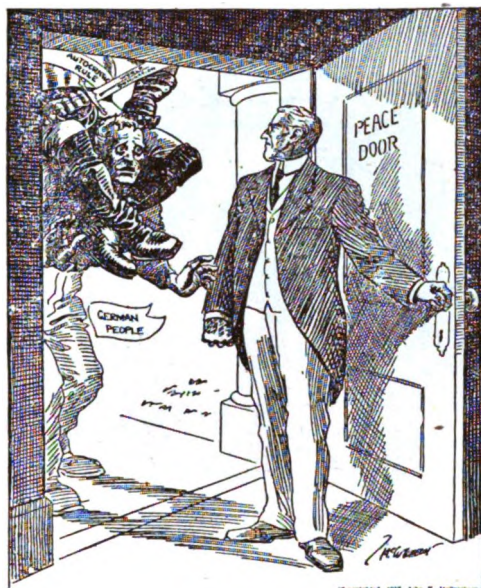


INOCULATING HIM
From the *World* (New York)

the Armenian massacres at Germany's door. It was Germany's assault upon Belgium that overcame the reluctance of the British liberals to enter the war. It was the resumption of submarine atrocities on a great scale that turned the tide of sentiment in this country and forced a declaration of war from a pacifist Administration and a pacifist Democratic Congress. The intrigues and unworthy deeds of German diplomacy in neutral countries have continued to form a part of this general program of heinous misconduct that has made Germany's war methods increasingly abhorrent to the public opinion of all mankind.

(2) *Germany's
Home
Situation*

We hold, therefore, that there can be no satisfactory defense of the war aims of the German Government, while much less can there be any defense of its war methods. Its international position has become that of an outlaw. But is it also true that in its aims and in its conduct the German Government has faithfully represented the collective ambitions and the typical moral qualities of the German nation? It is with much regret that we find a strong tendency in England, in the United States, and in some other countries, to attribute to Germans *per se* all the evil characteristics that have been exhibited in German militarism. It is true that during the past month there has been a great official effort put forth in Germany, through control of the press and in other ways, to make it appear that the German people are devoted to their autocratic masters and that Germany, with one accord, resents President Wilson's strictures. No one will deny that the German people, having been dragged into war, desire to win a victory that may give them back something in return for all that they have sacrificed. Their military power is real, and it has been exerted under superior leadership. They do not wish at this critical juncture to exhibit to their enemies any paralyzing or chaotic divisions of political opinion. They have seen Russia prostrate through revolution and dissension; and doubtless they have a great fear lest Germany might suffer irreparable harm if at this moment the German people should arise and repudiate their government. Three questions, then, must occur to the keen American mind in respect to this German situation. First, is it really and literally true, as President Wilson seems to allege, that German government and policy



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IT'S OPEN, BUT AUTOCRACY WILL FIRST HAVE TO CLIMB DOWN
From the *Traveler* (Boston)

do not rest upon any true basis of democratic opinion or democratic political power? Second, are the German people, like those of other nations, eager for self-government, and are the present tides of reform moving deeply and strongly? And, third, is that which the German press calls "Professor Wilson's hypocritical meddling in German politics," likely to hamper the liberals more than it helps them?

*Are the
Germans
United?*

Let us take up the first question. President Wilson says that the German Government is not responsible or representative. Many angry voices from Germany deny the President's allegation. They say that the German Government represents the sentiment and spirit of the German nation, regardless of the political system or the electoral machinery. Furthermore, many individual publicists and newspapers in Germany are declaring that the governing machinery itself is already as democratic in its control as that of the United States or England or France. Now it is conceivable that a pure autocracy might so teach and inspire a nation as to represent it faithfully. It is possible that false views and doctrines may have been so insidiously preached in Germany as to have impaired the moral sense of the nation and to have blinded the people to their own true welfare. The German censorship has been



DROWNED OUT

(Military success again threatens to defeat political reform in Germany)

From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

rigid; the German people have been deceived; hatred has been taught as a religion; a fanaticism begotten of fear has made the German people think that they are fighting a defensive war for their own existence. Under such circumstances they are not critical of means and methods. They are easily made to think that the end justifies the means. They slavishly follow the leader who gives momentary victories and promises permanent success. As things now are, therefore, the German critics of President Wilson may be right in saying that the country stands solidly behind its rulers, is identified with its Government, and is not conscious of being mastered by a ruthless autocracy whose policies are robbing the German people of the safe and honorable place that they might easily occupy in the world at large.

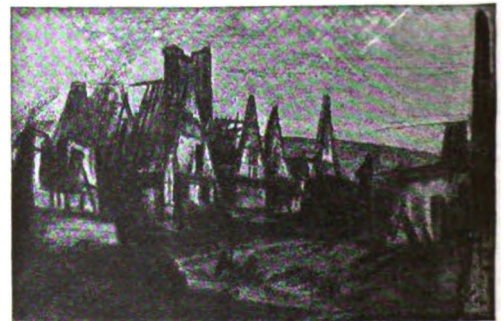
Their Election System

But the German critics are blinded by their own passions when they tell us that Germany already has a mechanism of government that gives the people ample power, and that the Germans are self-guided and self-ruled, and are not subject to autocratic control. And we should make sure that their assertions do not mislead us or cause us to doubt our previous opinions to the contrary. We advise our readers to study carefully an article in this number of the *REVIEW* (see page 397), entitled "Elections and Democracy in Prussia." The author, Mr. Frary, belongs to the historical faculty of Yale University.

He presents facts and figures to show how completely the present electoral system puts the government of Prussia (and thereby that of Germany as a whole) in the hands of a small ruling group controlled by the German Emperor. We have repeatedly called attention in our editorial pages to the three-class voting system, under which less than 20 per cent. of the citizens have two-thirds of the electoral power, the great mass of the people being scarcely able to obtain representation in the Prussian parliament. With the American system of universal franchise and secret ballot, the Social Democrats would long ago have been in complete control of the governments of Prussia and Germany.

A Defrauded Democracy

These Social Democrats are not Socialists in the Russian sense, but are democrats in the English and American sense, which means that they are working for popular government on the principle of equality. German autocracy has prevented domestic political reform by foreign policies that have furnished the excuse for aggressive militarism. The mili-



A GERMAN WAR LOAN CARTOON

(How Germany looks now, and how it would look after invasion)

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich)

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tary régime has meant the development of a great body of permanent officers under the control of the Emperor and his ruling group. This military power has been used at home to prevent democratic progress. The system is not only as bad as Mr. Frary proves it to be, but it is even worse, because the bodies now elected by an unpopular system have no control over the executive or administrative decisions and policies of the government. The great majority in Germany is democratic, and it is defrauded of power by the most autocratic system in the world. Why deny so obvious a fact?

*The
Reform
Wave*

If the war were safely over and the German people felt that they could afford to take up the fight for political reform, it is likely enough that democracy would make itself heard. The Emperor has already announced that he will favor the principle of equal suffrage in Prussia, *after the war*. And it has been further understood that this principle is to apply to the next election of members of the Landtag, the lower house of the Prussian parliament. The Reichstag is elected on a system of equal suffrage, but there is great inequality in the distribution of seats. The Reichstag has financial power, but does not shape the policies which the German people are asked to support with their money. There is a real movement for giving the Reichstag some responsibility for the government. The new Chancellor is consulting Reichstag committees with some show of deference. Sooner or later it is likely enough that Germany may become "democratized." But the present movement does not seem to be advancing rapidly in the face of war conditions. Military autocracy in war time has a greater practical efficiency than social democracy, or what is known as parliamentary responsibility. Apparently, then, German political reform is not making sensational strides. Can pretended unity be kept up?

*Effect of
Wilson's
Plain Words*

German liberals are asserting that President Wilson has helped the reactionaries and hurt the reformers by making it appear that criticism of the Government is a form of aid rendered to the enemy. This does not seem very credible or important. These are times for blunt truth rather than for polite evasion. If the German people are willing to assume responsibility for their own affairs, and to take their place in the world with



BARON VON KUEHLMANN

(Who has succeeded Herr Zimmermann as Germany's Foreign Minister, and who finds his position no enviable one in these trying times)

other people who have had enough of war and are willing to live on equal terms with their neighbors, they may read President Wilson's remarks and see how things look to the American people. Germans ought to be ashamed of having succumbed to the mastery of the elements that have brought such disaster upon the German people and such disgrace to the German name. They must not think that we are not fully aware of the great struggle the Social Democrats were making a few years ago to save Germany from the very thing that has happened. German domination in the world by force is not going to be tolerated. The people of the United States hate war, and they do not hate the German people. Americans do not wish to see any more German boys killed, nor do they desire any further desolation or bereavement in German homes. They call upon the German people to act responsibly. American opinion about Germany is worth considering. In no other country could the plain German people hope to find so many friends.

*A Word to
the German
People*

This is not the war of the German people, but of the Prussian autocracy. Let the German people set up a government of their own, and then let that government either fight or make peace. A revolutionary movement in Germany would probably be the most wholesome thing in modern history, although there is no present sign of it. As the war goes into the winter, military operations will probably be much diminished. But war preparation in America and elsewhere will be pushed through the winter with unremitting zeal. The German people have been promised by their rulers a favorable peace before the approaching Christmas. When, however, the German people find that their rulers have deceived them, would it not be well for them to devote a winter to political reform at home, with the growing certainty that peace can come by that path if by no other? Since Germany's Social Democrats have also been disappointed in the hope that Stockholm conferences would unite the "proletariat" of all nations in an irresistible demand for peace, why can they not see that their chief duty lies at home, and that the supreme salvation of Germany and of Europe calls for a democratic control of the German Government and its policies?

*Setting
Our Allies
Right*

If President Wilson's answer to the Pope has some drastic comments upon the German Government and some plain advice to the German people, it is of the highest consequence to know that it also proceeds to deal faithfully with the programs of Germany's allied enemies. It is less than a year since the governments of Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy, after great pains to confer with one another, united in a statement to President Wilson (who was then trying to act as a mediator), declaring their aims and objects in pressing the war. They set forth an elaborate scheme of conquest, involving—besides indemnities and restitutions—some mutilation of Germany, the utter dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, the reducing of Bulgaria to its lowest terms, and the disappearance of Turkey from the map. Not content with a program which involved important territorial gains for every member of the Allied group, these Powers had also entered into treaties for the exclusion of Germany and her allies from participation in the benefits of world commerce for a period of years after the war. Since that time

the Czar's autocratic government, which was largely responsible for shaping this unfortunate program, has disappeared from the scene. There has arisen a new Russia that repudiates the program of conquests and spoils. Furthermore, America has entered the war with no object of seizing the territories or colonial possessions of any other country. President Wilson's answer to the Pope sets the purposes of the United States in the same clear light as he placed them in his war message of last April. Further than that, however, he throws to the winds the last shreds of the program of the Allies as set forth in their answer to his inquiries of last December. The following passages from his answer to the Pope were clear enough, and there was no need for him to particularize further:

They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of governments—the rights of peoples great or small, weak or powerful—their equal rights to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world—the German people of course, included, if they will accept equality and not seek domination.

Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, we deem inexpedient and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace. That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind.

*Accepted
Doctrines*

It is obvious enough that the changed attitude of Russia and the high ground taken by the American Government have clarified the motives of the Allies and enabled them to revise their purposes and objects. Great Britain has permitted it to be known that she approves of President Wilson's answer. This means that our British friends are willing to do the right thing, and that they mean to lay a restraining hand upon old John Bull in his acquisitive mood. Everybody honors John Bull in his better nature, and trusts him when he accepts a mandate to do an unselfish thing for the general welfare. He will go very far, perhaps too far, in opening doors to Germany if only our former German friends will exercise a proper control over their own household. Russia as a menace to her neighbors, whether to Germany, to Austria, to Turkey, to China, or to Japan, is a bogey of the past. Russia of the present is self-absorbed and comparatively helpless. Russia of the future will be friendly, seek-

ing to play a great part in the cause of human liberty and progress. Now is the opportune time, therefore, for Germany to find a new spirit, and for the other empires to lay aside the motive of selfish aggrandizement and to believe in the value of good will and harmony.

*France
Ruled by a
Professor*

Although nobody can ever predict for a new French ministry a long career or a lucky one, the frequent cabinet changes in France must not be regarded as evidence that the republic itself is unstable or that the French political system is frivolous or fickle. Certainly it would be better if cabinet crises were somewhat less frequent. But the French administrative system, as centralized in the permanent public services, is solid and capable. The Presidency is influential, though not dominant. The chambers constitute a patriotic parliament resting upon a free system of elections. Previous to this latest change the veteran statesman, M. Ribot, had been Prime Minister for six months, while his predecessor, Briand, had ruled France and carried on the war as Prime Minister from October, 1915, to March, 1917. Professor Painlevé, who has now become Prime Minister, had earlier been Minister of Education, and under Ribot had been Minister of War. He is a man in the middle fifties, famous as a professor of mathematics and science, a member of learned societies, known in many countries as a French scholar. He is a most worthy representative of the French people, and his elevation to the chief executive post in France must be agreeable to Americans in general.

*The
Painlevé
Ministry*

The experienced statesmanship of M. Ribot is not lost to the new cabinet, for, this distinguished financier and publicist remains as Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is regretted that M. Albert Thomas, the Socialist Deputy who had been so energetic and valuable as Minister of Munitions, should have declined to take a place in the new cabinet. The Socialists in France had not been in sympathy with M. Ribot, and their official group decided not to be represented in the Painlevé ministry if Ribot should be retained. M. Thomas had favored sending French Socialists to Stockholm to protect the Russian Socialists against German influence. Ribot had refused to give passports to the French Socialists. Ribot also, up to the



PROF. PAUL PAINLEVÉ, THE NEW PRIME MINISTER
(The picture shows him standing in a corner of his study in Paris)

last, had been uncompromising in his declarations that France must win back Alsace-Lorraine by force, and he had repudiated the idea advanced by some of the German Socialists that the wishes of the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine should be ascertained by a fairly conducted plebiscite. Furthermore, the French Socialists feel that there should be more of youth and vigor in the new cabinet, a larger infusion of practical leaders in the world of business and labor. Nevertheless, the Painlevé ministry seems to promise well, and its spirit is excellent. As Minister of War, Professor Painlevé had been credited with giving General Petain the su-

preme command in the field and with making General Foch the head of the reorganized general staff. These two generals seem to be the best men who have survived through the testing processes of more than three years of terrific warfare.

*France's
War Aims*

On September 18 the new Premier made his formal declaration on behalf of the ministry in the Chamber of Deputies. It was an excellent plea for unity and for the moral support of the war in its remaining stages. The war aims of France, the Premier declared, are "neither for conquest nor out of vengeance. France pursues this war to defend its liberty, its independence, and at the same time the liberty and independence of the civilized world." As specific objects, he mentioned:

the *disannexation* of Alsace-Lorraine, reparation for the ruin caused by the enemy, and the conclusion of a peace that will not be a peace of constrained violence comprising within itself germs of wars to come, but a peace that is a just peace, in which there are efficacious guarantees to protect the society of nations against all aggressions from one among them. As long as these aims are not accomplished, France will continue to fight. Certainly to prolong the war a day too long would be to commit the greatest crime in history, but to interrupt it a day too soon would be to deliver France into the most degrading servitude.

The entire address was commendable in tone and spirit, and reasonable in its arguments and statements.

*What of
"Disannex-
ation"?*

Professor Painlevé's use of the word "disannexation" has caused much comment. Merely to continue the war for the conquest and recovery of Alsace-Lorraine by sheer force might prove to be what the Premier calls "the greatest crime in history." But "disannexation" seems to have a different meaning. It detaches Alsace-Lorraine, undoes the brutal German annexation of 1871, and opens the question for a final solution that shall be accepted in good faith by both France and Germany, as well as by the inhabitants of the provinces concerned, while having also the guarantee of the entire civilized world. The future must not be plagued by the continuance of this feud over Alsace-Lorraine. Germany's assumption that the forcible annexation of 1871 is not to be questioned is absurd. On the other hand, the assumption of many Frenchmen

that peace is impossible unless Alsace-Lorraine is restored to France without question, cannot be admitted. There is a considerable sentiment in Germany in favor of leaving the question to the vote of the inhabitants of the two provinces. The local feeling, indeed, is entitled to consideration, but it cannot be regarded as paramount to the international aspects of the question. The people of Alsace-Lorraine, if given entire liberty as to schools and language, would be reasonably comfortable either way, while particular families could migrate if they preferred to be under one national jurisdiction rather than the other. The important thing for all concerned is a permanent settlement. At the end of this war there must be no fortifications on the line between France and Germany; and the question of the border provinces and the future of the river Rhine must be settled as firmly as is the independence of Switzerland. If French intelligence is not blinded by passion, it will be seen that this permanent basis of peace is what France is really fighting for. The people of the United States are not throwing their resources into a war to change the map of Europe, but into a war to rid the world of the unbearable menace of European military aggressiveness.

*No Further
Danger of
Collapse*

If peace can be made on the basis of an end to this militarism, there is no danger of its coming a day too soon. Now that American military power begins to loom in the background, France and Great Britain are not going to collapse, no matter how complete may be Russia's failure to give further help. The chief danger lies in the lack of complete accord among the enemies of Germany. Closer coöperation would bring peace much nearer and save many lives. As we have shown repeatedly, the Germans are engaged in war-making, while the Allies are engaged in fighting. The soldiers of France, Great Britain, and Italy are superb. They are greatly superior to the intelligence that directs them from the war offices. Viewing the matter in a three-years perspective, this lack of higher intelligence and of unified effort has at times almost destroyed the Allies. Their immense superiority in manpower and in industrial resources has kept them going, however, in spite of inferior military and political intelligence at the head of affairs. They will not now lose the war, though Germany may not be "crushed."

*America's
Future
Secure*

If the war had ended a year ago, when the United States had not even the beginnings of preparation for national defense, we should have been in an unfortunate position and probably in real danger. The party in power at Washington could not understand the need of universal training and service that America faced when the European war broke out. We are now beginning to train a large standing army, and are creating a system which will make readily possible that program of universal training and service which still awaits adoption. We have begun to make war supplies in quantity, and within a few months we can meet almost any emergency requiring an attitude of national self-defense. It was indeed true last year that if Europe made a "negotiated peace," even one on the basis of the *status quo* as proposed by the Pope, this country might have been in danger of having to face alone an uneven struggle with one of the European powers. This was because Congress absolutely refused to make any military preparation worth mentioning. But there is no longer any serious danger. Peace will not be made on any basis that would expose the United States to the menace of invasion.

*"When
Will It All
End?"*

Nobody's guess regarding the duration of the war has behind it any conclusive information. The Teutonic peoples are still talking of peace before the beginning of the year 1918. The French and English are hoping for it in the autumn of 1918, just a year hence. The more sober-minded onlookers are not optimistic enough to feel any confidence whatever, and see no signs of an approaching end of the war. The Allied leaders have no formula except that of attrition, although they continue to talk somewhat of starving Germany out, even as they were talking three years ago. The greatest mistake of the war was England's original embargo, denying neutral rights on the plea that the war could be ended by keeping food from Germany. If the neutrals had asserted their rights with vigor, and shown England her errors, the German submarine policy could not have been entered upon and the war would have been ended before this time with Germany baffled in all of her essential aims. But history was not to be made that way; and now it must be worked out upon the lines laid down. Much will depend upon the things that may be done during the win-

ter months having a bearing upon the situation as it will appear next May. Instead, therefore, of now making predictions about the duration of the war, we may merely suggest that those friends and neighbors who have different opinions might find it interesting to write down their present views and put them in sealed envelopes to be opened on May 1, 1918.

*What May
Happen
Before May*

It is possible that before next May, for instance, there may be great changes in German politics and government—changes in the direction of liberalism and democracy. In spite of the war and the interruption of intercourse, there are some very real discussions going on in Europe. Belgium's freedom and restoration must be conceded. The future status of Poland will probably become more clear by next spring. Germany and Austria have declared a Polish kingdom and created a regency, leaving the King to be selected at a later date. The Poles seem rather favorable to this plan, but desire a position for their country that may have the sanction of England, France, and Russia. The Russians are facing internal problems of a crucial kind. But they cannot solve these problems until Europe is at peace. If, therefore, Russia is to accept even moderately sane and reasonable councils, she will welcome the snows and frosts that must end this year's fighting in the immediate future, and will spend the winter reorganizing her army and preparing to do a considerable part of next summer's fighting. She can thus join in an honorable peace and proceed with her great national undertakings.

*Great
Doings in
Russia*

Readers must remember that the sensational news from Russia is not complete or symmetrical. It becomes necessary to know who for the time being is controlling the censorship at Petrograd, if one is to make an estimate of the reliability of the dispatches. Mr. Simonds, in his admirable war article in the present number of the REVIEW, discusses the Russian situation from the military standpoint with sources of information that are superior to those of most American observers. He feels that we must not count much upon Russia's further participation in the war. It is too soon to pronounce in a final way upon the attempt last month of General Korniloff to make himself military dictator of Russia. Some American newspapers, evidently fol-



MR. TERESTCHENKO, RUSSIA'S YOUTHFUL MINISTER
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

lowing the lead of the British, supported Korniloff's movement at first, believing that it was the only way out of chaos. But the American official view showed continued faith in Kerensky. The members of the recent Root commission to Russia seemed to support this optimism. They were justified by the prompt collapse of the Korniloff rebellion and the general rallying in Russia to the support of the provisional government. The formal proclamation of a Russian Republic, by the Kerensky ministry, on September 15, had no legal or constitutional aspect, but seems to have indicated the adherence of all the present leaders to the view that the republican form of government should be, and would be, adopted by the constituent assembly that is to meet at some time in the future.

*Russia
Surviving Her
Ordeal*

If the news could be trusted, there seemed good reason to think that Russia was living down some of her most dangerous emergencies. Thus it was reported that Finland would defer until after the war her demand for complete separation. It is undoubtedly the duty of the Finns at this time to help Russia find stability, and also to help in the

defense against Germany. The same things may be said of the problems of the Ukraine. No portions of the Russian Empire are now being oppressed, and all portions ought to help Kerensky and the central government in keeping Russia's pledges to France, England, and America. If Russia writes loyal and faithful chapters of history during the next six months, her people will be proud of the record for centuries to come. Russia is so vast, and systems of communication and transportation are so little developed, that coherence is just now the foremost difficulty, as it is also the prime necessity. If Russia weathers her political storms during the winter months, peace will seem much nearer when the revised estimates are made next May.

*The
Korniloff
Episode*

There has been a desire to credit General Korniloff with worthy aims and purposes, but with improper methods. He is known as a man of iron, of unquestioned patriotism, who became convinced that the salvation of the new republic lay in combating disorder and anarchy with a military dictatorship. While commander at Petrograd, after the revolution of last March, he had found it impossible to work with the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. He chose to go to the front, and his success in Galicia astonished the world. When Brusiloff quit, General Korniloff was made commander-in-chief. On September 10 he charged the Kerensky government with becoming dominated by German influences, announced that he was supported by all the Russian higher commanders, and demanded supreme civil and military authority. He marched his



KERENSKY, DICTATOR: "TOE THE MARK!"
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)

armies toward Petrograd—at the very moment when regiments nearer the fighting line were in demoralized retreat. Premier Kerensky stood firm, however, and the rebellion failed to gain the soldiers' support. Within four days Korniloff and a dozen other generals had been arrested. Several committed suicide. General Alexieff now serves as Chief of Staff, and from all along the front there come reports of revived spirits, stiffening resistance, and even attempts at offensives. The Germans had meanwhile seized the opportunity to gain an easy victory, and had forced the Russians to withdraw from Riga, the great seaport on the Baltic. Earlier in the war this would have meant a threatened advance toward Petrograd; but German military moves on a large scale are no longer predicted, even in Berlin, and the approach of winter renders the Russian capital secure. Thus Russia has more to fear from internal foes than from the Teutonic armies, during the coming winter.

**Economic
Pressure
Needed**

Next May, furthermore, will bring us better data for estimating the trend of those economic conditions that must bear vitally upon the question of the duration of the war. The British attempt, in the first two years of the war, to cut Germany off from food supplies and from such vital needs as cotton, rubber, copper, and petroleum, was not successful in its objects. For one thing, the attempt began too soon. Germany being amply forewarned, the danger was averted. Food problems remain difficult, but Germany is not starving. Enormous quantities of supplies of all kinds have filtered through neutral countries into Germany, where many articles originating in England and America are still in common use. Germany is obtaining immense quantities of petroleum products from Rumania. She has used millions of prisoners of war to help produce food crops, and has managed to obtain supplementary food supplies from the Scandinavian countries, Holland, Switzerland, occupied areas of Russia, and various sources tributary to the Turkish Empire. Now that the United States is in the war, it becomes the duty of our Government to see that no materials of commerce originating in America shall either directly or indirectly aid the enemy if any policy of ours can prevent it. It may prove to be the case that we can thus contribute something of decisive value towards shortening the war.

**Holland
and Our
Embargo**

We commented last month upon the embargo power that Congress had conferred upon the President, and urged the vigorous and unqualified use of this discretion. Various facts came to light last month which justified a stern policy in respect to further trading with neutrals. For a number of weeks past, the presence of a long line of Dutch steamers—perhaps fifty of them—lying in the Hudson River and stretching as far north as Yonkers, has been visible evidence of our Government's new attitude. These ships are loaded with wheat, but not allowed to sail. If the reader will turn to page 424 of this magazine, he will find a statistical article showing how enormously Holland has been trading with Germany in the matter of food supplies. It is true that Holland has a perfect right to sell food across the border into Germany. It is not, however, her duty to carry on that trade. It is equally true that the United States has a perfect right to refuse to allow a single pound of American food supplies of any kind to go to Holland. But further than that, it is the bounden duty of the United States to see that these cargoes of wheat are either sent for Belgian relief, sold to England, France, and Italy, or used in this country where



AMERICAN RATIONING OF HOLLAND

UNCLE SAM: "I don't mean any ill against you, my dear, but I think I must put you on a sort of black list."
HOLLAND: "And that will be a black spot on yourself, Uncle Sam!"

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)

bread is now selling at double prices. The reason why Holland can afford to enter our market and pay unduly high prices for wheat and other food articles can be stated in a word. It is because Germany puts the money in the Dutch pocket by paying fancy and tempting prices for Dutch meat, eggs, butter, cheese, potatoes, sugar, and other supplies. In normal times Holland is an importer of food from Germany. In war time Holland grows rich by exporting food to Germany. If the Allies, including America, refuse to sell food to Holland, there will be less Dutch produce to sell to Germany.

Neutral Agents and Their Demands German business men have obtained a powerful footing in Holland, as they have also in Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries. The representatives of these countries have been carrying on a campaign of urgent solicitation here in the United States. One would suppose from their attitude that good-natured old Uncle Sam was doing those countries some great wrong, and oppressing them shamefully, in exercising the power of regulating American exports. Yet their countries are full of German firms engaged in the purchase of meat and other food supplies and shipping vast quantities to Germany. We are invited to put ourselves to great inconvenience, and also to prolong the war and sacrifice the lives of our sons, in order to permit Sweden and Holland, Norway and Denmark to continue the lucrative business of supplying Germany. These countries have had far more reason to go into the war against Germany than has the United States. They must either become a part of the future German system, or else they must owe their future security and freedom to the fight that France and England are making with the now indispensable assistance that we in the United States are giving. The Swedes used to pretend that their pro-Germanism was due to their dread of Russian autocracy. But with Finland free and Russia a republic, Sweden has nothing more to fear in that quarter. Sweden's true interests lie with the success of the cause of western Europe and America. She needs a thorough political house-cleaning; and it will be fortunate if an American embargo hastens it.

Sweden as Berlin's Catspaw Sweden's complicity with Germany was further illustrated last month by the exposure of some very belittling diplomatic con-

duct on her part. Our State Department at Washington made public certain dispatches from the German Minister at Buenos Aires (Argentina) to the German Foreign Office at Berlin. These had been transmitted in cipher by the Swedish legation to the Swedish Foreign Office at Stockholm, where the messages were safely given to the German Minister for transmission to Berlin. One of these messages, having to do with the recent discussion between Argentina and Germany over submarine attacks upon Argentine ships, suggested the plan of sinking Argentine vessels without leaving any trace—that is to say, with the drowning of all on board, so that there might be no evidence to make future trouble. Soon after bringing out these dispatches—which our State Department had been able to obtain in some way not mentioned—a further sensation was produced by the publication at Washington of a letter to his home Government written by the German Minister in Mexico, and also transmitted through Swedish diplomatic channels. The principal importance of the Mexican letter lay in its clear revelation of the fact that Swedish diplomats were being systematically used for German war purposes in a manner wholly incompatible with Swedish honor. Secretary Lansing quite wisely contented himself with giving publicity to these things, leaving the diplomatic world to wonder if there might not be other exposures yet to follow. Sweden's complaint that Germany had taken advan-



NO PLACE FOR A GOOD NEUTRAL TO BE SEEN
From the News (Dallas, Texas)



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CITIZENS OF BUENOS AIRES GATHERED IN FRONT OF PRESIDENT IRIGOYEN'S PALACE WHEN THE PRESIDENT LEFT TO ADDRESS CONGRESS ON THE SUBMARINE CONTROVERSY WITH GERMANY

tage of her innocence has not been convincing, and the stain upon Sweden's honor is not removed. Nothing will atone for such conduct except a complete political change at Stockholm.

Argentina Aroused

Meanwhile, the publication of the letters from Buenos Aires have had an excellent effect on public opinion in Argentina. That country had not shown as strong a disposition to join the United States, at least in sympathy, as had Brazil and several other South American republics. This was the more to be regretted because one of the foremost reasons for the decision of the United States to enter the war was the belief that a victorious Germany would try to obtain undue control over South America, taking advantage of the relative weakness, in the military and naval sense, of a rich country like Argentina.

Pro-German Influences in Argentina

Germans have great influence at Buenos Aires, and have been making large profits during the war period in the operation of various Argentine enterprises, such as electric-lighting

works, street railroads, and so on. They have been using these profits in a pro-German propaganda, and in every way to the disadvantage of the United States. They have been operating their electric-light plants and other establishments with coal imported from this country. If Italy and France had plenty of coal, they would be much nearer ending the war successfully. We ought to have no coal for German enemies in South America when our Allies in France are facing a winter without fuel. Argentina could so employ her resources as greatly to help the righteous cause of the Pan-American republics at this juncture. A salutary exercise of the embargo power at Washington might help to end the German propaganda in the La Plata country. Secretary Lansing's revelations aroused the Argentines in a hopeful way. We cannot commend the rioting that destroyed German property in Buenos Aires, but we can highly commend the vote of the Argentine Senate, on September 19, when with only one opposing voice a resolution was carried for the breaking-off of diplomatic relations with Germany. The resolution was expected to pass promptly in the lower

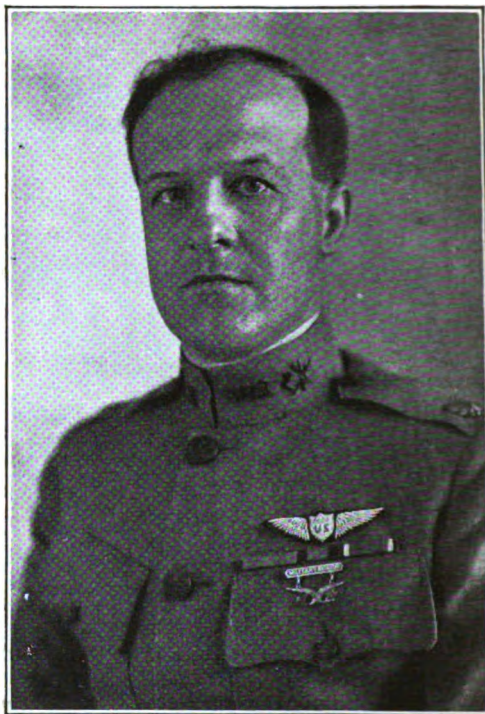
house, with little, if any, opposition. President Irigoyen and his advisers, however, had been opposed to such action, and Argentina's official attitude was still in doubt as these pages were closed for the press. It is believed that the United States will no longer hesitate to regulate firmly all further commerce, so that American ships and American coal, as well as American food, may completely serve the great cause in which America is enlisted.

*Can the
Submarine
Win?*

Germany has shown much elation over the capture of Riga on the Baltic Sea, while the English and American critics have minimized it as of slight military advantage. What may be called the political and moral aspects are more impressive than the military. Historically, Riga is one of the old German commercial towns of the Hanseatic League. It has to-day a much larger German than Russian population. The pan-German leaders would like to keep all that semi-German part of Russia that is now under German occupation. But Germany cannot hold any of her conquests unless she wins a general victory. And it is now admitted that the defeat of France, Great Britain, and America must depend solely upon the further success of the German submarines. If merchant ships can be built to replace those that are sunk, and if the Allied and American navies can by various methods give increased protection to ships carrying food, coal, copper, and other supplies, it is plain enough that Germany cannot win the war. Thus the shipbuilding program becomes one of the utmost importance. What it means is stated in terms none too strong by Prof. J. Russell Smith, in a spirited article which he writes for the present number of the REVIEW. Dr. Smith is an authority on shipping and commerce, and his urgent appeal should be heeded.

*Aircraft
Next to
Ships*

In our American policy of war construction, it is the opinion of the ablest authorities that the aviation program is second in importance only to that of the ships. Concerning the principles involved and the methods adopted for providing aircraft on a great scale, Mr. Waldemar Kaempffert, in an article which we entitle "The Wings of Victory," describes in this number (see page 386) the technical aspects of the immense industrial task of constructing many thousands of airplanes by standardized methods. In spite of



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THE ARMY FLYER WHO BECOMES HEAD OF THE
AVIATION SECTION

(Brig.-Gen. Benjamin D. Foulois is probably best remembered as Lieutenant Foulois. As recently as last year he held only a Captain's rank, in charge of the American army aviators in Mexico. He became a Major, and last month was nominated by the President as Brigadier-General in charge of the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps. He entered the army as a private eighteen years ago)

the dictum of some of our best military men that "the war is not to be won in the air," it remains true that the winning of the war on the ground may well turn upon the aid that can be given by a superior aviation service.

*Have We a
Practical
Policy?*

These observations bring us directly to the question whether or not America has a practical war policy laid out in some well-proportioned way, with a view to effective results. We are entering upon expenditures much greater than those of any other of the countries at war. Six months ago it was said plainly that we could not attempt to fight in the trenches of Europe, because all our energies would be required in raising food for the Allies, building ships to carry the food, mining coal, iron, and copper, lending financial credit, and manufacturing all sorts of war supplies. But the best-informed body of men in the country—namely, the Washington correspondents—are now telling their

papers that it is the present purpose of the War Department and the Government to send 2,000,000 men to France. So far as we are aware, the President has said nothing either to Congress or the country upon this subject. England is fighting so near the battle lines that the sound of the great guns can be heard in London. The war is immediately at Britain's door. It is quite as near in actual distance to great parts of the United Kingdom as it is to portions of France. But the war is six thousand miles away from very considerable portions of the United States. The Allies in Europe have already a much larger number of soldiers than have the Germans, with far greater reserves of men. Common labor for the war fronts can readily be secured in unlimited amounts from China, India, and Africa. But ships, food, railroad supplies, copper, coal, steel, and many other essentials, must come from the United States or the Allied cause must collapse for lack of supplies.

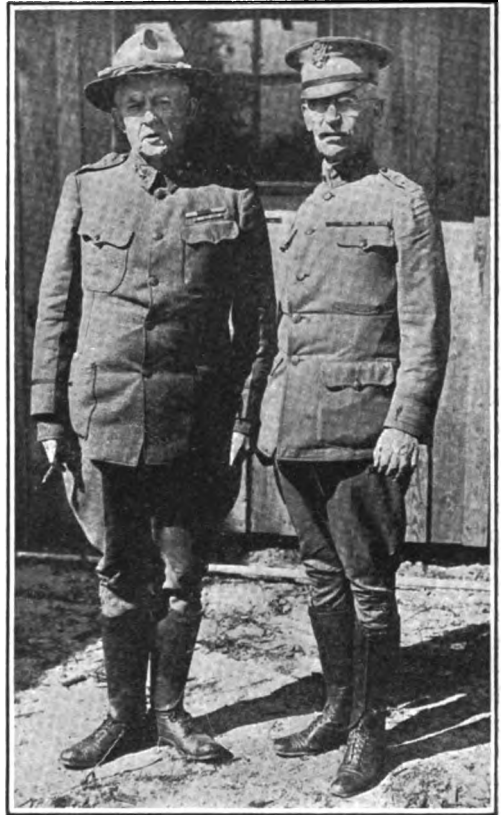
*What
Can We
Do?*

We cannot possibly send great armies to France, and keep those armies reinforced and supplied with food and munitions, without curtailing our ability to send food and supplies to the English, French, Italians, and Russians. If instead of sending a great many men to France (as we have done already, where they are training, but not fighting) we had used the shipping to send coal and steel and other necessities to the Italians, who have been fighting so marvelously of late under General Cadorna's lead, we should have been doing something at once appreciable to help win the war. The regiments that we sent to France were, as everyone knows, made up almost wholly of new recruits. It is true that their arrival helped to cheer the flagging spirits of our heroic French allies. General Joffre begged earnestly for at least one division, and it was officially announced at Washington that such a division would accordingly be sent, and with good effect. But what is to be our larger policy?

*War Does
Not Mean
Soldiers Alone*

The labor situation has become very difficult in the United States through sheer scarcity of men. One department of the Government is urging the production of food in great quantities as the paramount need. Another Government agency is working for the production of ships in quantities and at speed beyond any previous dreams. The farming program requires

Oct.—2



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MAJOR-GENERAL BELL AND BRIGADIER-GENERAL CROWDER

(General Bell is Commander of the Department of the East, in which Camp Upton, at Yaphank, Long Island, is located. The photograph was taken on occasion of General Crowder's visit to the new cantonment last month. It is needless to remind readers that General Crowder—who is Provost Marshal General—is credited with having created the new National Army through giving effect to the Draft Law)

new agricultural machinery, fertilizers, the output of all sort of subsidiary industries. The ship program likewise demands the highest quantity production in many kinds of trades. But along comes the War Department, with a program of its own apparently unrelated to the other efforts of the Government. Thus the selective draft was carried out by bureau officers in Washington along lines seemingly different from those that had been set forth by the President and Congress. We had been told that the draft was for essential national services of all kinds, including agriculture and industry, and not primarily for making soldiers. It is true that the times demand military training. This training, however, could have been given to ten million men in the vicinity of their homes, farms, or shops, without taking them wholly out of the productive employments in which they are so

greatly needed. We have no fault to find with the way the War Department is carrying out the thing it is trying to do. It has been making some mistakes, but the successes to its credit far outweigh its relatively small blunders. It is probable that the training of the cantonments and camps will do a world of good to many thousands of young men. When we refer to the War Department we do not mean Secretary Baker. The Department is a permanent affair made up of the bureaus and the professional people. The Department naturally thinks of this war in terms of armies and soldiers. But so far as the efficiency of the United States is concerned in helping to end the conflict, this world war is almost everything else excepting armies and soldiers. It is ships, aeroplanes, surplus wheat, cargoes of bunker coal, gasoline, and a thousand other things. The more the country allows the bureaucrats in the War Department to divert its energies into terms of great armies—and especially into terms of armies to be transported to Europe—the worse we may perchance serve the cause of our allies, and promote the supreme object of permanent peace. These are alternatives that should be faced frankly, and no military necessity precludes their discussion.

*Mobilizing
the Drafted
Men*

It is nearly six months since the United States entered the war, yet the nation as a whole has not been visibly affected to any great extent by the fact that we are actually combatants. The thing above everything else, however, that has within the past month brought the war near to the people has been the calling out of the drafted men and the mobilizing of the National Guard. During the past month the Guard has gradually been moving toward its sixteen encampments in various parts of the country. Early in September the first contingent of the drafted men for the National Army—5 per cent.—was called and duly entrained for the cantonments. Farewell scenes, private and ceremonial, were enacted in homes and at railroad stations all over the land. In many places this first quota amounted to scarcely more than half a dozen men; yet these small advance guards of the new army were sent away from their communities with all the elaborate honors of a vast contingent. In Washington President Wilson, with his Cabinet and members of Congress, headed the parade of the drafted men from the District of Columbia. However apathetic as yet the remainder of the

people might be, the relatives and friends of those conscripts who gathered to witness their departure felt something of the grim reality of war.

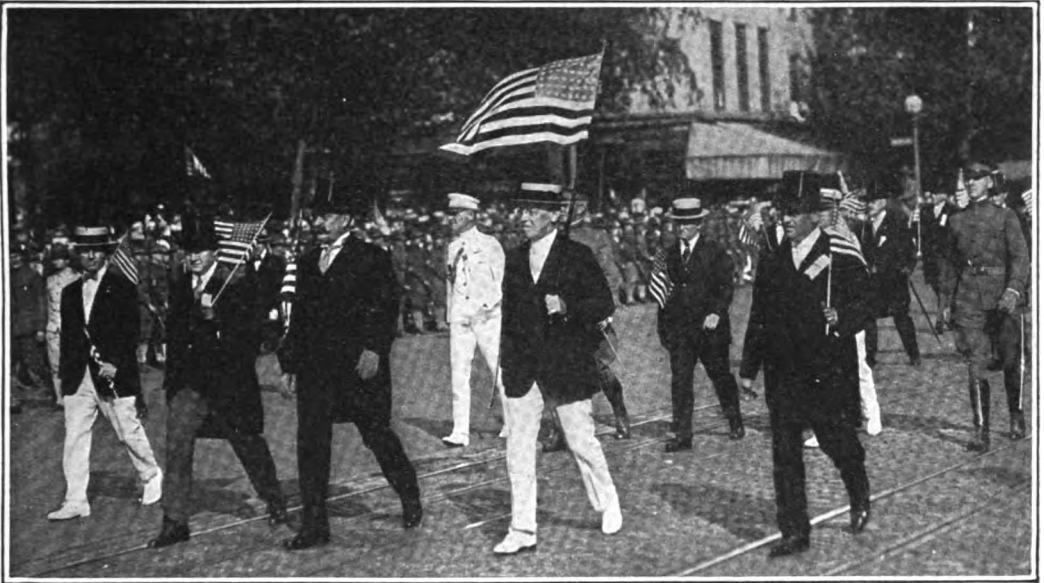
*An American
Army of
8,000,000*

The first arrivals at the cantonments did not in every case find their new homes ready for them, in spite of the speeding up of the construction work. Nor was sufficient equipment on hand. It will probably be another month before this deficiency is fully remedied. Meanwhile the recruits, their youthful enthusiasm more than compensating for the mongrel appearance of incomplete uniforms, were put through their first lessons in the school of the soldier. On September 18 another and much larger contingent—45 per cent.—of the drafted men was called out, totaling about 300,000. With the arrival of these men in camp, one-half of the first-call forces, amounting to 343,500 men, will be in training. The other half will follow as soon as quarters and equipment are ready for them. The War Department is now considering the calling out early in 1918 of two more levies of 500,000 each of the drafted men.



SENATORS BANKHEAD AND NELSON, IN THE WASHINGTON DRAFT PARADE

(Senator Bankhead, of Alabama, at the left, served four years in the Confederate Army. Senator Nelson, of Minnesota, fought with the Union Army in the same conflict)



PRESIDENT WILSON LEADING THE PARADE IN HONOR OF THE CONTINGENT FROM THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA IN THE SELECTIVE DRAFT ARMY, ON SEPTEMBER 4

These, added to the 2,030,000 which, Secretary Baker testified, is to be the strength of the United States Army by January 1—after expansion of the several branches—will, by next summer, bring our active military forces to a total of 3,000,000. Announcement has also been made of the beginning of work on two new concentration camps, one at Tenafly, N. J., and one at Newport News, Va. These camps, situated near points of embarkation, will doubtless be used as way-stations for contingents going to France. Readers are reminded of our elaborate pictorial article of last month explaining the cantonment system.

Our Forces in France

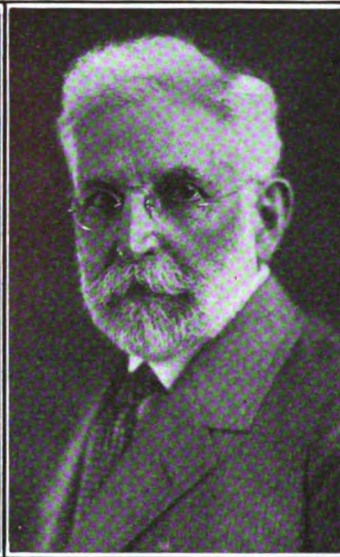
The American forces already on the other side of the ocean are faithfully continuing their training for efficiency in the modern methods of warfare. General Pershing has moved from Paris with his staff and is now in camp with his soldiers. A considerable body of young artillery officers has recently arrived from the United States, and has begun practising with the French 75's and six-inch howitzers. Meanwhile our aerial preparations abroad are also progressing. Construction work on the American aviation field, covering about 3750 acres, is proceeding so rapidly as to amaze French observers. The chief work already undertaken by Americans in France is that of our engineer regiments, who are operating hundreds of miles of railways.

The Welfare of Our Army

Those who have friends or relatives in our soldiers' camps, either here or abroad, need not be over-anxious for their moral and physical welfare. The Army medical and sanitary regulations will be intelligent. The Y. M. C. A. has been forehanded in its preparations, and its rest huts are already in operation for our boys in England and France, as well as in the camps in our own country. The Library War Council, appointed by Secretary Baker, with Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, president of the National City Bank, of New York, as chairman, has begun work to provide well-stocked library buildings at thirty-two army camps and cantonments. Coöperating actively in this enterprise are Commissioner Claxton, the American Library Association, the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, and prominent State and city librarians throughout the country.

Books for the Soldiers

In helping our army and navy to do their part in winning the war we have profited by England's example at many points, just as England herself had now and then taken a leaf from the experience of France, and even from that of her enemy Germany. The idea of sending libraries to the soldiers at the front and in training-camp is an instance. Germany was the first to equip each of her army corps with a traveling library, but almost



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BERNARD M. BARUCH

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ROBERT S. BROOKINGS

ROBERT S. LOVETT

THE MEN WHO WILL MAKE ALL WAR PURCHASES IN AMERICA FOR THE UNITED STATES AND FOR THE ALLIES

at the outset France and England felt this need for their fighting men and proceeded to meet it. The Library Council began its labors with big conceptions of what the situation required, but those conceptions have expanded as the opportunities for service have grown before their eyes. This is now their slogan: "A Million Dollars for a Million Books for a Million Men!" The Council will install a library, in a building of its own, at each of the thirty-two National Army cantonments, and it will send out trained librarians to see that the best books get in the hands of the soldiers and that the best possible use is made of them. Both books and librarians will follow the troops to France.

*Governmental
Buying*

The tendency at Washington to control all business relationships that bear vitally upon the war is rapidly developing into an established system. Fortunately, the country has reason to feel that these new powers are being exercised by men who are not merely patriotic but who are also of sound judgment and exceptional experience. It has been a fortunate thing for the European Allies that their vast purchases in this country have now been unified and placed in the hands of an American commission, the members of which are Mr. Robert S. Brookings, of St. Louis; Mr. Robert S. Lovett, and Mr. Bernard M. Baruch. These men are also members of

the War Industries Board, which is organizing the production and purchase of military supplies of all kinds. The price-making methods now employed by the Government may not be infallible, but the general business conduct of the war seems to us deserving of commendation. Certainly, so far as the European Allies are concerned, the policies at Washington are advantageous in the highest degree.

*Congress
and Its
Work*

As these pages were written Congress was endeavoring to complete the work of the session in order to adjourn and have a two months' recess before the opening of the regular winter session on December 3. The bill authorizing the floating of a new war loan, at 4 per cent., was unanimously adopted. A great October campaign was planned for the selling of three or four billion dollars of new Government securities. Congress has enacted legislation to give increased stringency to the censorship of outgoing mails and cablegrams, in order, if possible, to check the activity of German agents in this country. The greatest tax measure in history, further discussed in subsequent paragraphs, was still in the hands of the Senate and House conferees for the adjustment of differences, but was near completion, as these comments were written on September 21. Elsewhere we print, from the pen of Dr. Lindsay, an expo-

sition of the remarkable measure for providing life insurance and accident insurance for American soldiers and sailors. The bill had passed the House unanimously, and was being carefully considered by the Senate Finance Committee, with the assurance that it would become a law. Many projects of extraordinary dimensions and importance are sanctioned by Congress in the form of items in huge appropriation bills. Never in all history has so much public money been granted to executive officers with so little discussion or criticism on the part of law-making and money-granting bodies. There has been no partisanship towards the war measures of the Administration, which have had a most remarkable support. It should be remembered that this is a new Congress, elected last November and called into special session on April 2nd to receive the President's war message.

*The
War Revenue
Bill*

On September 10, the Senate passed its War Revenue Bill by a vote of 69 to 4, the negative votes coming from Senators LaFollette, Borah, Gronna, and Norris. The bill had been under discussion for more than three months, and differs in many essential aspects from the one passed by the House in May. By far the most important difference between the two measures is the adoption by the Senate of the new principle of taxing the excess profits of war, and the use of that principle to raise no less than \$1,060,000,000, as against a revenue from this source provided by the House of less than one-fifth as much. Two days after the final vote on the Senate measure, Chairman Kitchin, of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, sent the bill to conference and meetings of the conferees began on the next day. The original House bill provided for a total special war revenue from taxes of \$1,800,000,000. The Senate bill calls for \$2,400,000,000, nearly half of which comes from the excess war profits section.

*Radical
Proposals
Defeated*

The bitterest fight in the Senate came over this item of taxes on excess war profits. Senator Simmons' Finance Committee had provided for graduated taxes on the excess of profits over the average of the years 1911, 1912, and 1913, which, on the highest gains, would have amounted to one-third of the excess. Senators LaFollette, Johnson, Gore, and other radicals made strenuous attempts to

place very much higher rates on the excess profits, Senator Johnson advocating 80 per cent.; but in the final vote more conservative judgment carried the day.

*Dangers of
Too High Tax
Rate*

It is true that Great Britain, after three years of war, is levying a tax of 80 per cent. on the excess profits of the year, but it is also true that Great Britain is more liberal in the exemptions allowed and, what is even more important, the 80 per cent. rate has been reached by gradual stages. It is absolutely necessary, if business and industry are not to be discouraged and disrupted, that the curve of change from peace conditions to the maximum exactions of war be made as easy as possible. Even with the rates prescribed in the Senate bill, some industries will be hard put to it next spring to raise the cash with which to pay their excess profits tax. At first glance this looks improbable, because from the nature of the case it is necessary for a given firm to have very large profits before a percentage of them is taken. Under the actual conditions of business, however, one finds in thousands of individual instances that profits, though shown large on the books of the concern, have been re-invested currently in material and plant, and that the company, although reporting very large profits, is really hard up for actual money. Thus, many industrial concerns are today reporting profits of twenty, thirty or forty per cent. on their capital, but are paying no dividends on their common stock, and are not a little worried over the prospect of getting the necessary funds to finance their present large turnover.

*The
"Silent" Panic
in Stocks*

With the great Bethlehem Steel Company, for example, earning over a hundred per cent. on its capital, obliged to pay more than eight per cent. for new funds raised by an issue of preferred stock necessary to finance its huge current operations, the financial world has taken alarm at the prospect confronting industry in the matter of new capital requirements. Beginning in the first days of September, the stock market, impelled by this consideration together with its anxiety over price-fixing, and the troubles in Russia, began a downward movement which, by the 20th of the month, had brought standard stocks to a point actually below their prices of 1914 in the war panic, when the Stock Exchange was closed. Many of the most reputable railroad stocks, such as Chicago,



DR. HARRY A. GARFIELD

(Dr. Garfield, president of Williams College, was chairman of the committee which fixed the price for wheat. He was then appointed Fuel Administrator and set about the task of forming local committees to determine proper prices for coal throughout the country)

Milwaukee and St. Paul, were quoted at the lowest price in history. New York, New Haven and Hartford, with rumors of a receivership, sold at 21, as against 259, little more than a decade ago. The so-called war stocks, and especially the securities of the great steel companies and motor concerns, fared little better, and while there was no wild demoralization or any of the outward and visible signs usually accompanying a "panic," the average prices of securities got well below the prices of any of the acknowledged panics seen in this century. A collateral cause of the movement was undoubtedly the selling of taxable securities by very wealthy investors who found that under the new income tax provisions even a 6 per cent. return of taxable income was less advantageous than a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. return from non-taxable securities.

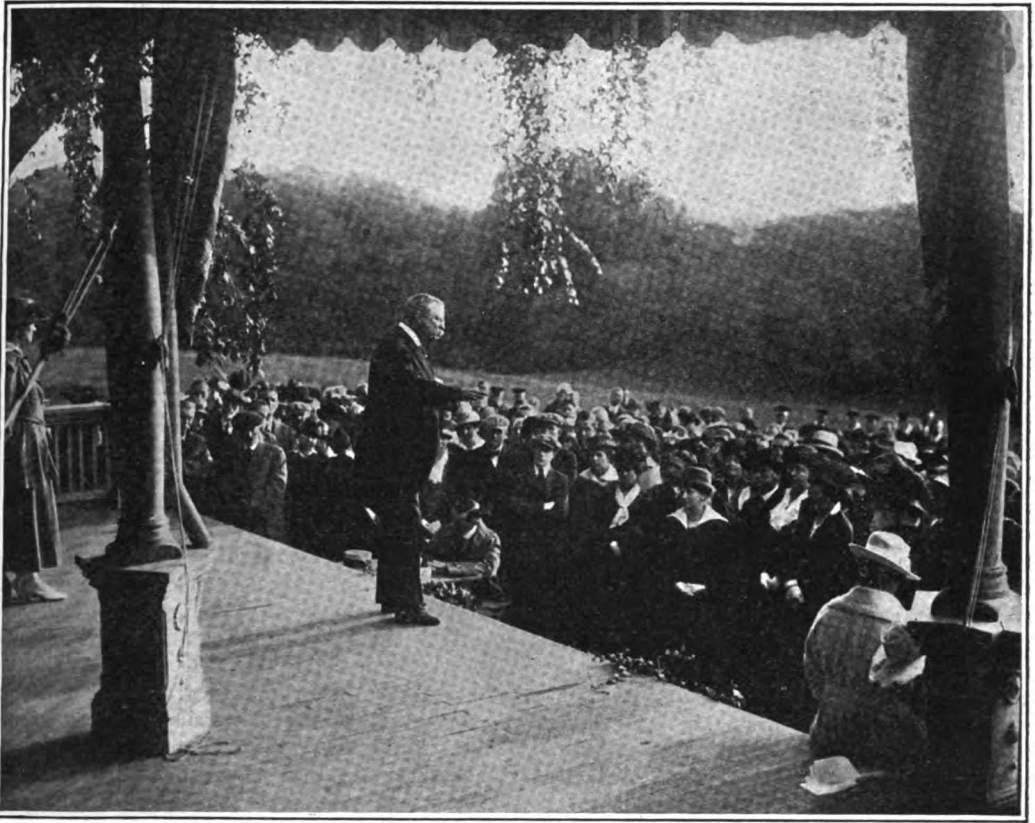
In the last week of August prices for both bituminous and anthracite coal were fixed by order of President Wilson. Soft coal is to be sold at the mines at rates about \$1 per ton less

than those voluntarily offered by the mine operators last June. The order brings the price at most mines to \$2. The cut is estimated to effect a reduction in the total bill of soft coal consumers by no less than \$700,000,000 per year. In the case of anthracite, the mine prices ordered by the President range from \$4 to \$5.30 per ton. The same order restricted the jobber's profit to 20 cents per ton, and the net result of the price-fixing to householders in New York City, for instance, is calculated to be a reduction from the present price of \$8.45 to \$8.05 per ton. Of course the more important result is an assurance that the price will not soar upward in the Winter. Later, on September 7, it was announced that Dr. Garfield, the federal Fuel Administrator, will arrange with each State for a Coal Board which will appoint committees for each town of more than 2,500 inhabitants to suggest fair retail prices. The price of wheat has been fixed at \$2.20 per bushel. On September 21 the Government determined on one price for copper, to apply to purchases by itself, the Allies, and the public, and a present rate of $23\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound was named, subject to revision after four months. On the same date the sugar producers, in conference with the Food Administrator, agreed on prices which will result in a stable retail cost to the consumer of about 8 cents per pound. Prices for steel products had not on that date been determined, but were daily expected. Obviously, the steel question is highly complex.

*Silver
Soaring in
Price*

The most recent startling price phenomenon is seen in the market for silver, which is selling above \$1 per ounce—the highest quotation in more than a generation. The sudden great demand for the metal for coinage is really a corollary of the present wild inflation of money and prices. The measure of this inflation is given in a recent article in the organ of the National City Bank; here it is calculated that the currency of the whole world has jumped in volume no less than 80 per cent since the war began, increasing from \$13,680,000,000 in 1913, to \$24,660,000,000 in 1917. Of this total, there was eight billion dollars of gold in 1913, and eight and a half billion dollars in 1917; silver on the other hand shows a decrease from two billion eight hundred million dollars in 1913 to two billion six hundred million in 1917. With "uncovered paper" currency increasing from \$13,680,000,000 in 1913 to no less than

*Price
Fixing to
Date*



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COLONEL ROOSEVELT, LAST MONTH, ADDRESSING A DELEGATION OF WOMAN-SUFFRAGISTS FROM THE VERANDA OF HIS HOME AT OYSTER BAY, LONG ISLAND

\$24,660,000,000 this year, it is not hard to see where the great demand for silver comes from, and the explanation of the rapidly mounting price of the metal.

Greatest War Credit in History

On September 15, the Senate passed the measure providing for issuing the nation's war bonds for \$11,538,000,000, which was only introduced in the House two weeks before. There was less than twenty-four hours' debate in the Senate and in neither house was a single adverse vote cast. The bill provides for the largest single addition to a nation's debt ever made in the history of the world. The huge sum is to be used as follows: new loans to our Allies, \$4,000,000,000; loans formerly authorized, \$3,000,000,000; War Savings Certificates, \$2,000,000,000; Treasury Certificates of indebtedness, \$2,000,000,000, and the balance to take up miscellaneous outstanding bond issues. It is estimated that our war expenses are already running \$24,463,000 a day when our loans to the Allies are counted

as expenses, and \$8,088,000 a day for our own expenditures alone.

Votes for Women

The suffrage debate at Ottawa serves to remind us that in five of the Canadian Provinces—beginning with Ontario and running west to the Pacific—women already have the vote. Those who are relatives of soldiers will now have the federal, in addition to the Provincial franchise. In our own country many women can now vote for President, but not by federal law. A suffrage amendment to the federal Constitution is favored by the Senate Suffrage Committee, and it is believed that such an amendment will be passed by Congress in December. The effort to secure President Wilson's support of the amendment by "picketing" the White House grounds has apparently alienated many potential friends of the cause. In the Maine election last month an amendment to the State constitution was decisively defeated. A similar amendment will come be-

fore the voters of New York (for the second time) in November. Nineteen States have now given women the right to vote for President. Since 1912 fourteen States have voted down woman suffrage, but all the political parties are committed to it.

*A Halt to
John
Barleycorn*

Ten years ago probably not one American in a million expected to see the day when the Government, on thirty days' notice, would by its fiat stop the making of whisky for an indefinite period. Yet that is precisely what was done last month, under the provisions of the Food Control Act, while the country looked on in amazement. The greatest distilleries in the world—those at Peoria and Louisville—stopped the buying of grain, save in comparatively small quantities for the manufacture of alcohol for commercial and medicinal uses. These great plants have not been equipped for producing anything except whisky. Experts tell us, however, that of all the grain that was taken by distilleries the country over, only 40 per cent. went into whisky. This estimate would indicate a saving of 40,000,000 bushels of grain a year for food purposes. There need be no fear of a whisky famine, for the stock accumulated by the distillers and stored is described as enormous. Meanwhile, the Government will continue the collection of heavy taxes on this stock, and its revenues from this source may be even greater than before the manufacture was stopped.

*The
New York City
Campaign*

The primaries having been held on September 19 (for the first time under the new law in a mayoralty contest), the New York City municipal campaign is now under way. All that was settled by the primaries was the designation by each party of its candidates for the several offices. So far as the Democratic nomination for Mayor was concerned, there was no contest. County Judge John F. Hylan, of Brooklyn, is designated as Tammany's standard-bearer. In the Republican primaries Mayor John Purroy Mitchel, the Fusion candidate to succeed himself, was opposed by the Hon. William M. Bennett, who developed unexpected strength in Brooklyn and the other boroughs, with the exception of Manhattan, and lost the Republican designation in the Greater City by only a few hundred votes. The primary vote, however, is a very imperfect index of Republican sentiment in New York. In the November

elections of 1916 about 312,000 votes were cast in the City of New York for Mr. Hughes and 303,000 for Governor Whitman. Yet the total vote in these Republican primaries of last month was less than 72,000, or 24 per cent. of the number who may normally be expected to vote the Republican ticket in national or State elections.

*Demand for
Mayor Mitchel's
Re-election*

So the primaries last month showed the preferences of only one-fourth of the Republicans and what the preferences of the other three-fourths may be remains to be ascertained. Furthermore, among the one-fourth who took part in the primaries were undoubtedly included the "regular" party men, those with whom the old tradition of partisanship even in city elections dies hard, those who could not bring themselves to nominate Mayor Mitchel (a Democrat in national matters) on a Republican ticket in a local election. In November, such men will support the Mayor rather than Tammany's candidate. They, as well as their fellow-Republicans who stayed away from the primaries, will vote for the Mayor on his record, because the city's administration during the past four years has reached a level of efficiency and integrity never before attained, and Republicans approve what has been done without regard to the question whether the men who did it voted for Wilson or for Hughes one year ago. New York has a clean government today. Shall it continue?

*For Good
City
Government*

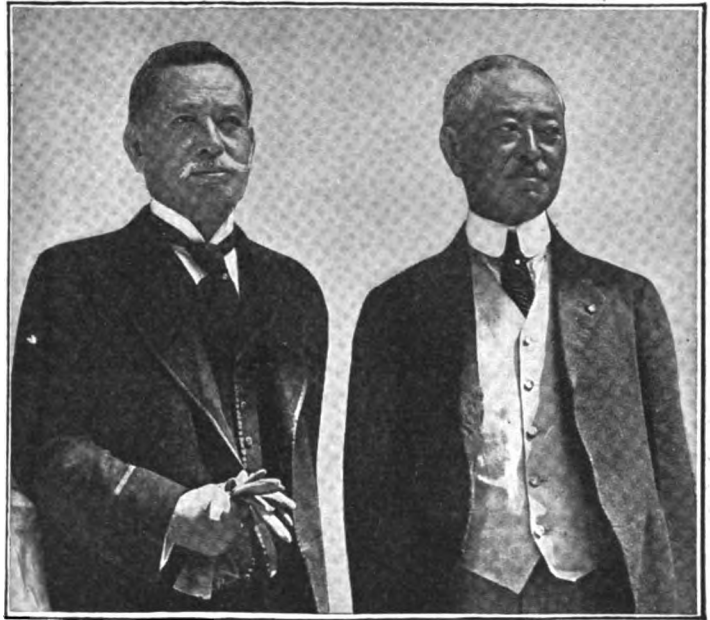
The Fusion campaign involves the retention in office of many important officials besides the Mayor. Comptroller Prendergast, who is a Republican, is one of the ablest public financiers of the country, and has made a notable record. The Republican primaries, besides endorsing Prendergast, endorsed Mr. Robert Adamson for President of the Board of Aldermen and Mr. Marks for another term as President of the Manhattan Borough. Fusion success means that the Board of Estimate, which is the ruling body in New York City, will continue to be a group of highly capable officials. It also means that the Police Department and many other branches of administration will be carried on in future, as at present, in a way to reflect credit upon the country's metropolis. The continuance of businesslike and efficient government in New York City is a thing that essentially concerns the entire na-

tion. This is keenly realized by good municipal officials from one end of the country to the other. Never before in our history has municipal progress been so rapid and so fortunate in American cities, both great and small, as in these recent years when municipal officials in the metropolis of New York have been working sympathetically with municipal officials of good standing in a hundred other cities.

*The
Canadian
Elections*

Canada is facing a General Election. The

Parliament at Ottawa, after enacting the conscription and war-time election bills, was prorogued on September 20, and the campaign in the constituencies began in earnest. This Parliament's natural life was fulfilled a year ago, but the country was then in a mood to grant an extension. No such temper prevails to-day, if we may judge by the outspoken opposition to the draft and to other government measures. The Borden ministry found that only a beggarly party majority of twenty would stand for its continuance in power and the Prime Minister had declared, before a division was taken, that unless the Commons passed the resolution for further extension with substantial unanimity, no action would be sought in the Senate. So the Conservative government "goes to the country" on the question of conscription. The French-speaking population of Quebec is bitterly opposed to the draft law and may resist its enforcement. With a view to securing a majority in the new Parliament pledged to the principle of the draft, the government inserted radical provisions in its War Elections bill. All enemy aliens who have not lived fifteen years in Canada are disfranchised. At the same time the vote is granted to the mothers, sisters, wives, widows, and daughters of men in active military service. This means an immediate addition to the voting lists of over 400,000 names. There is little doubt that this large group of Canadian women, having obtained the suffrage under war conditions, will retain it in peace



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VISCOUNT ISHII, HEAD OF THE SPECIAL JAPANESE MISSION (AT THE LEFT),
WITH AMBASSADOR SATO

times. Canadian soldiers in England and France will also vote at the coming election. They will be permitted to mark their ballots for "Government" or "Opposition," since there can be no intelligent voting, at such a distance, for individuals.

*The
Japanese
Mission*

The presence in this country, during several weeks past, of the special Japanese mission headed by Viscount Ishii, has already given promise of excellent results. The missions from our European allies have brought to us, as national guests, a number of men of great distinction and eloquence. But it is not too much to say that no single visitor from foreign shores this year has shown so much felicity, tact, and rhetorical perfection in the use of the English language, as our brilliant guest from Japan. His addresses before Congress, his tribute to Washington at Mount Vernon and to Commodore Perry at Newport, and his remarks on various social occasions all the way from the Pacific to the Atlantic coast, might well be printed as a little volume, to be studied by those who would have fine models for the expression of international good will. The mission has also had real business to take up at Washington, and doubtless the result will be felt in the adoption of practical steps looking to the promotion of war objects.

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From August 19 to September 20, 1917)

The Last Part of August

August 19.—Fire destroys a large section of the waterfront of Salonica, Greece, rendering 60,000 persons homeless and causing property destruction estimated at more than \$10,000,000.

August 20.—Dr. Alexander Wekerle becomes Premier of Hungary, upon the resignation of Count Moritz Esterhazy.

A French attack at Verdun, on both banks of the Meuse, results in the capture of important German positions over a front of eleven miles, together with 4000 prisoners.

August 22.—The British Admiralty declares that eight German airplanes were destroyed during a daylight raid along the English coast.

The Germans renew activity in the Riga district.

A special mission from Japan to the United States, headed by Viscount Ishii, arrives in Washington.

August 23.—Gen. W. A. Soukhomlinoff, former Minister of War in Russia, is placed on trial for high treason, accused of withholding ammunition from Russian armies and of communicating information to the enemy.

August 24.—Italian forces capture Monte Santo, continued occupation of which (by Austrians) had rendered negligible the Italian conquest of Goritz in 1916; it is announced that more than 20,000 Austrian prisoners have been taken during the great Italian offensives in the Julian Alps and on the Carso Plateau.

The French carry Hill 304, near Verdun, completing their recapture of high ground lost in the German offensive of last year.

The British War Office announces that since the opening of the 1917 campaign (on April 9) 167,780 German and Austrian prisoners have been captured by British, French, Italian and Russian armies.

The United States, Great Britain, France and Russia agree upon a plan for the purchase of all war supplies in the United States, through a commission composed of Bernard M. Baruch, Robert S. Lovett, and Robert S. Brookings.

War expenses of the United States during August are announced as averaging \$8,088,653 daily, besides loans to Allies averaging \$16,375,000.

The United States lends \$100,000,000 to Russia, making a total of \$275,000,000.

August 26.—A great State Council is opened at Moscow, Russia, to consider the present situation and plan for a new government; Premier Kerensky promises a policy of "blood and iron" to enable the republic to meet the enemy and disloyalty at home.

An official Italian statement describes a new type of Italian monitor, with guns "surpassing in caliber and range every previous record";

three of these vessels and two English monitors cooperate with land forces in an attack on the Hermada, the mountain stronghold blocking the way to Trieste.

August 27.—President Wilson replies to the Pope's peace message; he condemns proposals for punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, but declares that a peace agreement made by the present rulers of Germany could not be depended upon unless supported by conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves.

President Wilson places under control of an Export Council all articles of commerce destined for neutral countries, which must guarantee that such exports will not reach Germany and will not replace neutral goods exported to Germany.

August 28.—In response to Argentine's demand, Germany agrees to indemnity in the case of the *Toro*, destroyed by a submarine, and pledges that no similar incident will occur in the future.

The First Week of September

September 3.—Riga, Russia's second most important seaport, is occupied by a German army under Field Marshal Prince Leopold of Bavaria, the demoralized Russians withdrawing.

A German airplane raid on London, at night, results in the death of 107 men in the great naval station at Chatham.

A squadron of thirty Italian airplanes raids the Austrian naval base at Pola.

September 4.—The British Trades Union Congress votes overwhelmingly against sending delegates to the proposed International Socialist Conference at Stockholm.

The sittings of the Irish Convention are transferred to Belfast, from Dublin.

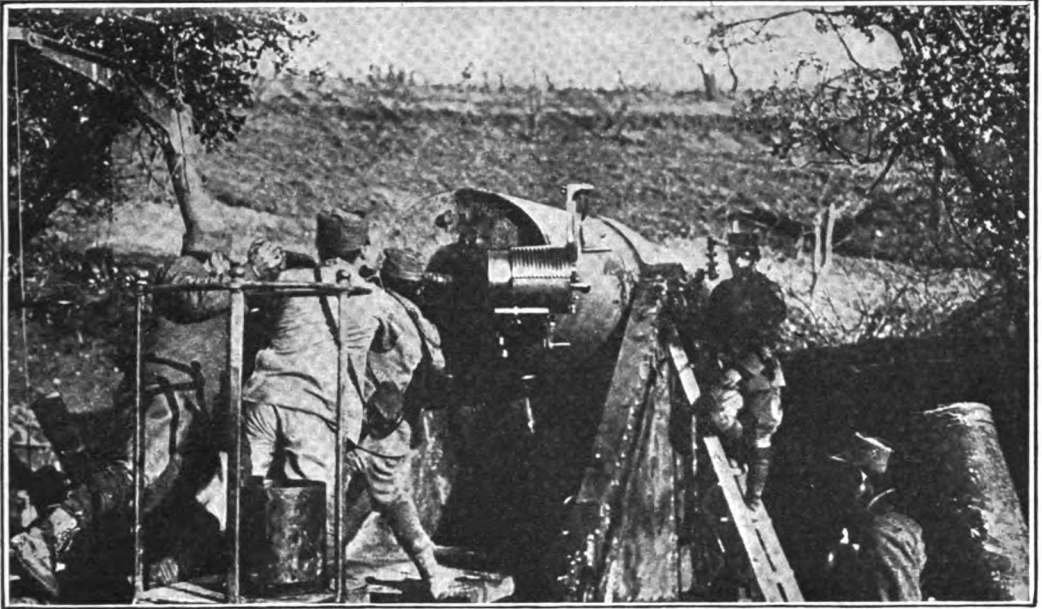
September 5.—It is announced at Washington that Government loans to the Allies total \$2,266,400,000—Great Britain having received \$1,105,000,000, France \$630,000,000, Russia \$275,000,000, Italy \$200,000,000, Belgium \$53,400,000, and Serbia \$3,000,000.

A German submarine fires thirty shots at the English seaside resort of Scarborough.

September 6.—Premier Ribot, speaking on the anniversary of the Battle of the Marne, declares that France will not consent to diplomatic discussion of the question of Alsace-Lorraine.

September 7.—The Ribot ministry in France decides to resign, owing principally to loss of Socialist support.

The American transatlantic liner *Minnehaha* is sunk by a submarine off the Irish coast, west-bound, 43 of the crew losing their lives.



AN ITALIAN GUN OF LARGE CALIBRE, IN ACTION ON THE CARSO PLATEAU

(The entire zone of Italy's war operations against Austria is mountainous, and the recent progress made was accompanied by almost insurmountable hardships)

The Second Week of September

September 8.—The American Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, makes public the text of intercepted telegrams from Count Luxburg, German Chargé in Argentina, to the Berlin Foreign Office, dispatched in cipher by the Swedish legation as its own official messages; besides constituting an unneutral act, the messages themselves contain a recommendation that Argentine vessels, if sunk, should be "without a trace being left."

Great Britain advises the United States that President Wilson's reply to the Pope is in effect Great Britain's reply also.

The Russian retreat from Riga slackens and shows signs of halting 55 miles east of Riga.

September 10.—Premier Kerensky announces that General Korniloff has been deposed as commander-in-chief of the Russian armies after demanding supreme civil and military powers; General Korniloff moves toward Petrograd with his armies.

Paul Painlevé (Minister of War in the Ribot cabinet) accepts the task of forming a new ministry in France.

September 12.—The Chancellor of the British Exchequer, Mr. Bonar Law, declares (at a luncheon to an American Congressman in London) that "without the financial assistance of the United States the Allies would have been in disastrous straits today."

Argentina dismisses the German Chargé and asks Berlin for an explanation of the intercepted dispatches.

Supreme authority in Poland is transferred to a regency council of three members appointed by the Teutonic monarchs.

September 13.—The revolt of General Korniloff, against the Kerensky government in Rus-

sia, collapses; General Alexieff is appointed commander-in-chief of the armies.

The American Secretary of State makes public a letter sent from the German Minister in Mexico to Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg (dated March 8, 1916), recommending that the Swedish Chargé in Mexico be secretly decorated by the Kaiser for his services in obtaining information.

September 14.—The Italians capture the summit of Monte San Gabriele, after constant attacks since August 23.

The Third Week of September

September 15.—A Russian republic is proclaimed by the provisional government.

The Entente Powers notify China that they are willing to waive the Boxer indemnity payments for five years and will permit tariff increases approximating 2 per cent.; Russia, because of financial straits, waives only part of the indemnity.

September 18.—Paul Painlevé, the new French Premier, makes his declaration of policy in the Chamber of Deputies; he states the war aims of France as: the disannexation of Alsace-Lorraine, reparation for ruin, and a just peace with guarantees against aggressions.

September 19.—Premier Painlevé receives a vote of confidence in the French Chamber, 378 to 1, the Socialists abstaining from voting; he expresses regret that his ministry failed to obtain Socialist collaboration.

The Argentine Senate, with only one vote in opposition, declares in favor of breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany.

September 20.—British forces in Belgium launch an attack against the German line east of Ypres, on an eight-mile front, penetrating to a depth of one mile.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From August 20 to September 20, 1917)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

August 20.—In the Senate, Mr. Johnson (Rep., Cal.) urges the conscription of that part of the nation's wealth which has been derived from war; he advocates an excess-profits tax similar to England's (80 per cent.), as against the pending bill's 20 per cent. tax.

August 21.—In the Senate, Mr. LaFollette (Rep., Wis.) speaks in favor of larger taxes on incomes.

August 22.—The Senate, by vote of 35 to 31, substitutes higher income-tax rates for the Finance Committee's recommendations; incomes of \$500,000 are assessed 35 per cent., and those of \$1,000,000 are taxed 50 per cent.

August 24.—The Senate votes to increase the normal tax on corporations (from 2 per cent.) to 6 per cent.

August 27.—In the House, Chairman Kitchin of the Ways and Means Committee, estimates the probable expenditure of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1918, at \$19,300,000,000—approximately fifteen times the normal outlay; \$10,000,000,000 represents war expenses, and \$7,000,000,000 loans to Allied governments.

August 30.—The Senate is addressed by Viscount Ishii, special ambassador from Japan, who gives expression to the cordial friendship between the two nations.

September 1.—In the Senate, seventeen members vote to levy an 80 per cent. tax on excess war profits.

In the House, the Ways and Means Committee reports a bill for the issue of \$11,000,000,000 in bonds to help finance the war.

September 5.—The Senate (by vote of 72 to 7) agrees to levy a graduated tax estimated to take approximately 32 per cent. of the country's war profits—running from 12 per cent. on express profits of 15 per cent. or less, to 60 per cent. on those 300 per cent. in excess of normal.

The House is addressed by Viscount Ishii, special ambassador from Japan.

September 6.—The House passes the bill providing for a bond issue of \$11,538,945,460, the measure including a new loan of \$4,000,000,000 to the Allied governments. . . . The House Committee on Appropriations presents a bill providing for expenditures of \$4,512,000,000 for the Army and \$263,264,000 for the Navy.

September 10.—The Senate, by vote of 69 to 4, passes the War Revenue bill, providing for \$2,416,000,000 in new taxes (in addition to \$1,333,500,000 raised under existing laws); the House measure had been estimated to produce \$1,868,920,000.

September 12.—The Senate unanimously adopts a resolution authorizing the President to draft alien residents for military service. . . . The Trading with the Enemy bill is passed, with an amendment requiring German-language news-

papers to publish an English translation of comment on the war.

September 13.—The House unanimously adopts the Soldiers' and Sailors' Insurance and Compensation bill, after increasing the benefits (see page 401).

September 15.—The Senate passes without roll call the \$11,538,000,000 bond bill.

September 18.—The House unanimously adopts the War Deficiency bill, carrying \$7,000,000,000 and including appropriations for the army, navy, and shipping.

September 20.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the \$11,538,000,000 bond bill.

The Senate and House conferees write into the Trading with the Enemy bill a provision for censorship of mail and telegraphic communication with foreign countries.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 20.—United States District Judge Speer upholds the constitutionality of the Selective Draft act, in a decision affecting "slackers" in Georgia.

August 21.—The President fixes prices for bituminous coal at the mines, a reduction in some instances of more than a dollar a ton from prevailing rates.

August 23.—The President fixes tentative prices for anthracite coal, and appoints Dr. Harry A. Garfield in charge of the Fuel Administration.

August 24.—The Shipping Board requests an appropriation of \$1,134,500,000 (in addition to \$800,000,000 already granted) for construction, purchases, and commandeering; plans call for 10,000,000 tonnage.

The Texas House of Representatives presents to the Senate articles of impeachment against Governor James E. Ferguson, the charges involving misappropriation of minor State funds.

August 25.—Representatives of the Government and the Federation of Labor agree upon a plan for the adjustment of labor disputes in shipyards.

August 26.—The Food Administration, after a conference with beet-sugar producers, effects a price agreement of 7¼ cents a pound to the trade (approximately 1½ cents under current prices).

August 27.—The Shipping Board establishes a regular passenger and freight service between New York and Chile—the east coast of North America and the west coast of South America.

The Railroads' War Board reports that during June (with only 3 per cent. additional equipment) 26 per cent. more freight was carried than in June, 1916—the increase being effected by intensive loading and greater daily mileage of freight cars.

August 30.—Nearly 25,000 members of the National Guard of New York (comprising the

27th Division, U. S. A.) parade in New York City while en route to their training camp at Spartanburg, S. C.

The Food Administration fixes a basic price for wheat at \$2.20 a bushel, which will be paid in purchases for the United States and Allied governments and thus stabilize the price for all transactions.

August 31.—The Federal Child Labor Law, prohibiting shipment in interstate commerce of products of child labor, is declared unconstitutional by a United States District Judge in North Carolina, the day before the law was to take effect.

September 4.—The members of the first increment of the National (Draft) Army of 687,000 men assemble throughout the country and start for their training camps.

September 5.—The Department of Justice raids offices of the Industrial Workers of the World, to end its anti-war activities.

September 10.—Woman suffrage is rejected by the voters of Maine, by a vote of nearly 2 to 1.

September 12.—The Secretary of War announces that American engineers have completed a new standardized motor—"the best aircraft engine produced in any country."

September 19.—Secretary Baker informs the Senate Finance Committee that War Department plans include provision for an army of 2,300,000.

The President appoints a commission to visit scenes of labor disturbances as his personal representative and aid in finding adjustments.

September 20.—The President approves an agreement made by the War Industries Board, with copper producers, fixing a price of 23½ cents a pound to the Government, the Allies, and the public; this is 3 cents below current quotations and 12 cents below the year's high price.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

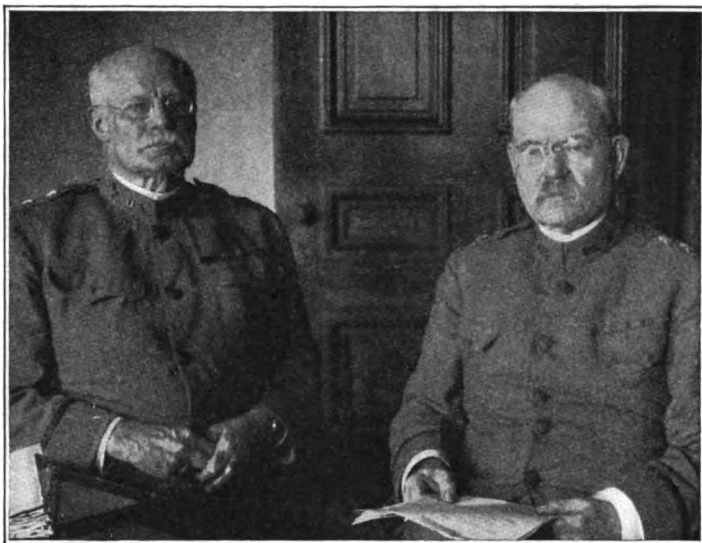
August 23.—A race riot in Houston, Tex., involving colored soldiers of the 24th Infantry, results in the death of seventeen persons. . . . Orlando A. Sommers, of Indiana, is elected commander-in-chief of the G. A. R.

August 26.—Donald B. MacMillan, the explorer, arrives at Sydney, Nova Scotia, after four years spent in the Arctic; he reports that the Crocker Land described by Peary was only a mirage.

September 7.—The manufacture of whiskey ceases throughout the United States, under the Food Control Act, to save grain for food.

September 14.—The price of silver rises above one dollar an ounce for the first time in twenty-five years.

September 17.—A strike of shipyard and metal workers on the Pacific Coast—who demand ex-



© Harris & Ewing

MAJOR-GENERAL HUGH L. SCOTT, THE RETIRING CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ARMY, AND HIS SUCCESSOR, MAJOR-GENERAL TASKER H. BLISS

traordinary wage increases—spreads rapidly, involving 50,000 men and causing cessation of work on Government shipbuilding contracts.

September 20.—A four-days' strike of 6500 longshoremen in New York, threatening to tie up shipping, is ended by acceptance of arbitration.

The central span of the great cantilever bridge over the St. Lawrence, at Quebec, is successfully raised to its place; two earlier attempts, in 1907 and 1916, had resulted in disaster.

OBITUARY

August 21.—Gijin Okuda, Mayor of Tokio and a leading Japanese educator and lawyer.

August 24.—Adolf von Baeyer, the distinguished German chemist, who discovered synthetic indigo, 81.

August 27.—Sir William Johnston, the British steamship owner.

August 29.—Earl Grey (Albert Henry George), former Governor-General of Canada, 66. . . . Archbishop Thomas F. Kennedy, rector of the American College in Rome since 1901, 59.

September 2.—Senator Onorato Caetani, Duke of Sermoneta, former Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 75.

September 3.—Boris Vladimirovitch Sturmer, former Premier of Russia.

September 11.—Adjutant-General Thomas J. Stewart, of Pennsylvania, past commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, 79.

September 12.—Queen Eleanor of Bulgaria, 57.

September 16.—William F. Stone, of Maryland, widely known as sergeant-at-arms at Republican National Conventions, 61.

September 17.—Dr. Lewis Atterbury Stimson, professor of surgery in Cornell Medical College, 74.

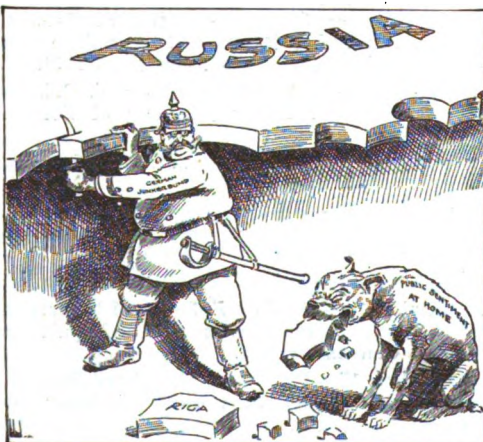
September 20.—Robert N. Chamberlain, chief justice of the New Hampshire Superior Court, 57.

AMERICAN WAR CARTOONS



RUSSIA'S RIVAL ADVISERS

THE KAISER: "You've got your freedom, why fight?"
 UNCLE SAM: "I won mine in 1776, and I'm fighting for it yet!"
 From the *Press* (Philadelphia)



HE CAN CUT A HUNK FROM THIS ALMOST ANY TIME
 From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus)



"COME AWAY FROM THAT WINDOW"
 From the *News* (Dallas)

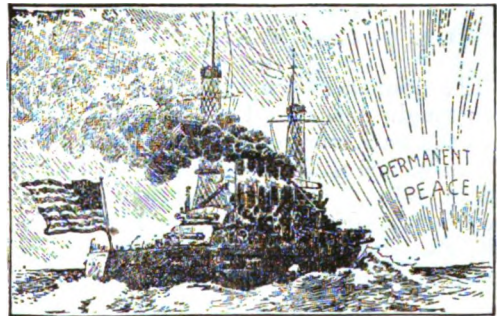


"STAY WITH IT, PARD"
(Uncle Sam backs up Russia with another loan)
From the *Evening News* (Newark)

The herculean efforts of Kerensky to give Russia a stable government continue to hold the attention of the world. During the past month the indomitable young premier has succeeded in putting down General Korniloff's rebellion, has proclaimed a Republic, and formed a new Cabinet—all in the face of continued German intrigue and the loss of Riga to the enemy.



RUSSIAN BALLET—"THE BACCHANALE"
From the *News* (Detroit)



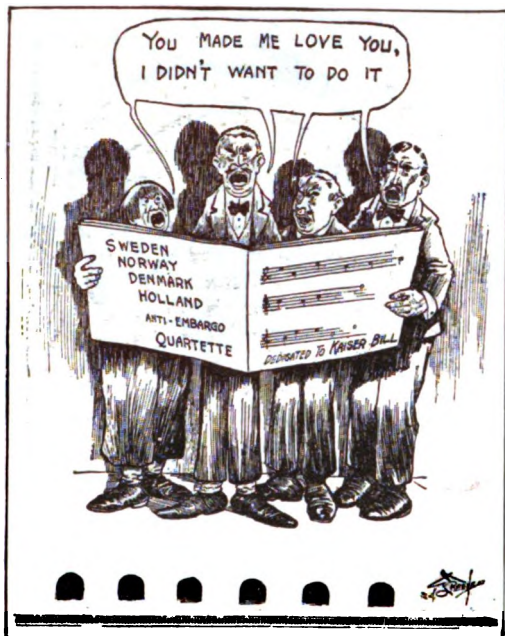
OUR PORT
From the *Evening Journal* (New York)



THE ONLY SAFE FOUNDATION
From the *Herald* (Rochester)

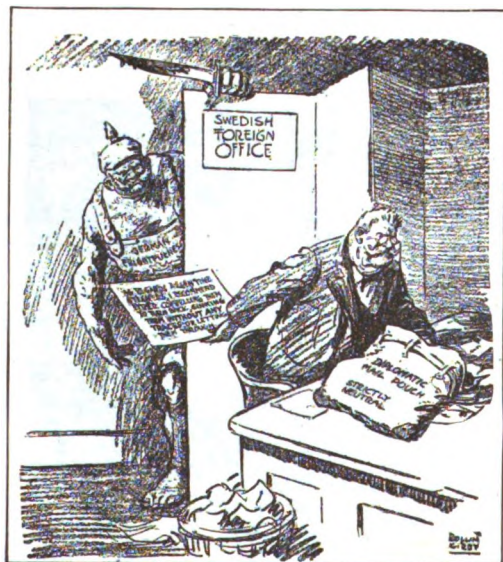


TEACHER HAD BETTER WATCH OUT
From the *Journal* (Sioux City, Iowa)



A NEUTRAL DISCORD
From the *Evening Telegram* (New York)

The position of the neutrals is becoming increasingly difficult. Food conditions have been bad on account of supplies being sold to Germany, and now the United States threatens an embargo on food products shipped to the neutrals from this country. Diplomatically, also there has been embarrassment for Sweden, owing to the transmission of Ger-



A PUPIL IN PRUSSIANISM
From the *World* (New York)

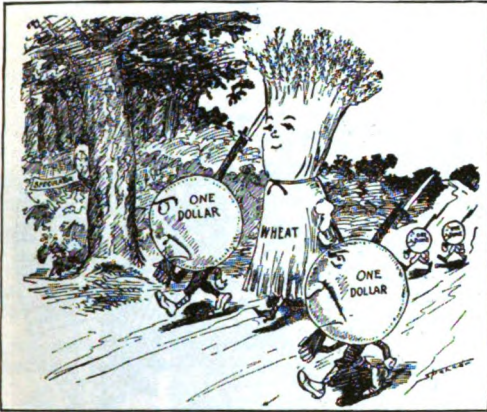


"A THOUSAND YEARS DID HE SAY?"
(China has reason to remember the Kaiser)
From the *News* (Dayton)

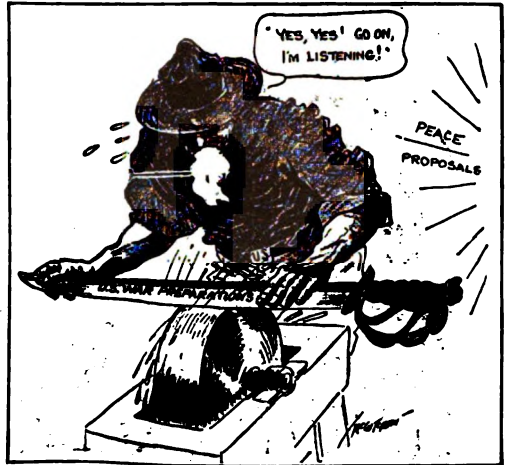
man messages from Argentina to Berlin by way of Stockholm.



DEAD MEN TELL NO TALES
(Referring to the advice of Count Luxburg, German Minister at Buenos Aires, to his home government, to sink Argentine steamers without leaving any trace)
From the *Tribune* (New York)



HER BODYGUARD—TWO DOLLARS AND TWO DIMES
(The price for wheat fixed by the government)
From the *World-Herald* (Omaha)

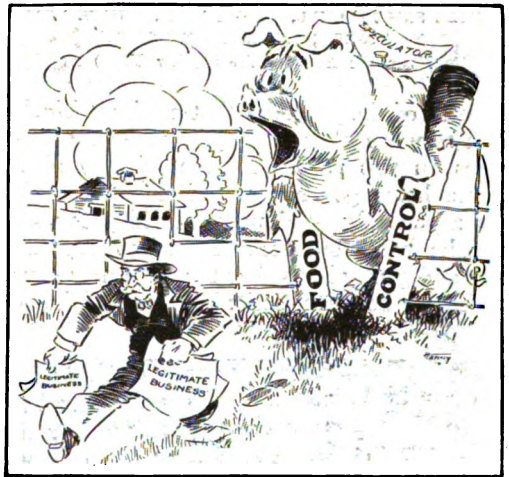


© by John T. McCutcheon

HE'S ALSO GRINDING
(The old man believes in one thing at a time, but if you've got anything to say, he will listen to you)
From the *Times* (Washington)



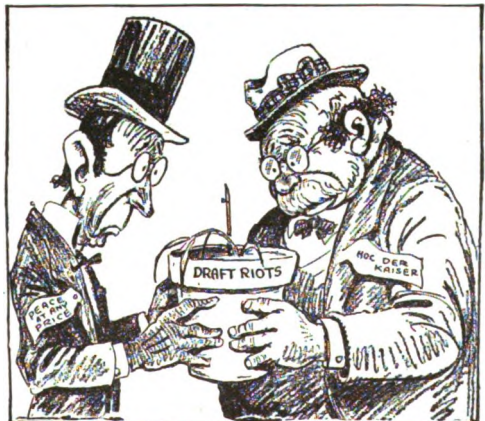
DO YOUR BIT!
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)



"THE WAY IT'S SUPPOSED TO WORK"
From *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)



AN OLD FIRM DISSOLVES
(On September 8 the manufacture of whisky ceased in the United States for the duration of the war)
From the *Morning Tribune* (Los Angeles)
Oct.—3



IT WOULDN'T GROW IN AMERICA!
From the *Tribune* (South-Bend, Ind.)



UNCLE SAM: "WELL, YOUNG MAN, WHERE WILL YOU SERVE; HERE, OR AT HOME?"
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)

Some of the problems that confront Uncle Sam as war-maker are suggested by the cartoons on this page. To the friendly alien whose home government on the other side has a perfectly good uniform ready for his use, he holds out some American fighting togs and gently hints that the alien may have his choice between United States and home

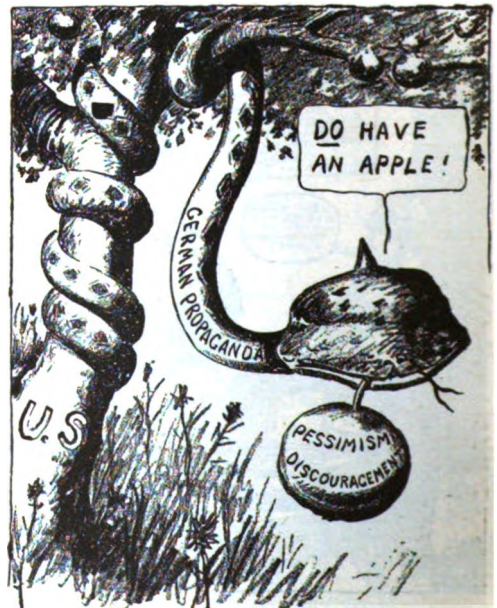


DANGEROUS INTERFERENCE!
From the *Constitution* (Atlanta)

service, but that he must make up his mind on the matter. But just as Uncle Sam is bidding good-bye to his own soldier lad he is assailed by a shower of anti-draft, pacifist, pro-German, and I. W. W. brickbats, represented in the *Atlanta Constitution* cartoon in the upper right-hand corner. Below, at the left, the cartoonist of the *Portland Oregonian* depicts the same patient, long-suffering Uncle dealing with one of his refractory nephews, the I. W. W.



HENCEFORTH UNCLE SAM TAKES THE I. W. W. SITUATION IN HAND HIMSELF
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)



THE MODERN SERPENT IN THE GARDEN
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)

THROUGH NEUTRAL EYES



AMERICANS

America announces with thunder
Wonder on wonder on wonder!
Mankind the wondrous news receives,
But hardly a soul on earth believes.

(A satirical Swiss allusion to America's war preparations)
From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich)



UNCLE JONATHAN'S SHORT MEMORY
Peace Intermediary? What sort thing is that?

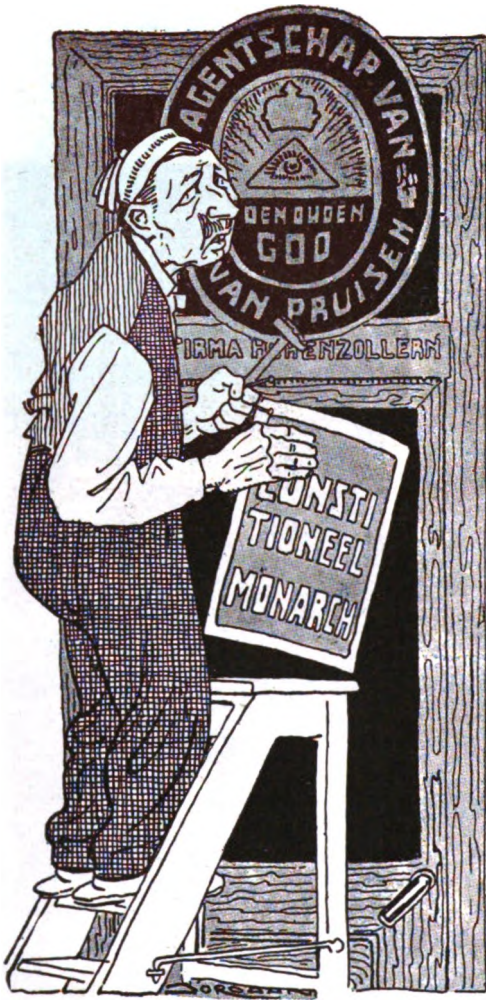
From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam)



NO PRESENTS RECEIVED
Beware of Greeks (and Boches) bearing gifts.
From *Campana de Gracia* (Barcelona)



LIKE A RED RAG TO A BULL
Are peace offers to the belligerents.
From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich)



POLITICAL POSSIBILITIES IN GERMANY

"Agency for the good old god of Prussia, firm of Hohenzollern"

Shall the sign be changed to "Constitutional Monarchy"?
From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam)



CIVILIZATION, 1917

"Death and Hunger, Murder and Lies upon earth, peace and good will towards the devil."

From the *Nebelspalter* (Zurich)



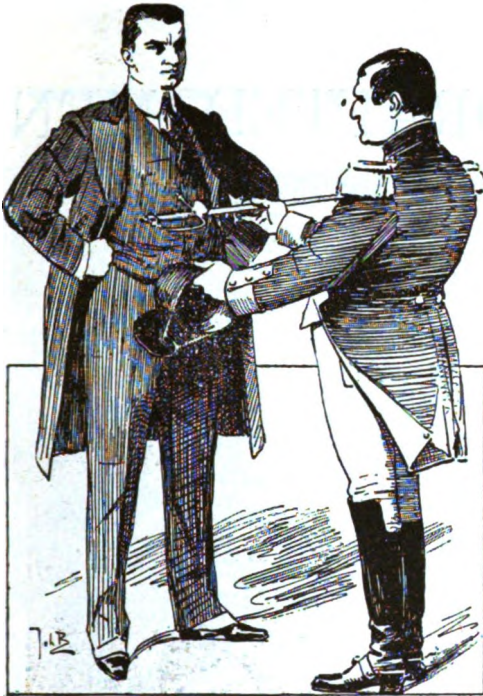
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS, THE POTATO
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)



THE CRISIS IN AUSTRIA, OR THE IMPERIAL JUGGLER

(The knives are labeled Croats, Czechs, Poles, Serbs, Germans, Italians,—indicating Emperor Charles' diverse subjects which it is his task to hold together harmoniously)

From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam)



ANARCHY IN RUSSIA

NAPOLEON TO KERENSKY: "Take this! There is work for men of our sort!"

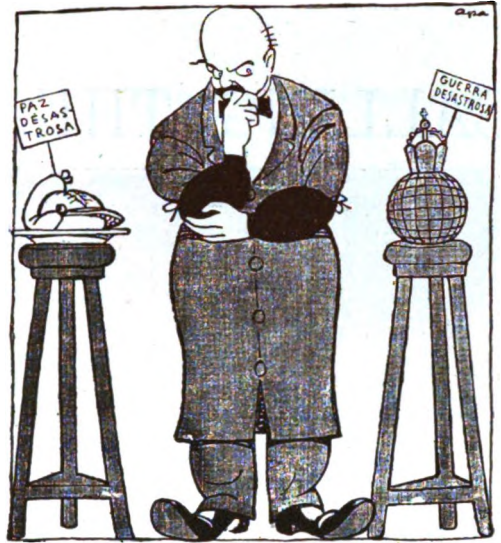
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)



BARRING THE WAY

(Great Britain and Germany guarding Miss Peace from their allies, who would fain woo her)

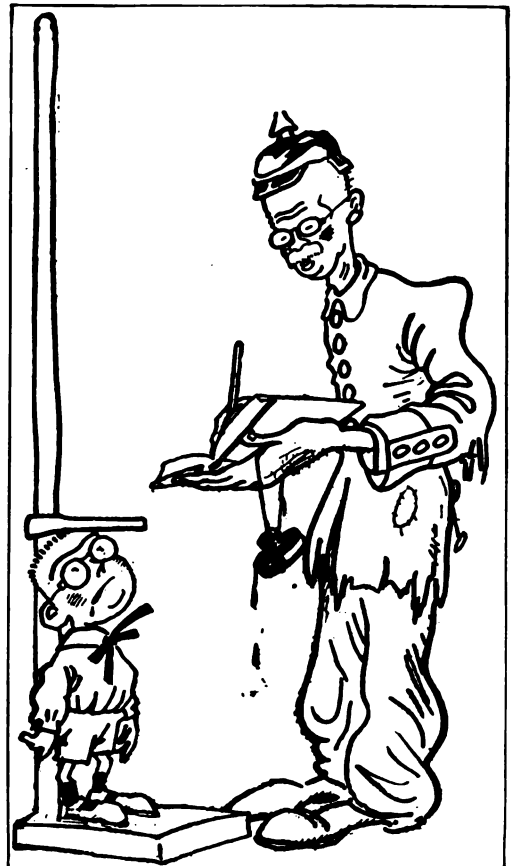
From *Hojas Selectas* (Barcelona)



BETWEEN THE DEVIL AND THE DEEP SEA

Chancellor Michaelis has to choose between "Disastrous Peace" and "Disastrous War."

From *Iberia* (Barcelona)



THE NEW GERMAN LEVY

"You'll do! I wonder we haven't taken you before!"

From the *Esquella* (Barcelona)

CALLING THE DRAFTED MEN



LEAVING THE HOME TOWN

(A farewell scene at St. Paul, as Minnesota's first quota entrained for Camp Dodge at Des Moines)



© International Film Service

ARRIVING AT THE CANTONMENTS

(A New England contingent coming into Camp Devens, at Ayer, Massachusetts)



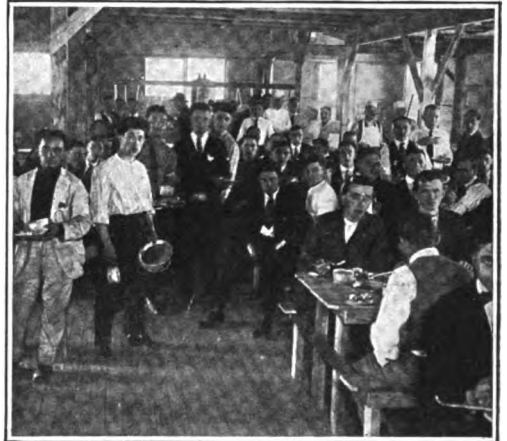
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SETTING UP EXERCISES—THE FIRST STEP IN THE MAKING OF A SOLDIER
(Calisthenics at Camp Dix, Wrightstown, N. J.)



© Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

GETTING THE MEN PROPERLY SIZED



© International Film Service

"CHOW" (MESS) AT CAMP UPTON, YAPHANK, N. Y.



© Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

A LECTURE ON HOW A SOLDIER SHOULD TAKE CARE OF HIS CLOTHING

THE BOYS "OVER THERE"



Photo by International Film Service

AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN FRANCE WITH THEIR STEEL HELMETS



© International Film Service

A MIDDAY MEAL AT THE AMERICAN CAMP IN FRANCE

(That these boys are in the real war zone is shown by the "camouflage" used—branches of trees placed on the top of the canvas to hide the tent from observers in enemy airplanes)



Photograph from the Gilliams Service

"EAGLE HUT," THE Y. M. C. A. HEADQUARTERS FOR OUR SOLDIERS IN LONDON

At the end of this rest room is a counter where tea, coffee, cocoa and light meals are served and where small personal needs of the soldiers are filled, such as matches, soap, chocolate, stamps, etc. At the opposite end is a platform with a piano, where concerts, lectures and impromptu entertainments of all kinds take place. Billiard and game tables, magazines and newspapers, and writing facilities are scattered about.



Photo by International Film Service

A HAVEN FOR OUR JACKIES AND SOLDIERS IN PARIS

The amusement room in the American Y. M. C. A., 51 Avenue Montaigne, Paris, which is a headquarters for our land and sea fighters in the French capital, and is equipped similarly to the London hut pictured above.

VERDUN—RIGA—THE ISONZO

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE EPILOGUE

THE last month has seen three great episodes, of unequal military significance but each of great moral value, in the future historical discussion of the World War. The last Verdun struggle, the fall of Riga, and the greatest of all Italian efforts along the Isonzo will remain memorable, the first two as details in two of three great campaigns of the war, the last as not impossibly the beginning of a fourth bid for a decision. Contrasted with these three the British fighting, severe as it has been, lacks dramatic appeal, as it has been without significant detail.

Of the three operations, Verdun claims first attention because it is the last act in one of the great battles of all human history. It is a final demonstration of the completeness of German defeat and French victory. It places in French hands all the important or useful ground lost between February and August, 1916. It puts the French lines back where they were on the second day of the great German assault along the Heights of the Meuse.

But this Verdun affair does more than this; it demonstrates that, despite the disappointments of the spring, the failure and retirement of Nivelle, the morale of the French army remains high and its power on the offensive is still great. What the Germans could not do at the Chemin-des-Dames in June, the French have done on the hills above the Meuse in August; they have made a material advance. They have, too, swept the outer rim of the hills defending Verdun clean of Germans and taken prisoners and guns in large numbers.

I am anxious that my readers should feel that this last act in the Verdun contest has a permanent value. We see now much more clearly than we did a year ago what Verdun meant. The Russian Revolution and collapse have demonstrated how much more nearly accurate was German than Allied calculation at the end of the campaign of 1915. We all talked of Germany as having failed in Russia, because, to outward appearances, Russia had escaped; her armies endured. A

year later, when Brusiloff attacked in Volhynia and Galicia, the impression was strengthened.

But it is plain now that the German was right. His campaign of 1915 from the Dunajec to the Dwina was a mortal blow to Russian power. The Russian armies did not immediately collapse, but the exposure to the nation of the weakness of the state led to a slow but sure decay. Reaction first grasped the power and betrayed the nation to the German, then revolution came and chaos succeeded. The exact measure of this chaos the shameful rout in Galicia in July and the fall of Riga in recent days demonstrate.

So now we perceive that when the German General Staff decided to come west in the campaign of 1916, when it determined to strike a final blow at France, it could reckon upon the ultimate collapse of Russia. The fatal blow had been delivered. And since Britain was not ready and would not be ready for months, there was left only France. Already the Pan-German dream of *Mittel-europa* was a solid fact. From Berlin to Bagdad, German influence was supreme. Could France be crushed, it would be permanent.

In a word, Germany had by February, 1916, restored the condition of August, 1914. Even more, she had created the situation she had imagined existed in August, 1914. Russia was now out of the running for a long time. Austria could now, as she was unable to do in 1914, hold the eastern front with a minimum of assistance. Once more Germany could concentrate her attention upon France; and, France defeated, the most colossal victory of modern history was in her hands.

It is this new perspective that gives greater and more enduring value to Verdun. It was another Marne, another battle of arrest. Had the Germans won it, the decision of the Marne would have been totally abolished. Accordingly, when in August and September, 1917, two years after the opening of the German assault from Consenvoye to Ornes, the French are able to step out and win almost the last remaining strip of front

taken by the Germans in their great attack, and restore, not the permanent lines of defense of the entrenched camp, but the outer perimeter of field lines, with 9000 prisoners, the absolute character of the German defeat is established.

II. THE VICTORY

Recall again the successive steps of German advance. From February 21 to February 26, 1916, there was the Flood, the wild rush over four miles that culminated in the capture of Fort Douaumont. Then from February 26 to June 7 the Battle of the Wings: the capture of Dead Man's Hill and Hill 304 on the west bank of the Meuse, of Fort de Vaux and the Vaux Plateau on the east bank. This was the slow, grinding advance which in late June brought the Germans to the ditch of Fort de Souville, the last bulwark of the town, now less than two miles away. After Souville the road ran down hill to the river and the citadel.

July sees the advance going forward inch by inch. The Battle of the Somme, the Russian attacks in the east, do not at once slow down German effort. As late as September the Crown Prince can venture an offensive. Verdun is in its last ditch. The Germans have driven a wedge right into the defensive circle. Could they now maintain their effort the end would soon come. But their power to continue has gone. The Somme has at last had its effect, and the Germans on the defensive in Artois are battling with all their resources to defend, not to attack.

Then in October, eight months almost to a day after the German attack, the French take the offensive and in a single day clear all the ground taken by the Germans since February 26. They even take Fort Douaumont. Vaux holds out a few days more and falls November 3, as the direct consequence of the attack of the previous week. A single day, with relatively minor fighting for two or three days following, has been sufficient for the French to regain ground that the Germans spent eight months and half a million men in gaining. To make this advance the French employed three divisions—not much more than 50,000 men. Their losses were relatively minor, and they took 6000 prisoners.

But only the line of the forts had been cleared. The Germans were still within striking distance of the ruins of Vaux and Douaumont and from various hills looked

down on much-bombarded Verdun. Another effort was necessary to "give Verdun air," as Petain phrased it! Accordingly, a new attack comes in December, and the Germans are thrown back far outside the old line of the entrenched camp. They still have a distant glimpse of the town, but they are no longer able to threaten it. This time they lose 11,000 prisoners and more than a hundred guns. The second defeat is more complete than the first. The Germans are now back where they were about February 24, three days after their rush began. But on the west bank they still hold to Dead Man's Hill and Hill 304 and no further French advance on the east bank is possible while the enemy is able to enfilade the French from these hills.

This explains the final thrust of recent weeks. On a front of eight or ten miles, from the southern slope of Hill 304 on the west bank to the edge of Bezonvaux on the eastern edge of the Woivre, the French attack began. They take Dead Man's Hill and a number of important elevations across the river from it. They leave 304 practically alone. But it is encircled as was Vaux in the October attack and falls a few hours later. The French have now reached the position of their second line in February, 1915; the Germans have lost their last direct view of Verdun; they have lost everything of any military value that they gained between February and September, 1915. In this last phase, too, they have lost 9000 prisoners—27,000 in three attacks.

And this French success comes at the moment when the German press is assuring the German people that France is exhausted, "kaput," as the phrase is. "Compelled to attack by their British masters," is the official sneer of the German official statement, discussing a preliminary thrust of the French before the main blow comes. Dead Man's Hill, Hill 304 are as well known in Germany as Cemetery Ridge and the Peach Orchard to Americans after Gettysburg. Douaumont was the cornerstone of Verdun's defense, so the Kaiser announced in February, 1915. And of the whole Verdun episode, of all the ground gained, nothing remains to the Germans now but the downhill slopes north of Samogneux and Bezonvaux.

I have dwelt upon this Verdun incident because it, like the Marne, is one of the unmistakable things of the war. The Germans were beaten at the Marne, they had to retreat, and the proof is to be seen on the map.

It is the same with Verdun. All else on the Western front has been, by comparison, indistinct, the backward and forward swing of trench warfare, save for the retreat after the Somme, but here the Germans were on the defensive and maintained their line, although compelled to withdraw. Their actual hold upon Northern France was not broken. But the Marne and Verdun were both shipwrecks of great German purposes. Each was a bid for supreme victory. Since Waterloo no battles have had such momentous values, and both were French victories. In both the whole German purpose was balked.

Twice, then, at the Marne and at Verdun, the French alone, for the British share in the Marne was nothing, have arrested the German flood, stopped it, turned it back, retained the field at the end of the struggle and the prizes that go with the victory. To have forecast in 1914 that France could do this would have been to invite ridicule in Berlin and dubitation in France. And this is the great and enduring contribution of France in the war. It is not in the power of the country inferior in population and resources to its great neighbor to win an offensive battle. The battles of Champagne in 1915, of the Aisne this year, demonstrate this.

The United States, Great Britain, Russia must turn the French achievement into the final profit; they must defeat the German whose two great efforts France has parried and beaten down. And since Russia is out of the running, the burden falls upon the United States and Britain. Already Britain has made a beginning. The Somme, Arras, Messines—these are material and promising signs. But Russian collapse has released German troops and these troops demand fresh Allied forces to face them; so the struggle goes over another year.

Yet just as Antietam and Gettysburg were the highwater marks of the Confederacy, the Marne and Verdun are unmistakably the supreme limits of German effort. A victory on either field would have won the war; defeat on both fields made victory impossible in the larger sense. Nearly two years separated Gettysburg from Appomattox. But the power of the South, offensively, was broken in the first days of July, 1863. All the chances that they could hope to have were with them and they lost. And all the chances were with the Germans both at the Marne and at Verdun. They had a far

greater advantage than Lee had, for he was outnumbered and outgunned on both fields.

The proof of this is that after Verdun, after the campaign of 1916, the Germans first proposed peace and then risked all upon their submarine campaign. It remains their single chance; this their own statesmen do not hesitate to affirm. Think of it; the nation with the great military tradition, which embarked upon the war confident of its ability to dispose of France in six weeks and Russia in three months more, after three years of war, seeks to escape ultimate defeat for its armies, through submarine warfare! Here is the meaning of the Marne and Verdun in small compass.

III. RIGA

Turning now to the capture of Riga by the Germans, the immediate fact seems to be that it was a natural and necessary counterpoise to the Verdun episode. Defeat at Verdun, unmistakable defeat, had its depressing effect upon the German people. The capture of Riga would do something, at the least, to dissipate the depression. And for many months it has lain in the power of the Germans to take Riga when they chose. For many weeks anything on the eastern front that they chose to expend the men and munitions to get could have been had. The condition endures. Therefore, the Germans took Riga.

Two years ago, at the close of their great eastern campaign, the Germans failed to get Riga for a variety of reasons. The chief obstacle was the Russian fleet, which was then in good condition. The Russians had four superdreadnoughts, their gunnery was good, and it would have required an action of the German battle fleet to dispose of the Russians, who would probably have sunk several German first-line units in the conflict. Therefore, the Germans held back their fleet. But until the Russian fleet was disposed of Riga could not be used as a base, and this was its main value.

In addition the Germans had sent many guns and men south to the Balkan front and were already making their great concentration of munitions for the Verdun attack of the next February. They could unquestionably have taken Riga in the fall of 1915, but it would have been a venture injurious to other plans and a prize of limited value because of the Russian fleet, hence they held their hands. Accordingly the Allies made

the most of what had been saved from the Russian wreck, and Riga was the chief bit of salvage. Honestly, but mistakenly, the Allied press believed that Russia had saved herself at the end of a summer of disaster, but the Russian salvation turned out to be but temporary.

By taking Riga now, the Germans have laid hands on the only considerable East European city, included in their extreme Pan-Germanic aspirations of the ante-bellum period, which had escaped them in the war. By taking it they have completed their hold upon the Courland, they have made good the line of the Dwina, and the eastern frontiers of their *Mitteuropa* are established. And this is but a step in line with their recent success in Galicia, which has cleared the Russians practically out of the territory of their Austrian ally.

Look at the war map again and it will be seen that to-day Germany occupies the heart of Europe and her front runs straight from the Gulf of Riga to the mouth of the Danube; Warsaw, Riga, Libau, Lodz, Belgrade, Bucharest, the cities of Poland, of the Courland, of Rumania, are in her hands. Austria, Turkey, Bulgaria form extensions of the German block, and these are buttressed by conquered marches on the east. Riga is only one of the minor details now, at last, included in the German war map.

And as they have always resolved to have Riga, to take it now is a new source of rejoicing to the Germans. Berlin has been beflagged again and there is in this fresh evidence of Russian collapse the basis for a renewal of confidence that a truly German victory can be achieved in the East, whatever the necessary concessions in the West. Riga has a value for the German public less vital, perhaps, than Strassburg for the French or Trieste for the Italians, but in a measure comparable. And now, in the late summer of 1917, Riga is won.

On the military side Riga has little meaning, because it is idle to attach any military value to Russia. To all intents and purposes she has disappeared from the battle line and it is necessary to accept the fact.



MITTEUROPA (INCLUDING GERMANY, AUSTRIA, RUMANIA, SERBIA, BULGARIA AND TURKEY)

The war must be won on the western front by the western allies, by France, Britain, Italy, and the United States. Riga only emphasizes this fact. But the moral value is still to be recognized. Germany will be the more determined to fight as the proofs of Russian collapse are the more unmistakable. And Riga is a supreme proof of this demoralization, followed as it was by the revolt of Korniloff and the subsequent outburst of new anarchy in Russia.

Had Russia been able to fight in 1917 as she did up to September, 1916, the end of



Photo by International Film Service

ONE OF THE BUSINESS STREETS OF RIGA

the German cause would now be in sight. But there is no wisdom in disguising the fact that Russia has completely collapsed and all plans made upon the basis of her assistance have gone by the board. More than this, no plans for next year can be made with the expectation of useful Russian participation. If there was doubt as to this fact before the Riga capture, it should vanish now.

IV. WESTERN AFFAIRS

Evidently the higher strategy of the Allies aimed at a repetition of last year's procedure this year. Then there were attacks upon all fronts: Russian and Italian upon the Austrian fronts; French and British upon the German, with material victories in the East and considerable progress in the West. This year Russia was to lead off again in Galicia, although the French and British had made initial attacks in the spring. Italy was to go on along the Isonzo, as she had gone on last summer to the capture of Gorizia. The main Allied effort was to be in Flanders and northward from Ypres.

But Russia tried and failed with a terrible after effect. Her Galician armies disintegrated, there was a shameful flight, and a rapid military breakdown. By August 1, when the French and British were ready to attack in Flanders, Russia was no longer a factor and Germany was free to use most of her resources in the West. Austria, too, could bring men and guns from the Dniester to the Isonzo. By August 1, the hope of a decision this year was over and it was no longer the part of wise generalship to risk too great losses in operations that could not decide the struggle in the present campaign.

The result has been seen in recent weeks. There has been terrific fighting in Flanders. The mere casualty lists of the British, 28,000 in a week that had no striking incident, that is, a greater loss than Meade or Lee suffered at Gettysburg, demonstrate the intensity of the fighting, but it has seen no great attack. There is a steady pounding going on, an ever-mounting casualty list, and German losses are not inferior to British, for the Germans are outgunned and outmanned, but no attempt to repeat the Somme campaign. For the year British strategy does not seem to go beyond killing Germans on the lines that are now familiar to the world.

Next year we shall see a grand effort made by the British, French, and American troops

all along the western front. This year, in my judgment, one more British thrust on the Ypres front will be the extent of the campaigning, for the weather will very soon get bad; four weeks is probably the outside limit of good fighting weather that remains.

After their losses this year, the Allies figure that the Germans will be short of men next year. Their casualties this year will eat up the reserves that Russian collapse released in the East. The main Allied aim this year must be to dispose of these reserves at a minimum of cost, and this is being done. Next year American man-power will be available and German much depleted. The French General Staff in interesting figures lately placed the German loss up to the beginning of the fourth year of the war, that is, the permanent loss, as 4,000,000 in killed, wounded, and captured. Four millions out of the fighting, this means, with another half-million in hospital who will come back presently.

The same estimate fixed at 5,500,000 the Germans on the line or behind the line engaged in necessary military tasks. This left a reserve of 600,000 made up mainly of boys of seventeen and eighteen, with an eventual reserve of 500,000, drawn from the men now in hospital. By April this reserve will have fallen to less than 750,000, and this is the total reserve of men available to repair wastage for the whole campaign. It is less than half the British reserve. We shall probably provide the French with half a million before the campaign of 1918 is over and, with their new class of 1918, this will give them a reserve equal to the German, had they exhausted all other reserves, which is not the case.

We all know what the last year and a half of the Civil War meant to the South; it well-nigh annihilated their youth. Boys and old men were called to the front, and half a century after the struggle the South is only beginning to recover. This is what another year of the war will mean to Germany. On the western front, French, British, and American manhood will divide the cost of the battle in human life. But the German manhood will have to defray it all and the tax will, therefore, be enormously higher upon the German.

Germany, by using enslaved populations, by using prisoners, has been able to put a far greater percentage of her manhood on the firing line than her opponents; this has enabled her to hold off her enemies, and still

enables her to do it, but it has also compelled her to use up a far greater fraction of her human capital and thus cripple herself in the after-war recovery.

It does not seem to me that enough Americans perceive clearly the direction in which war events are moving. Their attention is still fixed upon trenches and trench lines. They are still thinking of breaking the German line. But this is not the present Allied problem. To illustrate: If Germany should lose 1,500,000 men by the end of the fourth year of the war, that is, in that fourth year, in killed or permanently disabled, her total permanent loss for four years would be just about half of her able-bodied male population. Up to date Britain, aside from her colonies, has lost hardly more than a million against the German 4,000,000. The German loss is 35 per cent., the British 12 per cent. If Britain lost another million this year, that is, as many as in all three previous years combined, her total loss would be only about a quarter of her able-bodied male population as against 50 per cent. for the Germans.

Remember that the two nations are the real industrial and commercial rivals of Europe, and at the end of the war, if one has lost half, the other only a quarter of its wealth-producing population, even if in all else the war is a draw, it is easy to see where the victory will lie. Human loss is, practically speaking, irreparable, and it is the human loss of Germany that is becoming impressive. Moreover, Britain has beside her home population, the male populations of her great white colonies, whose percentages of casualties will be still lower than her own. Looked at from this angle it will be perceived why Germany is losing not only the war but her future after the war, a far more important thing, while she still holds her front in France and Belgium.

V. THE ITALIANS AT THE ISONZO

It remains to discuss the Italian fighting of the month, which has supplied the one major operation, probably the most considerable of the year, to date, since the Austrians estimate the Italian losses at nearly a quarter of a million, more men than the North and South combined brought on to any battlefield during the Civil War, while the Italian estimate of Austrian losses is not smaller.

By this time the world is fairly familiar with the Isonzo front. Between the Julian



MAP OF THE ITALIAN BATTLE-FRONT

Alps and the sea on a front of little less than forty miles the Austrians originally stood behind the Isonzo from Tolmino down below Gorizia, throwing advance guards across the river in front of this town and drawing their line back from the river as it approached the sea and moved away from the Carso Plateau. This front has three different geographical features. From Tolmino almost to Gorizia there is the high ground, the Bainizza Plateau, with its western rim, that toward the Isonzo tilted up and culminating in a number of peaks some two thousand feet above sea level. Kuk, Monte Santo, Vrh, Monte San Gabriele and Daniele are the more famous and the highest. East of Gorizia there is the valley of the Vippaco or Wippach, and then further south the ground rises to the Carso Plateau with Mt. Hermada as its chief elevation, whence it falls abruptly to the Gulf of Trieste.

Last year the Italians took Gorizia and pushed out on the Carso and last spring they reached the neighborhood of Hermada, but



MOUNTAIN PEAKS SURMOUNTED BY THE ITALIAN ARMY
(Note the aerial cables for the carriage of munitions and supplies)

did not take it. Northward they crossed the Isonzo and took Kuk and Vrh, but not Gabriele and Daniele, which rise right above Gorizia command it and sweep the Vippaco Valley east of it. They reached but did not get Monte Santo. Despite this attack the main fighting up to August of this year has been on the Carso and in the Vippaco Valley just east of Gorizia. But late in that month the Italians changed their objective and aimed at the Bainzizza Plateau.

Crossing the Isonzo in brilliant fashion, for the first time supported by British heavy guns, they took Monte Santo, swept east from one to four miles and partially encircled Gabriele and Daniele. If they could

get these elevations they would compel the Austrians to retire on a wide front and to a considerable depth. The retirement would be into a region ill-served with railroads and hard to defend. As I write these lines Rome statements published in Washington announce the fall of San Gabriele, but there is lacking any official corroboration in the Italian communiqués.

Now bear in mind the situation: This front is a sort of magnified Thermopylæ, a little gate between the sea and the impassable Alps which the Austrians have held against great numbers with relatively small effectives for more than three years. As the Austrians retreat they will leave the gate and the Italians will have a wider and wider front on which to use their vastly superior numbers. This means that it will require larger and larger Austrian numbers to defend this front as the Italians press on.

The real objective of the Italians is not Trieste but Laibach. If they get Laibach, thirty miles away, Trieste will be the eventual reward, because they will isolate it and cut its communications. But they are striking east, not south, they are

aiming at the Austrian armies, not an Austrian port. If the Italians once get through the gate, then the Austrian predicament will be unmistakable, for Austria lacks men for a wide front. Her losses have been terrific against Russia as well as against Italy, and Serbia cost her a pretty total of men at the Jedar and Valievo. Italy, on the other hand, has huge untapped resources, the largest human reservoir of all the European allies, now that Russia is out of the running.

For more than two years, right down to the recent collapse in Galicia, Russian strategy was comprised in the attempt, while holding off Germany, to crush Austria, and she almost succeeded, both at Lemberg in

1914 and east of that town and Kovel last summer. Austria is the weak link in the German chain and now Italy is taking Russia's place. And there is a growing tendency in London, Paris, and Washington to recognize the importance of the Italian campaign. This may easily mean that next year Italy will receive more guns, more munitions, and more coal from her allies than before, and that the Italian campaign next spring may be almost as important as the Anglo-French.

Italy's position at the present time must be a source of no little anxiety to her leaders. Her allies entered the war either to save themselves under attack, or to save an attacked nation, whose fall would be fatal to their interests, but Italy came in with a clearly matured purpose after having refused a portion of the Trentino as the price of peace. So far, Italy has not conquered what she was offered to remain neutral. The war is approaching a decision and the need of new activity is plain. Italy's difficulties have not been appreciated by her allies and they have only recently been willing to lend her the aid she has long asked for.

Russian collapse has brought a changed situation: it has doubled the burden upon Italy and abolished all chance, if there ever was any, that Italy could profit through the

exertions of her Allies without great effort herself. Italy has now become an equal member in the alliance with an equal necessity for making her utmost effort, and she is certainly doing this in her present blow on the Isonzo, the most successful in ground gained she has yet struck.

The campaign is still going forward and the end seems distant, but it is worth noting that there is every present prospect that Italy's campaign this year will be the most considerable of all the Western Allies. It is still possible, too, that it may have a decisive turn, although the reported arrival of German reinforcements indicates that Germany is again backing her Austrian ally at a danger point.

And it is worth remarking that this new Italian effort has produced a new feeling of friendship for Italy in Paris and London.

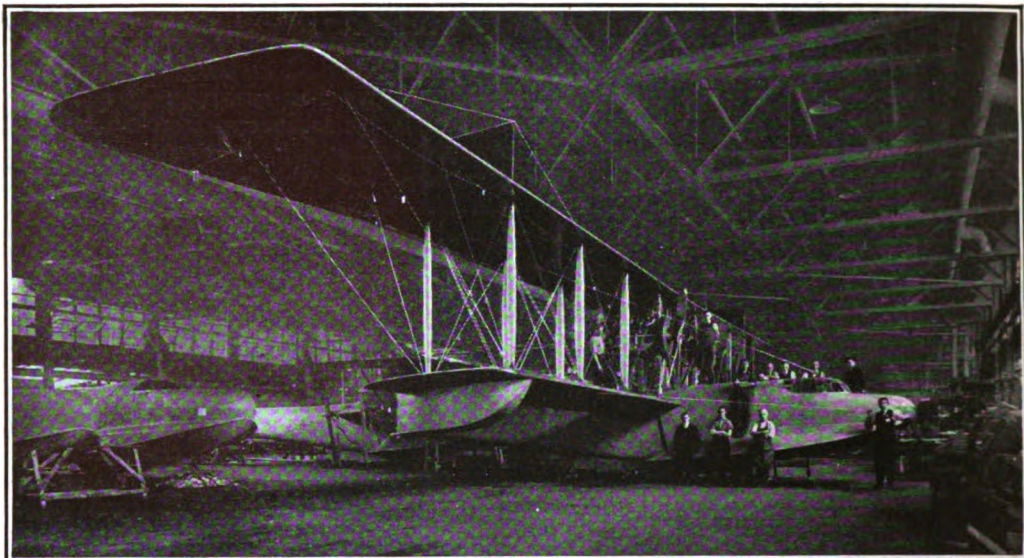
The three Western

Allies are visibly drawing closer together as the war proceeds, and this may easily foreshadow a new triple alliance after the war between the Mediterranean powers, an alliance as natural as the old Triple Alliance was unnatural. Alone of the commanders who began the war, Cadorna survives, and to-day he divides the honors of achievement with Pétain, the victor of Verdun, and Joffre, the man of the Marne. The fame of all three is secure.



GENERAL CADORNA, THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ITALIAN ARMY





Photograph from Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

GIANT CURTISS FLYING BOAT BUILT FOR THE BRITISH NAVY

If the United States has not distinguished itself thus far for the number of airplanes which it has produced, it has made a record for itself in its daringly conceived constructions of individual types. Here we have one of the huge Curtiss airplanes built for Great Britain—enormous machines intended primarily for naval scouting. The wing span is over ninety-two feet; the horse-power nearly five hundred. The machine is an outgrowth of experiments made with the *America*, built by Curtiss before the war for a proposed trans-Atlantic flight.

THE WINGS OF VICTORY

BY WALDEMAR KAEMPFERT

LENDING for once a willing ear to the best technical advice, Congress appropriates the unthinkable sum of \$720,000,000 for the building of the wings on which we shall soar to victory. The price that we paid for the Panama Canal seems ridiculously small in comparison, all the more so when we discover that more and more money must be forthcoming after the sum thus far allotted has been spent.

No strategist familiar with the appalling wastage of war cherishes the illusion that \$720,000,000 will buy command of the air. Much of the money must be spent in training an aviation army bigger than the entire force that we sent to the Mexican border—an army numbering no less than 100,000 men, of whom 10,000 are to be fliers.

Airmen are expensive necessities. If we may judge by the experience of France, the training of each pilot will cost us between \$5,000 and \$6,000. By August, 1918, the princely sum of \$720,000,000 will have vanished. Besides, only \$337,500,000 is to be applied to the actual manufacturing of airplanes. England is spending \$600,000,000 for manufacturing in 1917 alone.

Our present program calls for the immediate construction of about 23,000 machines of all types and of 49,000 engines. When will the Germans hear the whirring of our multitudinous propellers in the air?

European experience has shown that the instruction of a single aviator means the destruction of one and one-half machines in learning how to land. Two thousand five hundred planes a year must be converted to matchwood and junk to graduate two thousand finished aviators. Add to this the wastage of battle. During a recent debate in the House of Commons it was stated by Mr. Joynton-Hicks that in January, 1917, the Royal Flying Corps lost in killed and wounded 56 men; in the following February, 119; in March, 152; in April, 319. Each man killed means a totally wrecked machine. No wonder that an army of one million men needs one thousand planes in constant service and three thousand in reserve.

30,000 Airplanes for 1919

With all our genius for invention, with all the knowledge of skilled automobile man-

ufacturers to draw upon, with the best expert information of Europe at our disposal, it is not likely that we shall see as many as five thousand American airplanes on the battlefield by the spring of 1918. We can do little more than lay the foundation for a not too distant future. No army officer with any regard for his reputation will claim that we can win the war in the air in another year. But by 1919, the world will open its eyes. Then we shall be manufacturing four thousand airplanes a month, and we shall have thirty thousand of them ready for the campaign of that year.

How many of us realize what it means to build not only 23,000 airplanes, but just one pair of wings on which a brave man may soar among the clouds, just one trustworthy engine, just one exquisitely-fashioned propeller? Here is a machine which has some of the attributes of a butterfly, which is driven through the atmosphere at such speed that each gust is like the blow of a powerful sledge-hammer, and which, unlike a motor-car, almost always runs at full power, so that it is severely strained. Safety depends on the most meticulous choice of material and on correct designing. A flying-machine must be as airily light for its size as thistledown and yet as strong for each square foot of its surface as a girder; and it must travel sometimes at a speed twice that of the fastest express train. Twenty-three thousand times must a miracle in mechanical engineering be performed within a year!

The Spruce Wood Problem

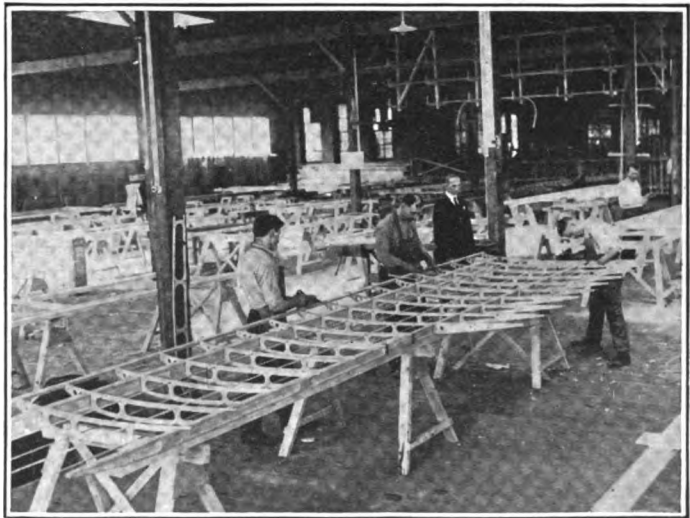
The mere gathering of the raw material for the manufacturing of the wings on which we are to make our début in the European air is a baffling problem in itself. Spruce is preferably utilized in the making of planes. It combines the greatest strength for each unit of weight. About 1000 feet are required for each machine, not for the actual construction, but for mere selection. Only 200 feet are incorporated in the average finished plane; 800 feet must be thrown aside because of imperfections and because of the

wastage entailed by the elimination of unnecessary sections. A human life is entrusted to these cunningly yet delicately constructed wings of spruce. No risks can be run. The hand and the eye must pass critically over the graining. A little knot, a mere whorl in the wood, may no more be disregarded than the skull and cross bones on a bottle of poison.

We must supply not only our own needs but those of our Allies as well. Of the 75,000,000 feet that should be, but are not, seasoning at this moment, fully two-thirds are needed by France and England. No wonder that the Aircraft Production Board appointed a special "spruce committee" to cope with merely this phase of the problem. If we carry out our program of construction, no small meed of praise must be allotted to the unselfish, conscientious work of that committee.

Flax Farms for Linen Wings

The spruce wing-frames are covered with linen, carefully laid and stretched as tightly as a drumhead. The best linen comes from Ireland—so little of it that England has to distribute seeds among Irish flax growers to insure her own supply. We must either find some adequate substitute for linen (3,850,000 yards of it) or we must officially develop flax farms in this country. Experiments are being made with other material.



Photograph by Kadel & Herbert

MAKING THE WINGS OF AN AIRPLANE

No engineering structure is comparable for lightness and strength with the wing of an airplane; for a wing must have the lightness of a feather and yet all the strength of a girder. Of all materials spruce answers the airplane builder's purpose the best. It is so carefully selected that out of one thousand feet, eight hundred are rejected in obtaining the two hundred actually required for the average machine.

From *Universal Screen Magazine***CUTTING LINEN FOR THE WINGS**

Linen is the fabric with which airplane wings are preferably covered. There is scarcely enough linen to meet the demands of the Allies. It may be that following the example of England we must distribute flaxseed to stimulate the linen industry, or to find some way to make canvas serviceable.

The Great Problem of the Engine

And then comes the baffling task of supplying engines—baffling because an engine is the very heart and soul of a flying machine and because even the best that the most skilled French engineers have been able to design breaks down all too readily. Five thousand dollars is the price of a good engine; yet it must be rebuilt at the end of perhaps seventy hours, although it has been made as painstakingly as the finest Swiss chronometer. Captain de la Grange, sent by the French Government to this country in order that we may profit by his knowledge and experience, demands that we build 10,000 engines by April 1, 1918, and 46,000 before December, 1918. At once we ask: Why not turn to the automobile companies? The Aircraft Production Board will see to it that they will indeed supply the needs of the army—but not with ordinary automobile engines.

The Germans attacked the problem of propulsion intelligently from the very first. They were the last of the great European powers to develop the flying machine as a military instrument; they were the first to make its Achilles' heel less vulnerable. It is characteristic that prizes were offered by the Emperor and by technical societies, not for speed records, but for engines which would run hour after hour unhaltingly. Their *Taubes*, as we now know, were conceived with no very clear idea of what would be demanded of a flying machine over the

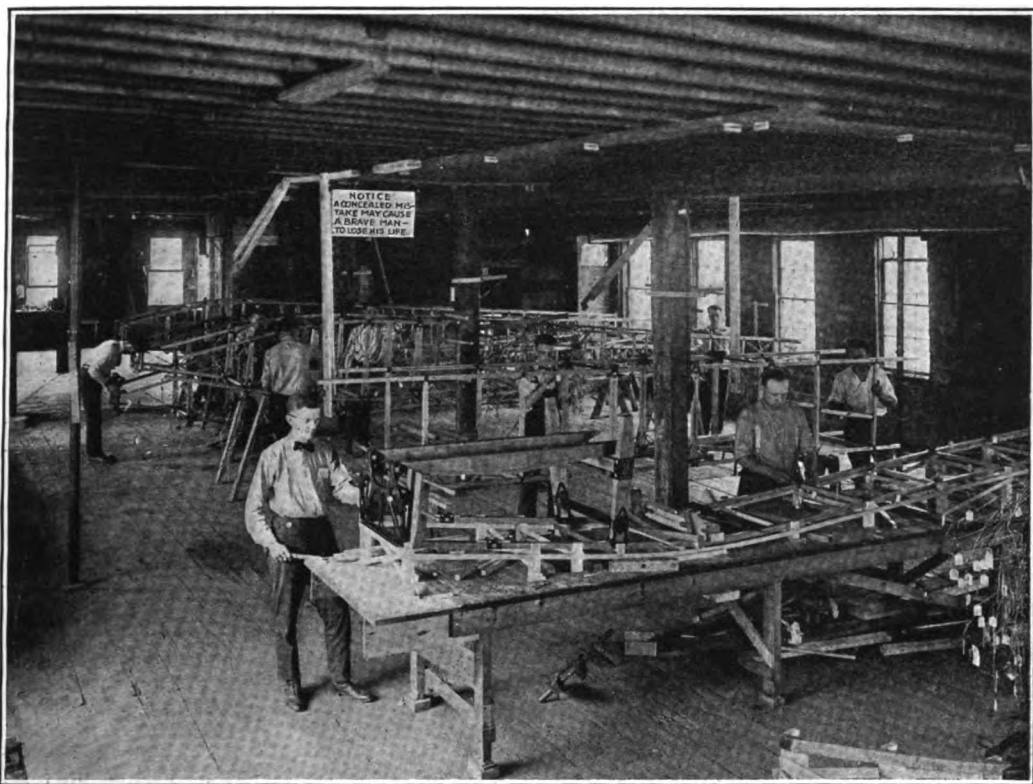
battlefield; indeed, there was not a strategist in all Europe who could foresee the fighting *Fokker* or the *Avion de chasse*. But the Germans at least had the engines. And it was because they had them that they flew so boldly over Paris at the beginning of the war; that they invaded Belgium, knowing full well that nothing could stop them; that they indulged so confidently in long-range scouting practically unhindered for months. We may call this development of the airplane another evidence of German preparation for the conflict. To an engineer, it is mere mechanical common sense.

Would it not be easy to profit by the lesson learnt by

France and England and to copy the best that they have produced? With European engineers, European drawings, European experience, one American airplane company, after twelve months of labor and the expenditure of \$3,000,000, has just reached the point of producing an American duplicate of the best European engine. An automobile company spent in 1916 alone over \$500,000 in experimenting. Copying is not enough. Improvement over the old is demanded.

Airplane Engines as Compared with Automobile Engines

Why is it that an air engine is so frail and an automobile engine so stanch? The answer is to be found in the flying machine itself. Ounces must be saved in the construction of a fighting biplane. The fastest machines thus far built have a wing-spread of about twenty-five feet. Everything is sacrificed to the engine; for in a fight at 20,000 feet, life and victory depend on speed and maneuvering ability. Hence, we find engines of 160 horsepower on fighting planes, gnat-like in size compared with bulky bomb-droppers. The factor of safety is reduced to the danger point; the machine is stripped of everything that can be spared; the fuel allotted is sufficient only for a two-hour flight; but a few hundred rounds of ammunition can be carried; and lastly, the engine itself is pared down until it weighs scarcely more than three pounds for each horsepower developed.



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LAYING THE FRAMES OF THE AIRPLANE BODIES

Every man in an airplane factory has the keeping of lives in his hands. Upon his conscientiousness, upon the thoroughness with which he does his work, upon the care with which he selects his materials depends the life of a man in the air. Stradivarius never selected the material for his violins more carefully than the men in an airplane factory select the wood of which the parts of a flying machine are composed.

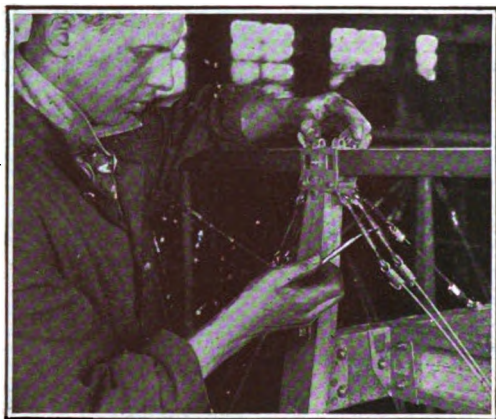
Because the whole structure of a flying machine is so deliberately frail, because no solid foundation can be supplied, the vibration is unendurable. It speaks well for the airplane builder that his engine is not literally shaken to pieces. An automobile manufacturer is not haunted with such mechanical terrors. He can build as heavily and substantially as he pleases. And that he does so please is proven by his engines, which weigh often thirteen pounds to the horsepower.

As a pilot ascends, his engine delivers less and less power, although he wants more and more. That follows from the fact that an engine needs oxygen like a man; without oxygen it is dead. But in the higher reaches of the atmosphere, where modern knights meet each other on the wing in deadly combat with machine guns that squirt six hundred bullets a minute, an engine breathes with difficulty. Not only the fate of an individual airman but perhaps the fate of an army depends on spark-plugs, bearings and

pistons in a duel to the death among the clouds. And yet the engine must be so lightly made that it cannot long withstand the terrible vibration and strains to which it is subjected. What can be more paradoxical than to save weight in order that great heights may be attained at the climbing rate of sixty miles an hour, only to lower the efficiency perilously? "There is no such thing as the mastery of the air," said Major Baird in Parliament. "The air is a big place, and it is getting bigger every day." What he meant was that the higher that fighters are able to mount and the faster they can fly, the more impossible it is to set up aerial barriers which the enemy cannot cross. Victory in the air, then, means a victory of engines.

The New "Liberty Motor"

Let it not be supposed that the Liberty Motor is a revolutionary invention. In principle it is not different than the best airplane engines of Europe and America. Its



From *Universal Screen Magazine*

ADJUSTING THE JOINING DEVICES

Not the least difficult problem of an aeronautic engineer is the designing of joints which will not weaken the members of a flying machine. Every manufacturer has a favorite type of fastening. The prevalent American method is here pictured.

chief merit consists in the fact that it has been designed by the most expert engineers with an eye to rapidity of manufacture in large quantities. It is a standardized engine, which means that it must be built according to the most precise specifications as to material, methods of machining, inspection, and dimensions of parts. The cylinders made in Toledo will be exactly like the cylinders made in Hartford; nuts produced in Dayton will fit the threads of bolts produced in Providence.

Only this engine—no other—is to be used in American fighting airplanes. Clearly we have learned well the lesson taught by three years of air fighting. Not the least interesting feature, perhaps, of this Liberty motor is to be found in the fact that different powers can be obtained by different combinations of similar units. That, so far as we know at present, is a daring innovation.

Beyond these meagre facts nothing may be printed about the Liberty motor. At least a hundred manufacturers know everything about it. The secret of its design has been so thoroughly hushed up that every automobile engineer could tell all that there is to know. And yet the public is not even informed what is the horsepower of this new power plant and how its weight compares with that of the best engines of Europe—knowledge which it would be comforting to have and which would not reveal anything of importance to the enemy. The minds of censors are difficult to fathom.

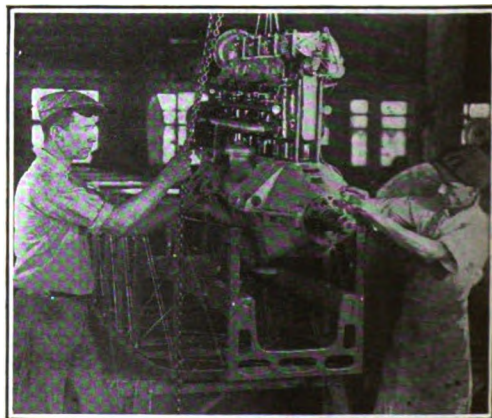
When the automobile manufacturer receives the specifications of the engine that the

Aircraft Production Board has designed—an engine which embodies the genius of fifty American engineers—he will find that he must learn his art anew. An automobile engine is cast in a mold; an airplane engine is machined. A solid block of the finest steel must be tediously bored out hour after hour until at last a cylinder is left with a wall measuring in thickness but a few hundredths of an inch. Thus are lightness and strength secured.

It has not been easy to obtain the fine steel of which the cylinders of airplane engines are so fashioned. Before the war the best metal for the purpose was supplied by Krupp. Subsidized by a far-seeing imperial government, Essen was able to underbid the steel makers of the world. France, England, the United States, all bought airplane steel from Germany. They had not recognized the need of encouraging their home industries. Tedious metallurgical research conducted in this country as well as abroad has at last given us a metal which is equal to that long supplied by Germany.

Many Industries Must Coöperate

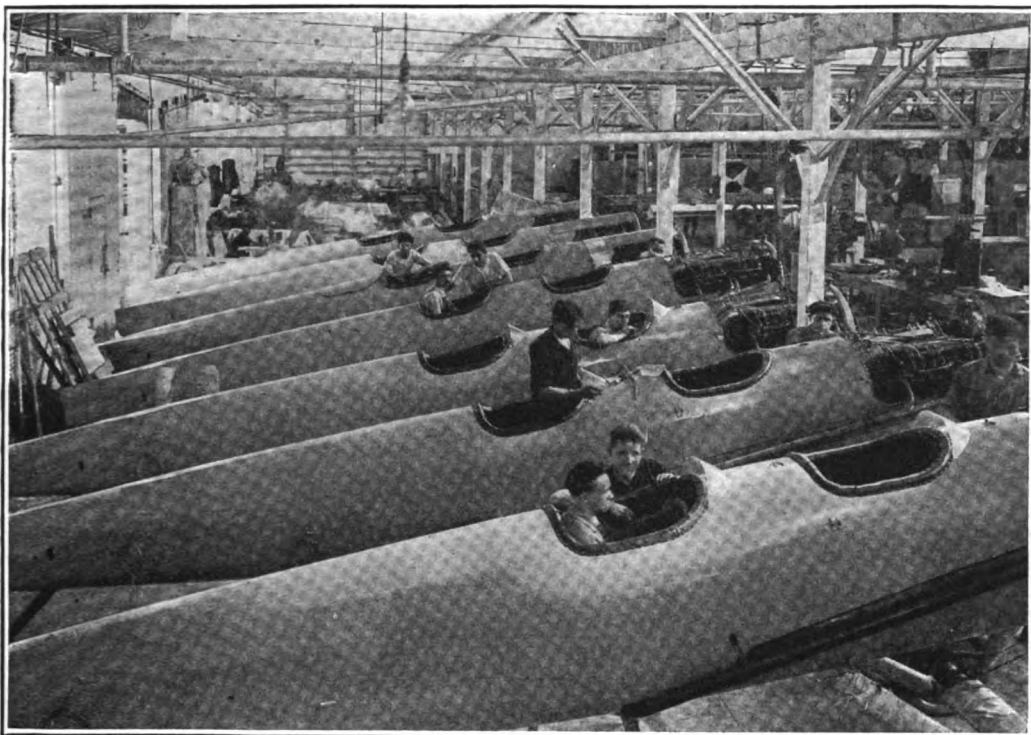
A thousand factories are engaged in the making of airplane parts in England; for the aviation industry alone was utterly unable to cope with the formidable task of supplying 3,500 machines a month. The Aircraft Production Board has seen to it that our industries are similarly coördinated. Typewriter and cash-register factories must manufacture the nuts, bolts and small metal



From *Universal Screen Magazine*

PLACING THE ENGINE IN THE AIRPLANE BODY

Here we have a modern stationary cylinder engine. It is being lowered into place in the fuselage of a machine. Thanks to the work of the Aircraft Production Board, it will be possible henceforth to interchange the engines of two machines of the same type, with the result that an airplane can be improvised on the battlefield from the parts of several wrecks.



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GIIVING THE FINISHING TOUCHES TO A ROW OF FIGHTING AIRPLANES

Before the outbreak of the European War it would have been impossible to take a picture such as this in the United States of America. Orders crowded in so fast upon American airplane builders that at last something like quantity production of flying machines became possible. And yet, now that we have entered the conflict, now that we are placing our chief reliance on crowding the Germans out of the air, even the achievements here pictured must be surpassed. Airplanes must be built at the rate of between three thousand and four thousand a month. Instead of the seven airplane bodies here pictured, hundreds will be visible in the same factory by the summer of 1918.

parts needed; furniture and coach makers must learn the difficult art of constructing wings of spruce; motor-car manufacturers and munition makers must be taught how the all-important engines are to be produced. If we succeed—and succeed we must—the achievement will be unsurpassed in magnificence in the whole history of our industries. And the credit will belong not to the army and navy officers in Washington, but to peace-loving business men who realize their country's peril, who have organized themselves into a single cohesive body, who know little if anything about flying machines, but who are ready to match their brains against those of an extraordinarily crafty and resourceful enemy.

Under the guidance of the Aircraft Production Board hundreds of factories will unite in building a kind of mechanism which has never been a commercial product in the ordinary sense but which is now to be produced as if it were a piano or a typewriter. Never must the owners of these factories

forget that when they saw and plane a piece of spruce, when they tighten a turn-buckle, when they fit a propeller into place, a human life is in their hands. In a sense the black wings of death are spread over each plant. An enormous responsibility is assumed, and it must never be shirked.

Standardization, the First Task

So far as actual manufacturing is concerned, the first task that confronts the Aircraft Production Board—our real Haigs and Pétaíns—is standardization. Germany was the first power to standardize her flying machines. She was premature; for many of her standards had to be discarded when airplanes began to be used for unsuspected military purposes. But at least she was not burdened with a multiplicity of types. There are in England forty-seven different varieties of aviation engines, about fifty in France, and at least thirty in America. Germany has five.

American manufacturers have been building airplane types according to their own

fancy. The military exigencies of the war show that only training-machines, fast fighting-machines, reconnaissance-machines, artillery-control machines and heavy bomb-droppers are needed—five types in all. Why, then, should one American factory turn out as many as twelve? The best type of training-machine will be selected out of the dozen that have been developed; that type and only that type will be made in specified factories. And so it will be with the artillery-control and the reconnaissance-machines. That we have as yet built no fast fighters comparable with those of France and Germany is due chiefly to the absurdly high factor of safety required by our army specifications. That factor of safety must be reduced; lightness must be secured in order to gain speed. Our army officers have hitherto mercifully considered the man in the flying-machine. Europe has taught us that he must be ruthlessly flung into the air without squeamish regard for his neck, if the artillery is to batter down the enemy's defenses.

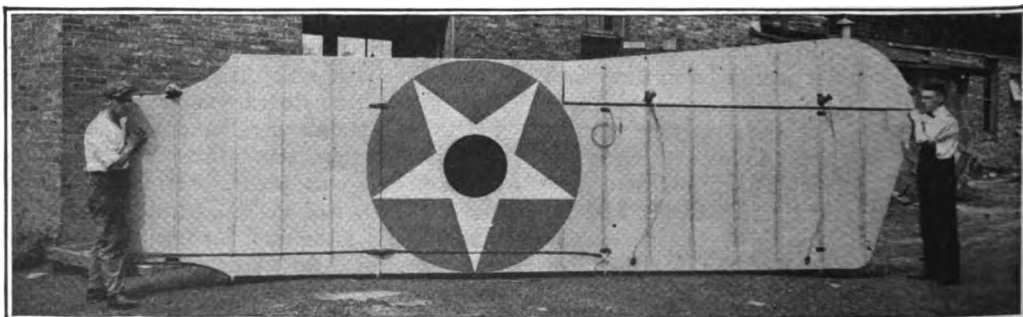
Systematized Methods Imperative

The old haphazard, whimsical manufacturing methods must give way to the systematized methods of the automobile industry. Not only must whole machines be standardized, but parts of machines as well. When the Aircraft Production Board has finished its studies, a manufacturer of airplanes will know exactly what size of wire he must use for certain purposes, of what material rods and pins shall be made, of what size shall be the bolt-heads and nuts with which frames are held together, and what shall be the dimensions and shapes of struts. There must be something approaching interchangeability of parts between two flying-machines

of the same kind. Think what this means on the battlefield—think of the possibility of building a new machine behind the trenches out of the parts of two wrecks, of interchanging motors and wings, struts and stabilizers.

The tragic lesson of standardization was learned only after months of bloody fighting. France entered the war with about twenty-seven different models. Two of them might be disabled at the same time, but engines and wings could not be interchanged to improvise a new machine, although the fortunes of battle depended upon wings. We are very much in the same position now. Is there any reason why bed supports should vary for each make of engine? Should we not be able to complete a body without knowing definitely the exact engine to be mounted? Or to use the nuts and bolts of one machine on another? Should there be any difference in the dimensions of wing planes, struts, or distances between planes in machines of the same type? Hitherto every airplane maker has decided for himself what the sizes of his parts shall be. Henceforth the Aircraft Production Board will make his decisions for him.

If the country were suddenly called upon to make 23,000 standardized 'celli and violins, comparable in beauty of tone and in every peg and curving body with the finest instruments that Amati or Guarnerius ever shaped, all so mathematically exact in their measurements that they could be assembled out of machined wooden parts as readily as a house is built of standardized brick, and all impregnated with the old, lost Italian varnish (rediscovered by our chemists), the task would hardly be more formidable than that which faces us now.



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A FINISHED WING WITH THE AMERICAN EMBLEM PAINTED ON IT

Upon every German machine is painted an identifying black cross. Soon the Germans will have the opportunity of seeing the symbol of liberty in the air—(a five-pointed white star, on a field of blue, with a red ball inside the star)—the red, white and blue that symbolize the ideals of Germany's most formidable adversary.

BUILDING SHIPS TO BEAT THE SUBMARINES

BY J. RUSSELL SMITH, PH.D.

(Professor of Industry, University of Pennsylvania)

[Prof. J. Russell Smith has long been a student of industrial economics and commercial geography. He is a professor in the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, of the University of Pennsylvania, and is an authority upon shipping and international business relations. His appeal in this article for rapid construction of American shipping will stimulate interest in the most important step we can now take to help win the war.—THE EDITOR.]

WE can beat the submarine—at least we could beat it if we threw our whole might into it, but will we? His well-known Excellency Herr Von Hindenberg remarked the other day that "All we have to do is to hold tight until the submarine wins the war." Perhaps people in America think that is an old story and a boast, but the fact remains that the submarine is sinking ships twice as fast as they are being built, and Germany is holding on. For three years she has held her western line virtually intact, save for the surrender of a very small percentage of the conquered territory.

The battle of Verdun, in which Marshal Joffre said 840,000 men fell, showed Germany that she could not win out on the western front, and it almost equally cheered her by proving to her satisfaction that the Allies could not win on the western front, either. This fact brought on the submarine campaign, which is sinking ships twice as fast as they are being built, which has reduced England's commercial imports almost two-thirds and which makes Von Hindenburg's statement literally true unless there is a change. Whatever is to be done about it, we of the United States must do it, and we must do it quickly.

THE FLIGHT OF THE ALLIES

Britain is on the stretch. To appreciate her effort with three or four million men in the army out of a population of less than fifty millions, we must think what would happen here if we had seven or eight, or even nine million men in the Army and were also called on to build ships and to manufacture as never before. Ships are getting scarcer and scarcer, and Allied supplies are getting lower and lower. They are talking in Paris

now of \$150-a-ton coal for this winter. The French Government, the other day, paid 375,000 pounds sterling for a ship which ten years ago sold for 32,000 pounds sterling. By all the rules of good shipping conduct this vessel is now only ready for breaking up, yet this piece of floating junk, which sold for \$160,000 in middle age ten years ago, now brings \$1,800,000, so hard pressed are the Allies. They may get through this winter, but if there is another one with the submarines continuing as at present, there is a chance of the general heart-break of the people and an Allied collapse.

Then where shall we be?

In the meantime the German Government still has her people nerved by the stimulating idea that they are defending themselves and then lulls us with rumors of peace proposals. Germany is also in a position where she may possibly possess herself of extensive food supplies and food-producing areas in Russia, and add great human resources which she can impress to labor for her as she has impressed the Belgians.

Germany's weakness, if she has weakness, is not so much shortage of soldiers as shortage of labor resources, and the important thing for us to keep in mind at the present is that both her eastern and western lines still hold and it is freely admitted that the only hope of breaking that hold is that we in America shall do something. The European Allies are at a standstill. We, too, must fight. We, too, must manufacture. The building of ships is the most pressing of all the needs that can be met. For this we are the only hope, for the best that can be done in England, France, and Italy leaves their possible 4,000,000 tons a year far below the submarine sinking.

WHAT STANDARDIZATION CAN DO

What can we do? Fortunately we are the best ship-builders in the world. Even the British have hailed our current achievements as a record unreachd by them, such, for example, as the recent launching of a 10,200-ton tanker in three months and three days from the laying of the keel.

It is true we have not in the past figured much in the world's ship-building, not that we could not, but that we did not. Our national policy has been rather opposed to ship-building. Now we must build ships and we are applying American manufacturing methods in a way that will revolutionize the ship-building of the world. The pre-war shipyard, both of this country and of Great Britain, boasted of the fact that it could build anything—a very old-fashioned and inefficient boast. It was like the making of a wagon when our fathers were boys. The wheelwright took his hand tools and shaved the spokes, turned and chiseled the hubs, sawed and trimmed the felloes. Perhaps his one helper fashioned the bed and the running gear, but the wheelwright himself knew how, from start to finish, to make a wagon, and he did it. Now two or three machines combine to make the spokes, other machines make the hubs and the felloes. The bed is chopped out by standardized wood-working machinery. Each piece is made by a specialist, and the wagon-maker puts them together as a child does a house of blocks. This is typical of the revolution which has given us the age of cheap machinery. This standardization and specialization have given us those miracles, the dollar watch, the Ford automobile, the phonograph, the telephone, and placed them all within the reach of the average citizen.

And now we enter the epoch of the standardized ship, the Ford of the sea, which is henceforth to outnumber all the other ships that float. It will outnumber all the other ships because specialization and standardization are so much cheaper than the old-fashioned made-to-order way. This is the age of the machine tool, which has replaced in wood-working the various hand tools of the carpenter, and in metal-working the various hand tools of the machinist. Reduced to their lowest terms, the wood-working and iron-working processes are similar, and the elementary processes are few. The artisan bores holes, he shaves or planes, he saws, he turns in lathes, but the machinist or factory

wood-worker of to-day does none of these things himself. If he wishes holes made, he puts a piece of wood or iron in a boring machine; if he wishes it sawed, he puts it in a sawing machine; if he wishes it smoothed, he puts it in a planing machine. No matter whether it be wood or iron, steel or brass, the process is the same with machines made to do the work in an infinite variety of sizes, shapes, and materials. The expert machinist, the old-style machinist, can take any kind of a machine and do any kind of work, but he is now as much out of date as the man who can make a watch or a wagon from start to finish.

It is wasteful for one man or one machine to do many kinds of work. The reason of this is that the machines are elaborate; they must be adjusted and set for each kind of operation that they perform. Thus the setting of a machine to do a piece of work often takes more time than the actual doing of the work. Sometimes it takes a half-day to reset a machine. Sometimes it takes a week. It may take ten minutes to work up one piece after the machine is set. Thus the costs of shaping a particular piece of metal in a machine shop were, for one piece, 25 cents, for two pieces 15 cents each, for five pieces 10 cents each, for 100 pieces 5 cents each, for 500 pieces 3 cents each. Now we see why it is so much cheaper to make the valves for one of a hundred ship engines all alike, new style, than it is to make one or two for sister ships, old style.

Then, to cap the climax of this thing, these pieces made at such low cost are interchangeable, and will fit into any one of tens of thousands of machines of a certain type. It is by the utilization of these revolutionary processes, standardization and specialization, that the Ford car, the dollar watch, and the American locomotive, made by highly paid men, are sold in competition with the produce of men who work for lower wages but on the old unstandardized methods.

STANDARDIZING THE SHIP

And now we come to ships. The United States Shipping Board is not building complete shipyards. It is, however, building three huge plants for assembling ships. The pieces are to be made hither and yon, sent to these assembling yards, put together quickly like dollar watches or Ford cars, which are built more than two to the minute.

This enables a bridge plant in Pittsburgh,

a boiler plant in Ohio, a structural steel mill in West Virginia, and a plate mill in Illinois, to specialize and adjust their machinery to make hundreds or thousands of duplicate pieces for hundreds or thousands of duplicate ships. So an automobile plant here, a wind-mill plant there, an engine shop yonder, can make some of the parts of the marine engine and the rather numerous small machines that are needed in a ship, such as small engines to hoist cargo, pumps for water, pumps for oil, fans for ventilators, pulleys, cables, compasses.

Standardize, standardize, standardize; specialize, specialize, specialize! Thus we can win the war, *if we try*. Fortunately we can try much harder than we are now trying. Otherwise Von Hindenburg is perhaps right that *he* has won the war. We should start instantly to prepare this nation to begin launching ships one year from now at the rate of 10,000,000 tons per year, perhaps 1,000,000 tons a month. Add that to England's 3,000,000, and Germany's last hope tumbles like a house of cards, and the sooner Germany knows about it, the quicker *she* will collapse and *the fewer the Americans who will have to die on the battle front*.

SHIP WAYS OR GRAVES—WHICH?

What does it mean for us to build 10,000,000 tons of freight shipping a year? According to the Isherwood plan of ship-building, which is now being used on both our coasts and in many British yards, it would require about four million tons of steel, which is but a tenth of our 1916 output of 42,700,000 tons. According to the census figures of 1904 and 1909, it would require about a million and a quarter of workers. If we are now using 2,000,000 men in connection with the war, we have about 6,000,000 left to call upon before we are working at it as hard as England now is.

It is, however, too simple to say that a million and a quarter of men and four million tons of steel will make ships at the rate of 10,000,000 tons a year twelve months hence. We must apply ourselves systematically to the task of creating new facilities of every sort. We have not the yards in which to put together the pieces of these standardized or fabricated ships. We have not the mills to roll the plates, and unless we take the steel from other uses, we have not the mines and miners to produce the ore, the steamers on the lakes to carry it, or the furnaces in which to smelt it.

To get these new raw materials, we have to go back, back to industry after industry. To roll the plates requires the expensive machinery of rolling mills. Skilled machinists are needed to make these machines, and so the building of the ships starts a train of industry that reaches back, back, stage after stage, to factory after factory, clear through our industrial fabric.

It is not a simple call. It is the greatest industrial call that has ever been given to America. It is like the industrial call that has been given to England and France. We can do it, and if we are fair to our brethren we must do it. We must build ship ways or dig graves. We have sent men to France, we have sent men to camps en route to France, and now we must in common decency back them up. Otherwise they may die in vain and the whole Allied situation may turn out to be a colossus with feet of clay, a veritable Russia that may collapse because it cannot use itself, collapse because of the want of ships.

This program becomes the more reasonable because we need these ships after the war.

How can we get ourselves in shape to build the 10,000,000 tons of shipping a year? There are two ways: one is to create new materials and new skilled laborers; and the other is to divert existing materials and existing laborers. Fortunately we can do both. We are still building limousines, wire fences, hotels, skyscrapers and new houses that we can get along without for a year or two.

Take the case of a fine large building in a great Eastern city. The unpatriotic owners have concluded that it would be a good investment if this structure of the style of 1880 were replaced by a modern office building, and they have just let the contracts for the tearing down of the good old building and the erection of the better new building. If this plan goes through there will be utilized hundreds of tons of cement, brick, stone, steel, hundreds or thousands of days' work of laborers, steel-workers, steam-fitters, electricians, trucks, and horses. Gasoline and copper will be used. The whole is quite the equal of a ship. In England before this company started on this task they would have had to apply to the Government for permission, which would have been promptly refused because the diversion of these men and this material to this work interfered with the prosecution of the war.

No man in England can buy five tons

of steel without the written consent of the Ministry of Munitions. English steel is going to the three purposes of munitions, war-ships, merchant-ships, and the necessary repair-work to keep the nation afloat.

WAR IS A MANUFACTURING ENTERPRISE

We have called a million men to the task of fighting Germany with guns, but we have not yet focused our industrial resources on the same task; yet it is true that war is chiefly the production of supplies. Look around you for the next week and you will be astonished at the number of idle men you can see. My train stopped a few minutes the other day at a station in Virginia not far from Washington. It was 8:30 A. M., and I counted nineteen able-bodied, two-handed men and one one-handed man in various positions of repose about that station. One of the best-informed men in the county, and also one of the best-informed men in the next county, agreed with me that every five farms in the region could release at least three men from November 15 or December 1 to April 1, and next year's food production would be in nowise reduced thereby.

I am convinced that by this process at least a million men could be taken from the American farms without the disturbance of any industry save the toasting of shins and the swapping of yarns at the country store. It is a very wholesome sign that Maryland and some other States have passed laws providing that every man must work at least thirty-six hours a week. The hours should be longer and the methods of enforcing the law should be much better than they are.

What could this million farm workers do for the world's ship shortage? They could all serve as unskilled laborers, and a good proportion of them could be of higher-grade service, such as foremen, chauffeurs, machinists' helpers. They could get out timber, make excavations, build concrete buildings, make new shipyards, open up new mines—all putting us on the way to the building of that 10,000,000 tons a year twelve months hence. If we should prove to be short of unskilled labor, we can do as the French have done, and get Chinese. We could get 3,000,000 of them at moderate wages and decent treatment, and we can feed them, too. There are still a good many ships on the

Pacific to bring them over. They could come on definite contract for definite service and go back when the war is over.

THE PROBLEM OF SKILLED LABOR

But the present shortage is not so much of unskilled labor as it is of skilled labor, the men who make the machines that do the standardized work of making ships' parts.

Here three things are to be noted: (1) Men can be diverted from furniture factories, from automobile factories, from bicycle factories, from new constructions of many sorts. (2) We should do as England has done and take every machinist or near-machinist in the draft army and put him back at the machine, and (2) we should at once put every manual training school to work night and day training promising young men in shifts so that in a short time they can do the simple operations that specialized standardized machine manufacturing requires. The great advantage of this system is that the standardized piece is so simple that it can be done on a simple machine by a man taught in a few weeks' or a few months' time to do his simple process. That is the way the American machines are now made.

THE CONTROL OF RAW MATERIAL

One of the most hopeful things I have seen was an editorial demand (September 10) in a metropolitan newspaper that the steel of the country should be diverted by government control to the places where it would help the war business. We cannot do it too soon. It is not enough to put men in the trenches, for when it comes to the measure of the whole great enterprise, modern war is primarily the production of supplies. It is a war of soldiers, of materials and of labor. Not only must the young picked sons of the nation go to the trench, but all its energy and all its materials must back them up. This war is to be won by sweat as well as blood. Indeed, the more we sweat over it, the less we shall bleed from it. It is a crime for us to let men die in France because we are building limousines, hotels, or new houses in the United States. It is a crime for us to let our sons die in France, or for Germany to win this war, because we let some men loaf in Virginia or in any other State.

ELECTIONS AND DEMOCRACY IN PRUSSIA

BY DONALD PAIGE FRARY

[The American reader who wishes to know the truth about the German political system, and the extent to which it must be reformed before it bears any resemblance to a democracy, will find this article—written for us by a competent scholar in the historical faculty at Yale—to be as accurate as it is illuminating.—THE EDITOR.]

WE are in the war to democratize Germany. We do not appreciate what democratizing Germany involves, or what new institutions the German people are willing to accept, any more than we understand the Precession of the Equinoxes or other mysterious and weighty matters. But it is clear even at this distance that electoral reform in Prussia, which will be discussed at the fall meeting of the Reichstag, is very near the heart of the problem. For the backbone of Hohenzollern rule is the antiquated Prussian electoral system. It diminishes the power of the bourgeoisie and practically disfranchises the laboring classes. This relic of feudalism is exploited by the Junkers, to whom it delivers the control of the state, to make Prussia the impregnable citadel of absolutism and class privilege. Even Bismarck, one of the greatest absolutists of the century, denounced it as the most miserable and absurd election law ever formulated in any country.

THE PRUSSIAN PRIMARIES

In Prussia the selection of the popular half of the legislative body is carried out in two successive operations. For electoral purposes, the state is divided into *Zirkel*, or electoral districts, subdivided in turn into *Urwahlbezirke*, which correspond to our primary districts. In the primaries every male citizen over twenty-four can vote, not, to be sure, for a deputy, but for an elector, or *Wahlmann*, who represents the voter and 249 of his fellow-citizens. The vigor of the popular vote is still further emasculated by the division of the electorate into three classes based on taxes. Though the classes differ greatly in number, each possesses an equal share in the vote.

On the day of the primaries the voter goes to the polls. The polling place has no ballot box, ballots, or mysterious voting machine

nor any other of the arcana to which the American voter is accustomed. On the table before the Chairman of the Polls lies a large book filled with the names, occupations, and addresses of the voters. Presenting as identification the card which summoned him to the polls, the voter is asked to designate his choice for *Wahlmann*, which he must do orally and in a loud voice. The chairman is not the only one who takes cognizance of the choice; for among the interested spectators is likely to be the agent of his employer, if the voter is a laboring man, or of his landlord, if he is a peasant. They have attended to observe the docility with which this member of the proletariat follows his patron. Like other German institutions, the elections are always orderly and are conducted with scrupulous honesty.

On the eighth day thereafter the *Wahlmänner* who have thus been chosen by absolute majority at the primaries are summoned to the chief place of the *Zirkel* to ballot publicly for deputies to the Landtag. The results of the votes in the electoral colleges is a House, to which all Prussians thirty years of age are eligible, but of which about a half is of noble birth.

INDIRECT ELECTION AND OPEN BALLOT

The ever-recurrent complaints against this, one of the most characteristic of Prussian institutions, are indictments on four points. The present electoral system is indirect; the ballot is open and verbal instead of secret and written; no real redistribution of seats has been made to conform to the great shifting in population since 1860; and the three-class system, the rock on which the state is built, has come to be grossly and perniciously unfair.

Indirect election to the legislature and public voting are both agencies through which a dominant class may revamp the popular

will to suit its own interests. The former cannot be defended by the Junkers themselves, for Bismarck condemned it fifty years ago: "I am convinced that indirect suffrage falsifies the result of elections, and that direct elections would bring more talent to the Chamber." On the other hand, there is a serious attempt to justify the open ballot. In Conservative circles the stock argument in its defense is the salutary oversight which it makes possible over the proletariat, whose caprice and material interests would lead them to abuse the franchise if unrestrained. It is certainly true that the Prussian system leaves little room for the personation, repeating, and ballot-switching with which American elections are afflicted. Elections are more honestly conducted. The Conservatives also claim that the open ballot calls out that highest of all Prussian virtues, *die echte Bürgertugend*. It is a test of the courage of a man's convictions, a challenge to his civic sense of duty.

TERRORISM ADMITTED ON ALL SIDES

Such is probably the case where the majority of the electorate is free to speak its own mind. But John Stuart Mill wrote: "If the dependent relations are such that the individual voter in any considerable number or to any great degree is afraid of the public ballot, and either abstains from voting or votes contrary to his convictions, then the secret ballot is the lesser evil." This is the condition in Prussia. Intimidation has been so freely used and so frankly admitted by both Liberals and Conservatives that the Social Democrats characterize the whole election system as one of terror. Butchers, bakers, and grocers are terrorized by Social Democratic housewives who threaten to trade strictly within party lines. Beer gardens are boycotted if the management is of a marked anti-Socialist complexion. In return, Treitschke asked in a widely circulated pamphlet: "Why do not our great manufacturers declare that they will employ no workmen who take part in the Social Democratic agitation?"

Control is still easier in the politically predominant regions which are still overwhelmingly agrarian. The landlord in the Eastern provinces replaces his Social Democratic laborers with Poles; or if Poles are unavailable, he may raise their rent or foreclose a mortgage. Official candidature is encouraged by the fact that functionaries are eligible from the district where they hold office. Von

Bülow, as Chancellor, declared that no official could occupy himself with Social Democratic politics; and it is well understood that, as votes the *Landrath*, so vote the minor officials, since he controls the local patronage. Through various channels a strong pressure is exerted in favor of landed and bureaucratic interests.

Whether Prussia is a pariah on account of this manipulation of the suffrage depends largely on the point of view. It is not clear what connection either open or secret voting may have with political peonage. Even if a landlord does not learn his peasant's vote at the open poll, there is a reluctance to lie if the question is asked him point-blank. Denying one's political faith under pressure carries with it somewhat the stigma of declining to recognize one's parents in a superior social gathering. *Die echte Bürgertugend* itself keeps down the number of Peters. The idea that when a man takes a voting paper in his hand, he suddenly becomes a detached political animal, is pure fantasy; for isolation is unattainable even in a polling booth. It is enough to say that it makes easier the independence of the voter from circumstances of employment and social affiliations. In Prussia, where both these ties are strong, public voting neutralizes universal suffrage by destroying the freedom of the common voter.

More significant than the practical effect of the open ballot is its psychological effect. The small voter knows the dispute which an independent vote would entail, and rather than face the music, he stays away from the polls. One may concede the apathy of the farming classes; but the abstention of 90 per cent. of the third class in one district in East Prussia, and of 92 per cent. in Köslin betrays an unwholesome state in the body politic. The poorer classes would rather forego the suffrage than enjoy it under the patronage of the first class.

RATIO OF REPRESENTATION

This depreciation in the worth of the individual vote is accentuated by the antiquated districting of the kingdom, a daguerreotype of the state as it existed in 1860. The population has increased most slowly in the Eastern provinces and Brandenburg outside of the Berlin section. In these provinces a deputy is now assigned to 71,000 inhabitants. In the rest of Prussia increase in population has been most rapid in the mining and manufacturing region along the Rhine. Further-

more, most of the large cities are outside of the region first named, and growth in urban population is seven times as rapid as in rural. Hence in the Western half of Prussia one deputy has come to stand for 98,000 inhabitants. Worse still, in the Rhine province a population of 7,120,000 is entitled to sixty-three representatives, while in East and West Prussia, Pomerania, and Posen, a total of 7,584,000 is assigned 109. Conversely, the fifty-four deputies of East and West Prussia represent 3,767,000 people: the fifty deputies of Brandenburg bear the mandates of 6,163,000 souls. The industrial classes in the state remain a submerged group, Berlin with her two million inhabitants sending twelve members to the Landtag. As Herr Traeger put it in that assembly, one-half of the population of Prussia has twice the representation of the other half.

The half whose predominance in the government is thus assured is Eastern Prussia, the stronghold of the irreconcilable, absolutist Junkers, who are the seemingly adamant base of Hohenzollern autocracy. It is from the Eastern provinces that the Conservative party in the Landtag draws its strength. In 1912 they elected 193 of the 443 members of the Chamber, 87 of whom were great landed proprietors. Their representatives constitute two-thirds of the Conservative wing. From them have come such leaders as von Hindenburg, Heydebrandt, and Reventlow, who are said to carry swords in their mouths. Thanks to the districting of 1860 the Junkers are securely fixed in the saddle, and before their ironical contempt all efforts to give representation to the overpopulated Liberal regions of the West have been abortive.

THE THREE-CLASS SYSTEM

Finally to reduce the importance of the popular vote to the vanishing point, Prussia has hitherto been equipped with the famous three-class system, which makes wealth the coefficient of political privilege. The system of Servius Tullius, 2500 years old, is revised and manipulated for the benefit of the wealthy classes. At the core of the three-class system is the distinction in the electorate of three classes: the great landowners and large financial and industrial fortune-holders; small business men and officials; and the proletariat. Prussia accepts the theory of the historian, von Gneist, that because of heavier contributions and higher intellectual capacity, the two upper classes must

be endowed with a more effective share of political rights. In the tax-list of each primary district the taxpayers are enrolled according to the amount of their direct taxes, non-taxpayers being rated arbitrarily as paying three marks.* The list is then divided, beginning at the top, into three sections. The first collectively pays the first third of the total contribution, the second, the second third, and the last class the remainder. In the primary elections each class chooses by absolute majority an equal number of electors, or indirectly has an equal share in the election of the deputies. Let us say, for example, that the district above is entitled to six electors. Voting by classes, the nine members of the two higher classes select four of these, while the other two electors represent the 250 voters of the third class.

Such gross inequality would not be exceptional in Prussia where the average percentage of the electorate in each group is 4 per cent. in Class I, 16 per cent. in Class II, and 80 per cent. in Class III. In many localities injustice is still more flagrant, as in the 3917 election districts where the first class includes not more than two men; or in Berlin where seven-tenths of 1 per cent. of the electors choose four of Berlin's precious twelve representatives. To offer universal suffrage on these terms is a gratuitous affront.

The three-class system is the negation of all democratic government. In most districts the first and second classes are practically inaccessible. At Essen the male head of the Krupps is the only man in Class I in his voting precinct, and Rothschild's position at Frankfurt was similar. Sometimes the injustice works the other way. Chancellor von Hohenlohe was one of the heaviest taxpayers in Prussia; but, as his precinct was the financial quarter in Berlin, his ballot was en-

*The following table illustrates the working of the method:

			Marks	Total Marks
3	{	Taxpayer (a)	1,200	
		" (b)	1,075	
		" (c)	1,058	3,333
6	{	Taxpayer (d)	1,000	
		" (e)	550	
		" (f)	490	
		" (g)	460	
		" (h)	430	
		" (i)	404	3,334
250	{	200 Taxpayers paying		
		400 to 5 mks....	3,183	
		50 non-Taxpayers...	150	3,333
			10,000	10,000

gulfed with several hundred others, while elsewhere in the city one of his clerks voted with the select few. In this same district, the famous 28th, there is only one elector in the first class, and two in the second. Thus three men indirectly elect one of the city's twelve deputies.

Nor is the system more unequal than irrational. Two citizens of the same fortune will have entirely disproportionate political influence, if they live, one in a rich city and one in a country village. If a prosperous citizen chooses to settle in a moderately wealthy town, he may totally upset the composition of the classes there, may control one-third of the elections, and may even obtain personal representation in the Landtag. His dominant position is not at all the reward of intellect. Von Bülow, as Chancellor, voted among the proletariat, the only member of the first class being a sausage maker. In the ninetieth district of Königsberg there were six members of the first section, among them the keeper of a notorious house of ill-fame. Beneath him both the preachers of the Cathedral, one of whom was *Konsistorialrath* and possessed of honorary degrees, voted with three hundred and fifty others in the lowest class. To justify the three-class system in 1849 the ministers of Frederick William IV declared that it put all the physical force of the state in the third class, the bloom of intelligence and *Bürger-tugend* in the first. So it is in the case of the Chancellor and the sausage maker, the *Konsistorialrath* and the brothel-keeper!

There can be no greater misnomer than to call such an institution a representative system in the democratic sense of the term. It is impossible to predicate the aspirations of the German people, for until the war the Junker government has not felt the need of consulting them. The Prussians, as a nation, were not present at the birth of the *Welt-politik*. Ever since the blood and iron policy of Bismarck overcame the Liberal resistance, the Liberalism of the masses has been strangled because it threatened the rule of the absolutist minority.

No party is more grievously shorn before an untempered wind than the advocates of democracy in Germany, the Social Democrats. In 1903 a total of 324,157 Conservative votes gained 143 seats in the Prussian Diet, and 314,149 Social Democratic votes won none. In the Imperial elections of the same year—conducted with universal, equal suffrage—the popular party sent eighty depu-

ties to the Reichstag. At last, in 1907, with more than half a million votes the Social Democrats first obtained recognition in the Landtag with seven representatives. Had the ratio of seats won to votes polled been the same for both parties, the Social Democrats should have elected three hundred, a comfortable majority of seventy-eight.

For the Social Democrats are the visible embodiment of democracy in Germany. Von Bülow said: "The Social Democratic movement is the antithesis of the Prussian state." Upon this principle the electoral system obliterates the political significance of the small voter almost as completely as if he were a Spartan helot. Sincere reform without revolution is seemingly impossible. So often has the mountain labored and brought forth only a mouse, that the common voter is justly suspicious of any new-born law over which a Bethmann-Hollweg or a Michaelis plays the rôle of Sairey Gamp. And this political serf, this unregarded atom, is now asked to support a war which was not his own.

AS GOES PRUSSIA SO GOES GERMANY

With the war the Prussian electoral system has become a menace to world peace. "When the Social Democrats have won Prussia, they have won all," wrote Bebel. The tentacles of Prussian autocracy are fastened with unassailable firmness upon the German Empire. The King of Prussia is the irresponsible head of the German military machine. The Prince-appointed *Bundesrath* originates practically all legislation, including money bills; it may dissolve the Reichstag with the Kaiser's consent; and all laws must be returned to it for final approval. In this citadel of autocracy fourteen votes are enough to defeat an amendment, and the King of Prussia personally controls twenty. In the Reichstag, Prussia elects 236 of the 397 members, and properly, as she contains two-thirds of the Empire.

The stakes in the electoral struggle in Prussia are therefore the control of the German Empire. In either government electoral reform is the only road to parliamentarization. Given anything like their due representation in the Landtag, the Liberals will be able to force a crisis as easily as they have done in the Reichstag. In the event of success, Prussia's vast leverage upon the Empire will then be wielded by the parties who since Bismarck's day have vainly opposed a militaristic state, who now demand a responsible ministry and peace without annexations.

SOLDIERS' INSURANCE VERSUS PENSIONS

BY SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY

(Professor of Social Legislation, Columbia University)

The plan of applying the principles of life insurance and accident insurance in the case of a soldier going to war involves a profound change of policy on the part of the United States Government. It is now certain that this plan will be adopted. It originated in the Treasury Department under Mr. McAdoo's direction, and—with some amendments favorable to the soldiers—this immensely important bill was adopted in the House of Representatives by a unanimous vote on September 13. The Senate Finance Committee in turn favored the measure, and the only question remaining was whether the bill would become a law before the adjournment of Congress early in October, or would await the December session. President Wilson asked for its immediate passage. Dr. Lindsay's article is an authoritative explanation of the measure.—THE EDITOR.

THE principles of social insurance, applied to all sorts of risks and hazards in which the community has a stake or shares a responsibility, have been gaining in favor the world over in recent years. On the contrary, the principles of pension legislation in all countries have been found wanting and experience everywhere is leading to its abandonment.

Thirty-five years ago Germany began to apply scientific business management to the relations of government and the problems of social welfare in dealing with the public relief of distress, sickness, industrial accidents, invalidity, old age and unemployment among wage-earners. Under the masterful leadership of Bismarck, in harmony with a new national spirit and a modern sense of social responsibility and solidarity, a strongly centralized and comprehensive system of state insurance was started. Within twenty-five years this system not only became the characteristic and dominant feature of a powerful national government, but also became incorporated in its essential principles by the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, and practically every country of Europe into a new development of democracy, a new function of government, a new attitude of peoples in their conception of the possibilities of social organization.

THE UNITED STATES A LAGGARD

The United States alone has lagged behind and relied upon the older individualism of the poor law, administered by the smallest units of local government, upon the personal initiative of the injured person or his representatives to secure redress under the common law or the law of torts, upon employers' liability statutes, and upon equity procedure to remedy evils and achieve social justice. Of course, such methods long ago proved themselves inadequate in the face of the wonderful development of highly centralized organization, not only national but international in scope, which has characterized American industry during the past fifty years. The day of reckoning between the people and their governments, between effective business organization of common interests and political methods which are the last resort of privateering, has been postponed by the exceptional development of private philanthropy and its extension to fields and to tasks for which it is only just now proving itself also inadequate.

THE PATCHWORK OF PENSIONS DISCREDITED

In one great department, however, where government has had to meet a national responsibility, namely, in the relief of soldiers and sailors and their dependents, the patch-

work of pensions in the United States since the civil war, based on the principle of gratuities and political favor rather than on a sense of social justice and mutual obligation, is universally recognized as a failure. Pensions have developed in hundreds of thousands of citizens precisely the attitude of mind toward government which real democracy seeks to dispel. If the collective wealth and power of the community becomes a prize which the individual seeks to control for his own benefit no real democracy is possible. Only as we can cultivate the feeling on the part of every individual citizen that he can be stronger, freer and happier in proportion as every other individual in the community is made stronger, more secure and given larger opportunities for happiness will the foundations of democracy itself be safe.

DEMOCRATIC REORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENTS

We are just starting upon a world enterprise which has for its ultimate goal the democratic reorganization of the world. In the preparation of the nation for the war there is no more striking and significant proposal that goes to the roots of our own unpreparedness, and there is no more timely and important war measure which may well test our national spirit than the proposal to provide a scientific system of social insurance instead of pensions to carry as many as possible of the risks of military service.

With the national purpose to participate in this world struggle for democracy defined and determined by the people themselves expressing their will in accordance with democratic principles, the conscription of men for military service on a scientific and impartial plan designed to secure those best able to render such service has been the most heartening evidence of real democracy in this country and its greatest gain in a century.

LIGHTENING BURDENS OF DRAFTED MEN

The response of the people to the draft law has abundantly vindicated American patriotism and the virility of the nation. It could have been made much easier, aroused greater enthusiasm, and contributed to the building up of an even stronger national spirit had Congress at the time it passed the draft law also enacted the War Insurance bill that was under consideration last month.

Every removable fear that may naturally enter into the mind of the man called upon to give his life in defense of his country

should certainly be removed. The sacrifice of comfort and economic security cannot be compensated for by any wage which the government may pay its soldiers. The degrees of sacrifice are too varied and its economic value too great for that. The anxiety, however, which the man who goes to the front naturally feels lest those who are dependent upon him for support are left unprovided for, can be removed. Provision can be made not only for as strong economic protection for the comfort and welfare of the soldier's family as his own earning power gave them before he went to war, but his personal economic status, to whatever extent his earning power may be impaired if not destroyed by his military service, may also be assured.

The cost of insurance will be great, and the challenge to business ability in the management of a highly complicated and stupendous business undertaking will be even greater. If the conscription of wealth is likewise necessary to make effective the conscription of men it will have no greater justification in any expenditure that Congress is called upon to make, than in supplying the huge sums needed for the compensation and insurance of the unavoidable risks which those who fight must take and which the man at home can in this way and will cheerfully share.

WHAT THE WAR INSURANCE BILL PROPOSES

The bill to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department proposes to add to the existing Bureau which insures ships and seamen in the merchant marine against war risks a new division of military and naval insurance to provide for three things:

(1) Governmental family allowances, and compulsory allotment of pay for support of dependents and for savings to safeguard the morale of the Army and Navy.

(2) Compensation for death or disability due to injury or disease incurred in the service.

(3) Ability to get additional insurance at low cost.

THE ENLISTED MAN MUST HELP HIMSELF

Every enlisted man in the military or naval forces of the United States must allot for the benefit of a wife or child an amount equal to the Government's family allowance, with a maximum, however, of half his pay and a minimum of \$15 per month. If he has no wife or child and makes no voluntary allo-

ments for other dependents, or for other purposes, the Secretary of War or Navy may require him to deposit with the Government at four per centum compound interest half his pay, or so much of half his pay as he does not allot either for his dependents or for other purposes.

This puts the man with dependents more nearly on a democratic footing of equality with one who has none and the better-paid American soldier with the poorer-paid European with whom he is fighting.

The family allowances are based on a graduated scale depending on the number of dependents, and are conditioned on allotments of equal amounts up to half pay. In no case, however, does the allowance exceed \$50 for one family. An ordinary enlisted man receiving \$33 per month in foreign service, if his family is large enough, may be required to allot \$16.50 per month and secure thereby for his family a total income of \$66.50 per month.

COMPENSATION FOR DEATH OR DISABILITY

Compensation for death or disability resulting from personal injury suffered or disease contracted in the course of the service by any commissioned officer or enlisted man, or by any member of the army or navy nurse corps composed of women. This compensation is graded like the compensation now provided for wage earners under workmen's compensation laws in thirty-five States, and under the Federal Government of the United States according to pay, and is made payable in monthly installments. It is not assignable and is exempt from taxation, attachments, and execution. It takes the place of any rights or expectations under pension laws and is expressly granted in lieu of pension. It is not operative for persons receiving service or retirement pay. The scale is a fairly liberal one and Congress, of course, may at any time make it more liberal, but presumably would do so only under general legislation for the entire service, thus precluding the inequalities and injustices of special pension legislation. Congress cannot constitutionally bind future congresses and prevent special pension legislation, but it can and in this law it seeks to create so fair, liberal, and satisfactory a system of meeting every just claim impersonally and as a matter of right that it will be practically impossible for any future Congress to consider a private pension bill and highly improbable that any soldier or his dependents would seek

any other remedy than that provided for under this war compensation act.

INSURANCE OF INSURABILITY

This is a novel, constructive and at the same time perhaps the most contentious part of the new proposal. It is a departure from the accepted principles of industrial compensation legislation and from the practice of other countries in dealing with compensation for war risks, family allowances, and pensions. It is, however, vital and essential to a fair test of the proposal to which the Secretary of the Treasury and the President have given their unqualified endorsement and without which that plan cannot be fairly tested. It is the feature which specially marks this measure as a forward looking experiment in social legislation. It is far-reaching and constructive and is a war measure in a real sense.

ADVANTAGES OF INSURANCE

Americans are not laggards in their appreciation and use of the advantages of mutual insurance. A man fit for military service is physically the best insurable risk and can purchase insurance at the lowest commercial rate. The minute he shoulders a gun he either cannot purchase insurance at all or only in a limited way at a very high and practically prohibitive rate. This bill proposes to stimulate and encourage every enlisted man to use his own resources and to make use of the facilities of insurance to protect and safeguard his interests to the limit of his resources. To do this it offers him ordinary term insurance renewable from year to year during the war and convertible at the end of the war without physical examination in amounts of \$500 and multiples of \$500, but not to exceed \$10,000, at rates which he can afford to pay, and approximately what he would pay for such insurance in times of peace. This means that \$10,000 insurance would cost a young man about \$7 per month. No additional charge is made to the man because of the fact that the mortality through the war will be heavier than in times of peace. This is the risk which the Government has created and which it alone should bear. He is given one hundred and twenty days after enlistment in which to take out such amount of additional insurance as he may elect, and if he fails to exercise this privilege and dies or becomes totally disabled within this period he will be considered as insured and the benefit paid.

The insurance is payable only in monthly installments to the beneficiary during life. The maximum amount of \$10,000 is estimated to yield about \$50 per month, which for the enlisted man when added to his compensation for death or disability as based on his rate of pay is none too liberal to maintain a decent standard of living for his family deprived of its bread-winner.

The insurance companies do not favor state insurance nor like the idea of the Government going into the insurance business. They appreciate, however, the advertising value for the insurance business in general of this feature of the war-insurance bill.

Compensation plus insurance provides a just measure which is based on democratic principles of independence, self-help and individual foresight. Insurance and compensation should be inseparable.

WHAT IT COSTS THE GOVERNMENT AND THE INSURED

Without compulsion and without the opportunities of insurance agents would the average man who needs it most take out this added insurance to any considerable extent? Could he afford to do so? Probably not more than \$2500 per man on the average would be written. In perfecting the details of the bill Congress may decide to limit the privilege of such subsidized insurance for officers and men whose rates of pay, or private resources, make the Government aid unnecessary. It may also decide to pay the full cost for certain amounts of such added insurance for those who can afford to take only small policies. The principle of the Government subsidy is, however, right and just. There is no discrimination at the expense of the insured taxpayer who pays the full commercial rate in favor of a class to whom we do not owe a greater debt than any subsidized insurance can possibly pay.

The cost to the Government, however great and however difficult to estimate exactly in advance, is sure to be less than that of any system of pensions and much fairer because proportionate to what the insured person has done for himself. The soldier who does nothing for himself must be content with what his compensation yields or depend on private charity. After rejecting or neglecting so liberal an opportunity as this provision for the insurance of his insurability offers he cannot with good grace appeal to the Government for a pension.

A NEW CHANCE FOR THE INJURED

An extremely interesting and valuable provision is made for injured persons who may through a process of reëducation, rehabilitation, and vocational training which the Government will provide, have their earning power restored. In cases of dismemberment or of injuries to sight or hearing and of other injuries commonly causing permanent disability, persons may be required in lieu of compensation for the time being to enlist in a training branch of military and naval service entitling them to full pay as during the last month of their active service and to family allowance and allotments as in the regular service if while taking training for rehabilitation they are prevented from following any substantially gainful occupation. Anyone failing so to enlist for training forfeits his right to compensation until he does so.

A MEASURE DEvised BY EXPERTS

Congress has had able assistance in framing its war insurance act. The plan is in a new and important sense an administration measure. The Secretary of the Treasury very properly considered it a financial measure of the greatest importance and has given it disinterested and able leadership. He called to his assistance not only experts in insurance and the representatives of all the leading insurance companies in this country whose patriotic coöperation he has secured but he has also had the active help and support of influential labor leaders like Mr. Samuel Gompers and Mr. J. W. Sullivan, of socially-minded economists, lawyers and persons expert in dealing with the problems of dependency, like Judge Julian W. Mack, who has given his time freely as chairman of a committee that drafted the bill and worked out the details of the plan, of Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Captain S. H. Wolfe, a well-known accountant and actuary; Miss Julia C. Lathrop, of the Children's Bureau; Mr. V. Everit Macy, president of the National Civic Federation; Professors Henry R. Seager and Thomas I. Parkinson, of Columbia University, and the staff of the Legislative Drafting Research Fund of Columbia.

Our laws dealing with problems of dependency in soldiers' families in time of war lack many modern provisions and tendencies. It is time that they were modernized.

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

WASHINGTON'S CHANGING ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CORPORATIONS

BY CHARLES F. SPEARE

THERE is no more fascinating study in the field of government and of economics to-day than that of the disintegration of private control of corporations and the substitution therefor of a federal authority. The obviousness of a war emergency explains the change. The debatable points are whether the old order has outlived its usefulness and in the success that may attend a centralized power at Washington during the war there may not develop a demand for a permanent rule by government commissions instead of, as before, by individuals.

The transition has been in sight for some time. The war has only given it impetus and widened the area of its influences. It has been one of the silent and irresistible tendencies that have made capital timid for the last five or more years. Over-centralized individual power in the railroad field produced the Interstate Commerce Commission with its rate-regulating function. The apotheosis of a ruler over transportation was reached in E. H. Harriman. A portion of what he joined together the courts divorced, and there have been no important consolidations of railroads since his time. The integrating era of industry in this country reached its climax in the early nineties in the United States Steel Corporation. Strangely enough, while all sorts of manufacturing concerns were being propelled toward a common center of individual authority, transportation was reacting from earlier impulses of like character. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law was successfully invoked against the Standard Oil and the American Tobacco companies. Its principles were set up in court in opposition to the Steel Corporation and to nearly a score more of alleged offending concerns. J. P. Morgan died. There has been no conspicuous combination of industrials since his day.

When the United States entered the war against Germany transportation was being sharply regulated. This regulation was not only from Washington, but from forty-eight

separate State bodies. For the problem of labor costs under the newly established Adamson Act had been substituted the more compelling struggle against inflated prices of materials produced by unregulated industrial corporations. Because there was, in Washington, a man with a vision to lead them, the railroads enlisted in a body in an effort to distribute commodities as freely as possible and thereby limit the consumers' costs, and to move supplies for the munition factories, for the army camps, and to the ports of export with as little friction as possible, and most of it at a little less than the rate to the private concern.

This was in April. In June the iron and steel mills were charging over \$100 a ton for materials for ships. Pig iron was from \$55 to \$60 a ton. The bituminous coal producers were asking from \$5 to \$7 a ton of the big and little consumers who were at their mercy. In July, President Wilson gave a warning to those who put prices before patriotism. Under agreement, and as a sort of truce, the coal operators dropped the price of bituminous to \$3 a ton. The iron and steel makers stood pat. They have been getting what they could up to this date. Public sentiment demanded lower anthracite and an analysis of the costs of mining soft coal showed that \$3 was still excessively profitable. The producer and the consumer came together in August on a figure of \$2.20 a bushel for this year's yield of wheat. Soft coal was lowered to \$2 a ton in the East and to \$3 in some of the thin veins of the Southwest and Northwest. The Government was quite generous to the miner of anthracite, but has not yet dealt with the retailer. Where the resistance has been strongest the cutting of profits has been deepest.

In June I heard that men identified with corporations under trial for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law were daily meeting in Washington and making agreements as to production for the government as well as to prices. This I verified. The Sherman

Law did not fit into the war program. This plan demanded materials and more materials, regardless of who made them and who combined with whom to produce them. Other legal precedents went by the board. The railroads took to pooling under the eye of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which had been created to stop this practise. In pooling there is efficiency in a crisis; this counted more than some obsolete law.

As the war goes on and the natural effects of inflation and scarcity of commodities increase, federal regulation will reach out; and most business will be compelled to keep step with it. *Prices* and "*priority*" are the twin problems of a war situation. They require delicate adjustment. It is even now suggested that a board should be formed to establish the right of one corporation over another to tap the reservoirs of capital in competition with government borrowing, and to fix the rate of interest to be paid on these private loans.

Somehow the average individual may have sympathy with the farmer who gets \$2.50 for his wheat, but he always looks upon the coal merchant as a sort of robber baron. The effect of compelling the coal producers to disgorge will not wear off quickly.

If, on the other hand, inflation increases with more government borrowing and expenditure, and if flour, bread, sugar, and coal continue to rise against federal fixing of prices, what will be the attitude of the consumer when the underlying causes are removed? Will he condemn the interference of government with private enterprise or say that the former was sympathetic but did not have a proper trial?

It must be remembered that an effort is being made to rid distribution of a parasitical growth in the form of the middleman; and that every means will be employed to regulate him out of business. The attitude of labor when the war is over is another important consideration. Peace will find commodities below requirements and prices much above the average, but with severe industrial adjustments to be met. Normally this would mean lower wages.

It may be more important for the Government to control prices during the trade upheaval following closely the war's end than now. It is significant that as each new price administration board is formed in Washington the strongest man, or men, identified with the particular trade or product

regulated is asked to take a place on this board. It is labor and not capital that will come through this war as the gainer. And labor has been the insistent voice raised for price regulation.

My personal opinion is that most of the tendencies toward state socialism that have been adopted will be continued in modified form. The next great political struggle will be between those who believe in government more closely identified with production and distribution than heretofore, and that other element who will want to return to the form of individual effort obtaining before the war. They will argue that—since the dissolution of the Standard Oil and the Tobacco trust has not brought any advantage to the consumer, and since the Sherman law has not been found to hold together in an emergency—the old order established in the Bourbon days of American history is the best for all concerned, and brings the greatest individual prosperity.

This leaves out of account the reaction upon our social and economic structure of the state supervision of industry and public utilities in every country in Europe that has been at war. Germany, surely, and possibly France and Great Britain, may have to finance and superintend their corporations, and act as buyer and seller of goods bought overseas. This essentially lies in the realm of price-fixing, and again sets up levels and standards that we shall have to meet.

The most important phase of this matter is the question of transportation and where the ultimate authority is to rest. There is no fair-minded man who does not admit that the railroads are better administered to-day than ever. They are producing a larger amount of transportation than was conceivable a few months ago. They have to meet the governmental requirements to the satisfaction of all regulating bodies as well as that of the War and Navy departments.

To paraphrase a quotation from James J. Hill, they are "making one car do where two cars were given to do with before" and sending the surplus of the equipment-makers to Russia and to France. By strictest economy and efficiency and a small increase in rates, about 5 per cent. against 50 to 500 per cent. by dealers in commodities, they are trying to maintain their credit. We know that the railroads have been unpopular by tradition. They have a huge bulk. Their high visibility makes them the object of attack.

MAKING A STATE EFFICIENT FOR DEMOCRACY

BY HUGH J. HUGHES

MINNESOTA, like most of the States of the Union, found itself on the outbreak of the war with Germany fairly well fitted from the business standpoint to take care of its own, as befits one of the States leading in the production of raw materials, such as the grain crops, live-stock, and iron ore, and able to supply to the nation at large a very considerable surplus.

It is well understood by all thinking men that this war is to be won not on the battle lines, but by the reserve economic power of the contestants. Consequently the immediate question that arose in Minnesota was how to make the State as a whole more efficient for democracy.

This is an attempt to outline to the readers of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* how this efficiency is being won.

A COMMISSION OF PUBLIC SAFETY

The Minnesota Legislature was in session when America entered the war. It passed a law creating a Commission of Public Safety, giving to this commission powers practically all-inclusive under the Constitution, thereby making it virtually the war-governing body of the State. Of this commission Governor Burnquist is ex-officio chairman; Attorney-General Lyndon G. Smith is also an ex-officio member and the five remaining members are the appointees of the Governor, serving without pay and devoting a large portion of their time to the work of administration.

A fund of something less than one-half million dollars was made available for the uses of the commission, and its first and most significant work has been to redirect the currents of public sentiment throughout the State by means of loyalty meetings and by the closing of places of business where idle and discontented men are liable to congregate. The Commission of Public Safety, in brief, constitutes the directive arm through which the war-organization machinery of the State may and does work.

A FOODS COMMITTEE

Before the Legislature acted to create the Safety Commission Governor Burnquist had appointed a Food Production and Conservation Committee consisting of thirty-five men and women chosen because of their intimate relation with the work that falls properly under that title. The leaders of various farmers' organizations throughout the State, the representatives of the women's clubs, the editors of the agricultural journals, and men representative of the State system of agricultural education comprise the committee. A. D. Wilson, head of the Agricultural Extension work of the State and leader of the County Agent movement, was chosen as the man to head this committee, and under his leadership it broke up into sub-committees on crops, live-stock, finance, home economies, labor, markets and publicity.

The immediate problem before the "Foods Committee," as it is called, was to encourage the largest possible production on the Minnesota farms. The divisions that first came into action were those on live-stock, crops, and home economies. They gathered information showing the lines in which increased production could be most advantageously attempted. They issued bulletin statements that were taken up by the daily, weekly, and agricultural press of the State, and this very general campaign of publicity reached to practically every farm in Minnesota.

INCREASING THE CROPS

It may be said in this connection that the attitude of the people has been one of entire willingness to coöperate in whatever ways were thought wisest, and the results of this campaign for increased food production were quickly apparent, especially in the matter of increased gardens and increased crops of perishable and semi-perishable products, such as carrots, potatoes, cabbage, and the like. The increase in the staple crops, such as wheat, corn and barley, was not so marked, for the very sufficient reason that the Minnesota

farmer is already working his fields to the limit of his labor and power capacity, and to make any general increase in acreage there must first be a marked increase in the manpower and the horsepower of the State and of the nation.

The campaign for more and better crops was short and decisive and a victory for the general plans of the committee, but there was before it the question of harvest labor, and it was soon felt that the best way to handle this subject was to establish a State labor bureau under the direct authority of the Commission of Public Safety. In this way during the time preceding early harvest the two State bodies came into touch one with the other, the Foods Committee becoming the agent of the Commission of Public Safety. The Labor Division was changed into a State labor bureau and the Labor Division itself ceased to function.

THE MARKET PROBLEM

Meanwhile the other divisions had been actively engaged in their various fields, the live-stock division encouraging the holding and increase in breeding stock, the home economies preparing a State-wide campaign through the medium of the women's clubs and high schools, and the publicity division serving as a clearing-house for the information sent out by the committee. There already loomed ahead very sharply the problem of what to do with the war gardens and the immense quantity of semi-perishables grown in response to the call for patriotic production.

The solution of this problem rested with the Marketing Division. This division soon discovered that while its immediate problem was to find a way by which to get the abnormal perishable crop to market, it had a much wider sphere of action than was anticipated at the time of its creation. Considering itself in the light of a war body having an existence during the period of the war and until conditions assume their normal aspect after the conclusion of peace, the Marketing Division felt that it had to consider all the questions of supply and distribution to as well as from the farm—questions naturally involving practically every line of business within the State.

It immediately prepared for action by borrowing from the State University one of its ablest men, C. C. Cumberland, of the Department of Economics, to act as manager of its many activities, principally to get to-

gether and distribute information along all desired lines.

Acting upon the theory that its duty was not merely to find a market outlet for existing crops, but to pave the way for the highest possible future production along that line, the Marketing Division gathered data from all the leading manufacturers of farm supplies, which data clearly indicated two things—a shortage of steel for necessary construction and a serious inability on the part of the railroads to ship or to make deliveries within the time limits set by the orders of the shippers.

Now Minnesota has a State Railroad and Warehouse Commission, as have most of the States of the Union, and the chairman of the Markets Division discussed informally with this commission the situation that had arisen. Acting upon the suggestion of the Railroad and Warehouse Commission, he submitted a written report to it as coming from the Marketing Division, and this report was in turn taken up with the chief officials of the railroads operating in Minnesota, with the result that they signed a voluntary agreement placing intra-State shipments of agricultural necessities second only to military supplies.

And this became the key to all further action—voluntary coöperation replacing directive force, the binding together in one common coöperative unit of the economic forces of the State.

Meanwhile the perishable crops problem was pressing for solution. Minnesota grows potatoes in large quantities. The wholesale dealers in potatoes have their warehouses distributed at country points. The farmers having access to these warehouses have an established market where they can haul their potato crop and sell it for cash, just as the farmer in the wheat-belt hauls his grain to the wheat elevator. But there are many points where there are no warehouses at which perishables may be purchased, or where they may be stored, and all concerned felt that there must be a market provided for those who had answered the nation-wide call for increased production.

A STATE CLEARING-HOUSE

So, at the suggestion of Colonel R. A. Wilkinson, president of the State Equity Society, and a member of the Marketing Division, a clearing-house has been established at St. Paul-Minneapolis, where shipments of mixed car-lots, properly graded and

loaded, will be received by an agent of the State acting under the control of the Marketing Division, and will by him be re-assembled and offered to the wholesale dealers exactly as the farmer would offer similar lots of produce to the dealers' agents on the up-State market. In other words, by coöperating with his neighbors and getting together a car-lot, the grower who has no market is able to secure through this State action a local market, exactly similar in character to the one already provided by the ordinary development of business for his more fortunately located neighbor in another district.

Once more the spirit of coöperation was brought into play. Wholesale produce men move a large portion of the Minnesota perishable crops to other sections of the country, notably to Eastern centers and to the South, where Northern-grown seed-potatoes are in active demand from the Gulf coast northward as far as Missouri. The dealers were naturally suspicious of any State activity in public marketing. The proposition was put up squarely to them that if they would coöperate to the full extent of their powers to move the crop the State would undertake to assist rather than to compete with them, and they, like the railroads, came forward with a voluntary signed agreement of coöperation to the extent of opening their books to the Marketing Division for the examination of any individual transactions objected to on the part of shippers. In return for their voluntary coöperation in an effort to secure for the shippers full guarantees of protection against fraudulent dealings, the Marketing Division publishes lists of the coöperating dealers and sends these lists out to those shippers, whether community or individual, having straight car-lots of perishables, at the same time advising the shipper to deal direct with the wholesalers and thereby cut out the expense of shipping through the State clearing-house.

The mixed car-lots are received, graded where necessary, reassembled, and sold to the wholesalers. The cost of doing this work is deducted from the amount received and a check from the wholesaler goes back to the shipper. The State, in other words, does not buy or sell anything, it merely acts as a clearing-house for the grower, assisting him to bring his crop forward to a marketing point. The manager of the clearing-house is paid by the State and the Commission of Public Safety provides the small re-

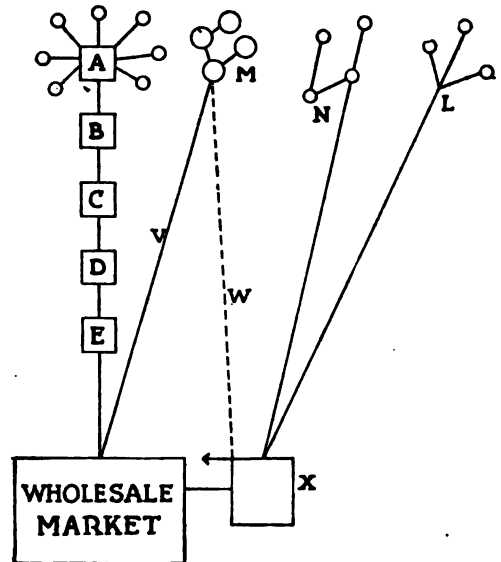


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE MINNESOTA COMMISSION OF PUBLIC SAFETY CLEARING-HOUSE PLAN

(A, B, C, D, E are county points having established markets for perishables. M, N, L are groups of farmers, perhaps individuals, living outside the area covered by the established local market centers. The Public Safety Commission provides a clearing-house X, where one person or a group of persons not having local marketing facilities may ship mixed car-lots for reassembling and sale to the buyers from the wholesale market, thereby furnishing to N and L the same market outlet as is now possessed by A, C or E. M is a straight car-lot shipper, and V shows the direct route recommended to him rather than that marked W, which means, in other words, direct shipment to the wholesaler rather than through the State Clearing-House, acting as an extra middleman.)

volving fund necessary with which to carry on the business.

MAKING LOCAL ORGANIZATION EFFECTIVE

Without going further into the details of this plan, which was put in operation on September 10, its adoption made necessary an immediate State-wide organization to carry out the plans involved and others that might develop along other lines. The Commission of Public Safety therefore ordered each of its eighty-six county directors to appoint marketing committees and the State Marketing Committee, as it must now be called, was instructed to proceed with all speed in the matter of State-wide organization. It summoned into conference at St. Paul early in August a dozen of the ablest men it could find throughout the State—men qualified by experience to go out and tell the local committeemen of the more pressing business problems of the State and how they might undertake their solution.

Within thirty days the job was done. In each county a meeting with the newly ap-

pointed marketing committee was held. The work was outlined as one that primarily affected the welfare of the State as a whole, rather than any one particular business. There had been two ideas regarding organization; one that the county should be taken as the unit and that all reports from the county should be made through the county committee chairman, the other that each market point in the State should be considered the unit and each market center should have its individual committee reporting directly to the State Marketing Committee. These plans were combined in the plan finally adopted and presented by the State Marketing Committee organizers.

Each man is made individually responsible for his own community's welfare, whether the problem be coal shortage, lack of machinery and supplies, or an excess or lack in any line relating to the business of the community. He is first of all a local committee head, authorized to take any steps necessary to bring about coöperative efficiency in his community, to urge and instruct the use for that purpose of every existing agency, especially the farmers' organizations, the commercial club, the local business men, individually or collectively, to the end that the community shall reserve enough for its own needs and shall fit itself to produce the maximum surplus for outside use. This places a heavy responsibility upon the individual committeeman. He is to initiate rather than to receive suggestions; he is to inform himself rather than to be informed; he is to drive where necessary rather than to be driven.

PRACTICAL CO-OPERATION

The size of the county committee varies, it ranges anywhere from three to twenty-five, according to the number of important marketing points within the county. Those matters that cannot be considered strictly local, but are evidently county-wide in their range, are taken up by the county committee, and it is surprising how many such problems there are. A report from the local committeeman frequently shows that business adjustments can be made within the county to the profit of all concerned. It is computed, for instance, that fully 15 per cent. of intra-State freight shipments consist of hauling supplies necessary to a community out and back again—i. e., a potato grower ships a carload of potatoes from Martin County to Minneapolis, while a Martin County merchant sends to Minneapolis for

a carload of potatoes that should never have been shipped out at all. The aim of the county committee is to do exactly for the county what the local committeeman does for his locality—discover the shortages, if any, and provide for them or report them to the State Marketing Committee; to find out what excess products there are and if they are not readily marketable to put the problem up to the State Marketing Committee for action.

We have at the present time, apart from the question of the marketing of perishable products, that of coal supply, of machinery repairs, and machinery and farm-equipment supplies for 1918 and 1919, also the immediately urgent problem of the maintenance of the breeding-stock of the Northwest against the doubly adverse conditions of pasture shortage and the extraordinarily high prices, both for live-stock and for the feed with which it must be carried over. These are the State-wide problems to which the county committees and the individual committeemen are now giving their attention. They are diverting live-stock which has been sacrificed on the South St. Paul markets onto the well-provided pastures and feed lots of southern Minnesota. It is their purpose to absorb as much as possible of this breeding-stock in order to hold it over, and, by reversing the machinery now in operation, to ultimately send it back to the farms of the northern part of the State, where it is needed.

Nor does the work end here. The reader will observe what the foregoing statement involves—the coöperation of the shipping associations, the railroads, the South St. Paul live-stock market, the bankers—all these agencies are called into play and are asked to coöperate. That is all. No new machinery is created, and no machinery is contemplated except where there is shown to be absolutely no link to make the chain of necessary coöperation complete. The appeal to every business and to every individual in the State is to make that business more efficient by the simple process of putting it on a better-paying basis through mutual understanding, mutual good-will and mutual coöperation.

This is coöperation raised to the *n*th power. It is a voluntary attempt on the part of the people of a great State to replace narrow personal or class selfishness with a broad spirit of understanding. All the scattered forces of business progress are being enlisted for the good of the whole.

CHINA IN THE WAR

BY CARROLL K. MICHENER

IT is generally conceded that at the beginning of the Great War the political integrity of China, the commercial Open Door, and the general peace of the Far East, were most threatened by two aggressors—Japan and Russia. The first two years of the war emphasized this danger. Two notable recent events, however, have put a radically different complexion on Far Eastern affairs, and placed the future of China on a more promising basis than it has ever stood before. These events are the democratization of Russia and the alignment of China with the Allies in their war against Germany.

The significance of these happenings in their relation to the affairs of the Far East seems to have been more or less overlooked in our intense preoccupation with the nearer aspects of the war. But their effect must be far-reaching, and eventually will be apparent, not only as shaping China's destiny, but in the solution of the Orient's complex problems.

The effect of the changes in Russia as they touch China is, of course, subject only to speculation, but the probable results of China's entrance into the war seem so obvious as to warrant pretty liberal estimation. Both, it may be safely said, will have their share in lifting China to a more powerful and honorable place among her sister nations.

PROBABLE GAINS FROM THE WAR

China stands to gain far more than she might lose by the war. The balance is almost wholly in her favor. In it are to be reckoned her hope of release from the staggering indemnities inherited from the Boxer trouble, probable relief from foreign restrictions that keep her import duties at an unprofitable level, restoration of sovereignty over territorial concessions wrested from her in her greatest hours of weakness, more generous coöperation in developing her natural resources, and a more certain guarantee of her democracy and her political integrity.

Participation in the war gives China a double leverage for the attainment of the

last-named of these potential benefits. It will operate both internally and externally. The recent monarchical restoration of General Chang Hsun served to emphasize the lack of cohesion that threatens China within. It was followed by continued rumblings of southern secession, which persisted up to the moment of declaring war on Germany. At any time China might have burst into the flame of a civil strife between the radical South and the reactionary North. The facing of a national enemy should be, as always, a powerful agent for quieting this internal dissension and for putting China's quarreling patriots shoulder to shoulder. The external safeguard of the Chinese democracy resides, of course, in the benevolent protection assured by the family of Allied nations.

RUSSO-JAPANESE AGREEMENT

The danger to China's integrity from predatory neighbors has been acute for over a century. Though most of the European powers have had their share in a policy of plundering that seemed certain a decade and a half ago to result in the "break-up of China" that more than one authority on Far Eastern affairs predicted, Russia and Japan always have been the most threatening to her political entity. Both are imperialistic. The Russo-Japanese war was an incident that outlined China's danger to the full, though on the surface it may have seemed a negative sort of protection to her. Out of that comparatively indecisive struggle grew recognition between Japan and Russia of the compatibility—in spite of the similarity of their imperialistic aims. They found that coöperation, rather than altercation, was what would best advance their mutual interests.

At the beginning of the Great War, then—just ten years after the siege of Port Arthur—Japan and Russia had come to an agreement that held the utmost danger for China. Between them they had parcelled out Manchuria and Mongolia, and agreed upon harmonious means of exploiting their spheres of influence. Russia retained in ef-

fect what she had fought for in 1904—generous commercial advantage in China and a sea outlet in the Eastern hemisphere. Japan insured what in effect she fought for—and which nominally had been very largely wrested from her by the treaty of Portsmouth—an outlet on the continent of Asia for her surplus population, and plenty of commercial elbow-room.

JAPAN'S OVERLORDSHIP

Enlargement of these advantages through the Russo-Japanese *rapprochement* had been observed by the other powers prior to the Great War, and it is doubtful if the process could have gone to much greater length without an accounting. The war, however, and the alignment of Japan and Russia in the Entente group, removed all restraining fingers. In wresting Kiaochow from Germany Japan took liberties with China's sovereignty that seemed to evidence a feeling on her part that she was free to go almost as far as she liked. This apparent sentiment was demonstrated further in the famous twenty-one demands, and not many months ago in the concessions insisted upon as indemnity for a petty clash between Japanese military police and Chinese resident troops in northern China. Japan has taken over in full Germany's former interests in China, and such of the twenty-one demands as met with compliance have given her vastly increased commercial and political influence over her neighbor. The result may be summed up, so far as China is concerned, as the conversion of China into what gave ominous promise of a future vassal state, and as the virtual overthrow—so most observers in the United States have viewed it—of the Open Door policy.

RUSSIAN POLICY

With imperialistic Japan in full agreement with imperialistic Russia, and the aims of both in the Far East being carried out energetically by Japan during the fortuitous "open season" occasioned by the occupation of the rest of the powers in the world war, the Russian revolution offered curiously new possibilities. Would the sudden change from autocracy to democracy effect changes in Russia's policies that would reach as far as China? Could the pronouncement of the infant Muscovite democracy that it would continue the war for liberties and not for conquests be taken as an indication that the new Russia would strive no further for em-

pire in the East? Might China not only be safe from further territorial aggression by her neighbor on the north, but even regain from the sister democracy what the old autocracy had taken while China was in the throes of her own emancipation? These questions, of course, are not yet answered, but they offer hopeful possibilities. They are questions to which China's entrance into the war may insure the most satisfactory answers.

China at war with Germany on the side of the Allies is an astoundingly different figure from anything she has ever before presented to the modern world. Even though her participation in the war may be only nominal, her position would be hardly less strong for that. It is the outcome of the boldest and most farseeing bit of statecraft the young republic has written into her history. In a word, she places herself and her destiny at a council table the nature of which insures to her by moral force alone the justice and security she might otherwise have gained only by recourse to arms against nations with which she now is allied.

WRITING OFF BOXER INDEMNITIES

The world at large scarcely realizes, perhaps, what a revenge is wreaked upon the Chinese people through the staggering indemnities exacted in punishment for the fanatical outburst of 1901. Though originally the Boxer indemnity reached a total of only \$335,000,000, it has grown through deferred interest payments to almost twice that sum. Many millions of the debt have been paid, but the sum owing to-day is about \$550,000,000, which is an exceedingly heavy burden for a nation whose annual budget runs to scarcely more than \$200,000,000.

Although Germany took small part in the relief of the Boxer-besieged legation at Peking, her troops arriving after everything was over except the looting, her portion of the indemnity was larger than that of any other nation except Russia, whose troops did least in the restoration of order. Germany's share was \$110,000,000, most of which is unpaid. Here, then, is an opportunity for China to be rid promptly of one of the dangerous drains upon her financial vitals. Declaration of war against Germany at once strikes off a debt of at least a hundred odd millions. As for the rest of the indemnity, is it a vain hope that the reward of the Allies for China's enlistment in their cause should be complete remission of payment, or

at the very least an indefinite deferment as to both principal and interest?

The example of the United States in converting her share of the indemnity into a fund for the education of young Chinese in schools and colleges of America has been looked upon in late years by the other powers with a respect almost amounting to jealousy. China counts upon this shrewd example, doubtless, to bring equal, if not greater, concessions from the nations that now are her allies. And if the chancelleries of Europe understand China—as they must pretty well at this advanced stage of diplomatic experimenting upon her—they understand that it is not the money alone that irks China; that probably the money is the very least of the burden. It is the ignominy undeservedly inherited from old China that stings the young Chinese. The Boxer indemnity for them is loss of “face”—a badge of servitude as bitter as the shameful queue of the Tartars.

DISCRIMINATIONS AGAINST CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY

Increasing the weight of the indemnity burden, the restricted import duty imposed upon China by the meddling powers has been another financial incubus. Though the 5 per cent. impost was fixed over a decade ago, and even then was inadequate to meet China's revenue needs, she never was able to get the unanimous consent of all the powers to increase it. China hopes, by entering the war, to remedy not only this but other financial disabilities, and to gain release from the more irksome of the fiscal supervision imposed upon her by creditor nations.

The young China has chafed sorely at her inheritance of foreign police and law courts from those recent barbaric days when they admittedly were necessary. The outright concessions or long-term leases of land for trading purposes and as war indemnities, some of them dating back over half a century, are severe thorns to-day in the side of the young republic. What happened to the foreign concessions many years ago in Japan must happen in China eventually, but the powers have not been noticeably disposed to act on their own initiative. Their course would have been to wait until China was strong enough politically to compel restoration of her alienated soil to the sovereignty of her own flag. This political strength seems assured to her in the place she will hold at the war council-table of the Allies.

Particularly humiliating have been some of

the foreign colonies planted on Chinese soil. They have become more pernicious parasites on China's sovereignty than ever Japan had to deal with. Germany's seizure of Kiaochow was a flagrant example. Here as in all the foreign concessions, was planted a foreign flag, foreign courts, a foreign army. From the firm entrenchment of Tsingtau, Germany reached out by means of railroad enterprises until practically the entire province of Shantung was in her grasp. This was true to greater or less extent with all the foreign concessions, each of which was an open and spreading wound to China's sovereignty. The British entrenched themselves at Hongkong and Wei-hai-wei, the French in Kuangchowwan, the Portuguese at Macao, the Japanese in Formosa and Kuantung; and each of these and other nations had gained smaller slices of territory in nearly a dozen treaty ports up and down the coast and far inland.

FOREIGN TROOPS AT PEKING

Most exasperating to the young China of all the extra-territoriality, perhaps, is the presence, a decade and a half after the Boxer uprising, of thousands of foreign troops under the very eaves of the gilded roofs of the capital, guarding the legations and the line of approach to the sea. The world had almost forgotten this arrangement in the recent days when the dramatic burlesque of General Chan's attempted restoration of the Manchu dynasty suddenly called it to mind. It was rather surprising to read the news cables that chronicled renewed marches of protective foreign troops along the railway leading from Tien-Tsin to Peking. China would have all this remedied, either by tacit agreement now or by promised council after the war. She would have the flag of the republic flying over all of China, and her new law courts and police power governing the foreigner as well as the native within her gates.

THE KAISER'S MAILED FIST IN CHINA

Opportunity for the seizure of Kiaochow, which had long been contemplated, was afforded to the Kaiser by the murder of two German missionaries in Shantung province. The Berlin Government immediately instructed its minister at Peking to demand of the Chinese Government the cession of Kiaochow Bay and its adjacent territory. Before China had time to answer the German note, four German cruisers suddenly appeared in Kiaochow Bay and landed a

large detachment of marines. Since China could not fight she could do no less than sign the "murder convention." Though the murders were the pretext, the real reason for the seizure, of course, was that German trade expansion in China demanded advantages no less great than those other European nations had acquired long before the development of Germany's colonial policy.

Since the seizure of Kiaochow, China has had occasion often enough to observe the operation of the mailed fist. In treatment both of officials and individuals—particularly the common people who happened to be in the way—Germany has been ruthless and arrogant. What China considered the greatest humiliation visited upon her as punishment for the Boxer uprising against foreigners was Germany's demand of an imposing monument in a conspicuous place in Peking bearing a perpetual apology for the murder of the German ambassador. Though the German troops arrived late at the relief of Peking, they were not too late for bloodshed and looting. Order had been restored, but the German troops came inland to Peking in a procession of sabotage and murder according with the orders for "frightfulness" that had gone out from Potsdam.

INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES

As for a direct cause of war China had, perhaps, less grievance than any other belligerent. Having no commerce under her flag on the high seas she has not suffered greatly as a result of the German submarine policy. She can point, however, to the loss of two hundred Chinese lives on board a British vessel torpedoed in the Mediterranean, and though China has not always valued the lives of her citizens highly or given even passable protection for them abroad, she no doubt feels that as direct causes of war go the loss of her two hundred would be ample.

But above all the impelling motives and influences leading China into the struggle stands doubtless the initiative of the United States. The sympathy between these two nations because of like ideals and fortuitous policies of the United States that have bound them together in spite of an occasional error, is so well understood as to need no restatement. The leadership of America in political ideals has been particularly pronounced during the period of the war leading up to the United States' break with Germany. Utterances of the press and of official China in-

dicated throughout that the Far Eastern republic gave full endorsement to the war policies of the United States. President Wilson's note to neutrals at the time of the break with Germany was a cue that China picked up promptly. Without a "by-your-leave" to her self-appointed mentor, Japan, China broke off relations with Germany as the United States had done. There was evident at the same time a disposition to go even further, should the United States again take the lead. In fact, not long after America's declaration that a state of war with Germany existed the Chinese cabinet determined to follow suit. A quarrel with Parliament over the right of initiative in the matter blocked a formal declaration at that time, although all parties are said to have been agreed upon the wisdom of the war policy.

JAPAN'S RESPONSIBILITY IN CHINA SHIFTED TO THE ALLIES

In the future relations of Japan and China as a result of China's participation in the war, there is a field for interesting speculation. From this viewpoint alone, China seems to have made a master play. There is no doubt that China has feared Japan more than any other nation. She has had cause for such fear. Japan's modern armies have humbled her in military encounter, and Japan's might everywhere and always has been made apparent to China; for many years her mailed fist, like Germany's, has been at China's nose. Since the beginning of the European war that fist has shaken more ominously, and, bowing to the inevitable, China long since began making the best she could of the situation. The Tsingtau affair added to her troubles because instead of being relieved of one of the foreign aggressors upon her soil she merely experienced a change of tenants. Japan promises to be even a sharper thorn at Tsingtau than was Germany. Not only at Kiaochow, but throughout China, commercially and politically, has Japan appeared to be administering an active tutorship leading further and further toward virtual suzerainty.

But now, of a sudden, China puts a totally new and interesting aspect on the case by her entrance into the war. In effect she transfers responsibility of maintaining political integrity from her own shoulders to the collective shoulders of the Allies. At one stroke she removes Japan as chief arbiter of her destinies, and substi-

tutes practically the entire civilized world. The Allies, who were too busily at war, and the United States, whose perplexities at home and abroad made her seem indifferent to the fate of China, now are brought back to their duty by a simple shuffling of the cards—China's new deal.

RESTORATION OF THE OPEN DOOR

America's foreign policy, so far as we can be said to have a policy concerning the Far East, has been centered about the Open Door. With Germany's commercial interests in China after the war governed by what doubtless will be the severe after-the-war commercial program of the Allies, Japan will be the greatest gainer. Her commercial future in China is assured. Removing Germany as a trade competitor in the Far East will relieve the commercial pressure sufficiently, perhaps, to restore automatically the Open Door which has appeared to be in great danger of being padlocked shut through the activities of Japan.

CHINA'S WEIGHT IN THE WAR

Curiously enough it will make no great difference, in the strategic gains that will result for China, whether she contributes much or little in waging the war against

Germany. Her aid will be largely in moral and potential force. Little if anything can be expected of China in a military way. She has no navy, and though there are in China upwards of half a million men under arms, they are neither trained nor equipped for warfare of the sort that is waged at the present day. As for men she has the greatest store of any nation in the world. Perhaps 100,000 already have been sent to France to replace in fields and factories the men needed at the front. Doubtless many hundreds of thousands more will go to fill similar industrial gaps in the ranks of the Allies.

China's natural resources are enormous. Her coal and iron should be of immediate use to the Allies. A single one of her iron mines, in Hupeh province, will yield, it is estimated, 5,000,000 tons of ore. There are foundries and smelters at Hanyang on the Yangtze River that turn out 500,000 tons of steel annually. China's annual output of coal is only about 6,000,000 tons, but she has coal resources of about 135,000 acres. The weight of China as a belligerent, therefore, even though she never fires a shot, and the ponderance of the questions she brings into due course of solution at the end of the war, are such as will bulk largely in the scales that shall weigh the world's peace.

JAPAN, CHINA, AND THE FAR EAST

BY K. K. KAWAKAMI

THE year 1917 has been a year of puzzles and surprises. Within the first six months events as dramatic as they were unexpected followed one after another in such rapid succession that even the extraordinary three years that preceded them seem to have become comparatively commonplace. Since the dawn of the year we have seen the overthrow of the Romanoff dynasty, followed by the advent of the new Republic of Russia. We have also seen America breaking loose from her traditional foreign policy and determined to play an important rôle in the war of Europe. To China, however, credit is due for having furnished the greatest of great surprises. That country of eternal enigma has set the world agog by an attempt to revive the defunct Manchu dynasty, and this

at the very moment when Russia threw the imperial régime overboard.

JAPAN AND RUSSIA

In such sudden turns of events in Russia and China, Japan, responsible for the preservation of peace in the Orient, while the powers of the West are engaged in the titanic struggle, is perhaps more keenly interested than any other country. Japan realizes the seriousness of the responsibility she has assumed in the Far East, and watches with the gravest concern the developments of the situation in both Russia and China.

When I stopped at Tokio en route to Peking, the statesmen of Japan were frankly puzzled as to the course their country might be called upon to take, should disorganization

in Russia grow so disastrous as to compel her to drop from the ranks of the Entente powers and conclude a separate peace with Germany. Japan, though six thousand miles distant from Petrograd, is nevertheless Russia's next-door neighbor, and is in a position to bring pressure to bear upon the Muscovites once they are inclined to secede from the Entente camp. I was given to understand by the statesmen I interviewed that should Russia grasp Germany's hand and pursue a common course with the latter Japan would, if requested by her allies, throw her army across the Japan Sea and compel Russia to divert her forces from the European field of battle to the Far East. But what would be Japan's line of action in case Russia simply stopped fighting against Germany and took no aggressive steps against England and France? To this question I was unable to get any definite answer. All would perhaps depend upon the disposition of the powers with whom Japan is coöperating.

ACTIVE AID TO THE ALLIES

That the Terauchi Cabinet is willing to aid England and France more than is required in the provisions of the Anglo-Japanese alliance is indicated by the great activities of Japanese warships in the Mediterranean Sea as well as in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. To emphasize that willingness Japan has even sent a special embassy to America ostensibly for no other purpose than that of assuring the latter nation that she is ready to take care of the entire Pacific Ocean if the American navy finds it necessary to transfer its Pacific fleets to the Atlantic.

JAPAN'S ALTERED CHINESE POLICY

With the woe and weal of China, Japan's concern is more direct. The slogan of the Terauchi Cabinet with regard to that unfortunate country has been "Hands off China!" The cabinet was indeed organized to reverse the Chinese policy followed by its predecessor, the Okuma ministry. The Okuma Cabinet, perhaps misled by the ill-advised counsel of the so-called China experts, made grave blunders in its dealings with China. It resorted to doubtful means in preventing Yuan Shih-kai's enthronement. It presented to China the celebrated twenty-one demands in a manner objectionable both to China and the outside powers. Moreover, some of those demands should better have been withheld. To make the situation more intolerable, the same ministry reopened the

wound it had already inflicted upon China by presenting fresh demands on the occasion of the little fracas which took place between Japanese and Chinese troops at Cheng-Chia-tun, Manchuria. In fairness to Marquis Okuma, I am willing to concede that he believed his Chinese policy to be the best that could be found under the circumstances which he had to contend with. Yet judged from the results that policy was a grievous failure.

"WATCHFUL WAITING" IN CHINA

There is no doubt that the Terauchi Cabinet is enjoying the fruits of the Chinese measures for which Okuma and his colleagues had to shoulder all blame, for those measures, despite their marring features, accomplished certain aims which Terauchi himself would have been called upon to accomplish, had they been left unattained by Okuma.

After all has been said in favor of Okuma, the fact remains that his Chinese policy has created a situation which needs to be mended by his successor. It is to this task of amelioration that Terauchi has been invited to address himself. And the new policy which Terauchi has inaugurated in response to this call is a policy of "non-interference." Translated into President Wilson's striking language, Terauchi's policy in China is "watchful waiting."

True to its professed intentions, the present cabinet has long since withdrawn Japanese troops from Cheng-Chia-tien. It is even rumored that Terauchi is contemplating the removal of Japanese soldiers from Hankow, where they have been stationed ever since the first Chinese revolution of 1911. But the most noteworthy evidence of this non-interference policy is the attitude consistently taken by Count Terauchi and his Foreign Minister, Baron Motono, in the political crisis in China apparently occasioned by the question of China's participation in the European war.

CHINA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR

This last-named war question is, of course, quite independent of the question of what governmental form China should adopt. But in China all foreign questions are, to the jeopardy of the nation's welfare, ruthlessly exploited by opposing factions for the manipulation of internal politics. Viewed in this light, the powers would have done well to advise China to let the war question alone.

Unable even to take care of her own affairs, China is in no position to tamper with such questions. I fail to understand those Americans who are very boastful of their successful efforts to induce China to sever diplomatic relations with Germany. Do they not know that they were playing with fire which might consume China's own tottering structure?

To clear the atmosphere befogged by indiscriminate writings, it is essential to understand Japan's position with regard to Chinese participation in the war. It was in 1915, when Yuan Shih-kai was still enjoying dictatorial power, that the idea of drawing China into the war was broached by England. At that moment Japan could not see her way to support the idea, for the obvious reason that Yuan was eager to go to war merely to fortify his own position as a step towards the imperial throne he had been coveting. Japan was convinced that Yuan's accession would soon be followed by more rebellions, and was anxious to prevent such a consummation. England herself eventually adopted the same view of the situation, and the matter of Chinese participation in the war was for the time dropped.

When in March last America severed diplomatic intercourse with Germany and advised China to follow suit, the political situation in China had so radically changed that Japan was now willing to let China act in consonance with the American advice. The dictatorial Yuan had been dead for several months, and in his place an amicable gentleman in the person of General Li Yuan-Hung was occupying the presidential chair. Thus Japan's main reason for objecting to China's taking part in the war was removed.

As soon as America advised China to break off treaty relations with Germany, the government at Peking asked Japan's opinion on the question. The Terauchi Cabinet, through Foreign Minister Motono, replied at once that it was reluctant to give any advice that might be interpreted as an interference with China's own affairs, but that China would perhaps lose nothing in breaking with Germany, especially when America had already taken that course and was eager to have China line up with her. China further sought Japan's opinion as to the advisability of asking the consent of the powers to the increase of the customs tariff on the imports to China. In reply to this Japan expressed herself ready to accede to such a demand, provided, of course, other powers

would act likewise. I have reason to believe that Japan even suggested that China at once notify the powers with a view to securing the desired revision of the tariff.

Such has been Japan's unequivocal attitude towards China's war question. He speaks ill-advisedly who tells Americans that China hesitated to follow the example set by the United States and close the doors against Germany because she was fearful of Japan's objection to such a step.

Both the American and the Japanese press have discussed with a great deal of animation the American note presented to China on June 7, urging upon President Li Yuan-hung the necessity of establishing a government capable of restoring peace and order before China could decide upon war.

I am inclined to believe that Japan will not long be permitted to follow a policy of non-interference in China. If the chaotic situation in China persists, even after the termination of the European war, other powers are certain to intervene, or at least clamor for the restoration of order. The American advice to China given in March and June has already sounded a warning in the ears of the Japanese. Should European nations, after the war, each essay to take a hand in Chinese affairs, might not Japan also be obliged to deviate from her present policy?

REPUBLIC OR MONARCHY IN CHINA?

That a stable government will not easily be established in China goes without saying. The political chaos will not end with the fiasco created by General Chang Hsun's fatuous attempt to resuscitate the Manchu dynasty dead for six years. What will be China's ultimate form of government no one can tell. Such influential men as Tuan Chi-Jui, Hsu Shi-Chang, and Feng Kuo-Chang no doubt see in a constitutional monarchy the best form of government for China, but even they realize that the Manchu dynasty cannot be restored. Where, then, shall they look for the imperial timber? On the other hand, Sun Yat-Sen and his Southern associates believe in out-and-out republicanism, which will never be accepted by the Northern leaders.

To an unbiased observer, it would seem that China's only hope for rehabilitation lay in mutual concessions on the part of the radical South and the conservative North, thus finding a common ground upon which to establish a government.

BENEFITS TO CHINA

By CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER

(Judge of the United States Court for China)

PARTICIPATION in the war was a subject of controversy in China long before it was actually undertaken, and indeed was one of the causes leading to the crisis which incidentally made possible the short-lived Manchu restoration of last July. Those who favored such participation argued that it would give China a recognized place at the peace conference and enable her to secure two important and long-sought concessions, *vi.*: (1) the remission, or at least suspension, of the so-called "Boxer" indemnities, and (2) a substantial increase of customs duties.

As to the first, our own Government long ago recognized the justice of the claim by remitting its entire share of the Boxer indemnity; and this was done not as a mere act of generosity, but as one of justice. In other words, our representatives became convinced after investigation that the sum exacted from China by the powers in 1900 was more than reimbursement for losses actually suffered by them, and amounted to a fine imposed upon a then helpless nation.

As to the second concession sought, it will no doubt surprise the ordinary reader to learn that China must obtain the consent of the Powers in order to increase her customs duties. This is because that branch of her public service, while technically Chinese, is really administered by foreigners (*i. e.*, non-Chinese) in order to insure payment of interest on China's foreign loans. Indeed, it would hardly be inaccurate to say that the Chinese customs service is a creation of foreigners. The late Sir Robert Hart devoted his life to it; and while the treaties require that the Inspector General shall be a British subject for some years to come, representatives of other nationalities, including our own, have contributed materially to its upbuilding and successful administration. Men like Morse and Merrill, now retired, as well as Carl and Bryant, still in the harness, have worthily represented our country in a branch of China's governmental service which has been honestly and efficiently administered, and which, with the "Salt Gabelle," or monopoly, similarly operated, af-

fords an important, if not the principal, source of China's public revenues.

But the control of the Powers extends to the fixing of the amount of duty, and at present this is only 5 per cent. Considering that the gravest obstacles of the Chinese government in recent years have been financial ones, it is not strange that its officials have looked to the customs as a source of relief and have regarded the present limitation as not only entirely too low, but as framed in the interests of foreign exporters rather than in those of the Chinese people. Moreover, those foreign representatives who have been most insistent upon retaining the so-called indemnity are also the ones who oppose an increase of duties; and to the Chinese, it seems the extreme of injustice to be forced on the one hand to pay these heavy exactions and on the other to be denied the full benefit of a legitimate source of revenue to meet them.

As to these points, therefore, China's case appears to be entirely just and reasonable and at the same time quite in line with traditional American policy. To what extent she will participate actively in the war which she has now voluntarily entered remains to be seen; but it is not unlikely that her most effective contribution will be labor. I may cite as an earnest of this the fact that the ship which brought me recently from China to America carried nearly a thousand Chinese laborers for the western front, entraining at Vancouver for the rail trip across Canada and thence transshipping to France. Large-limbed and brawny, these coolies were the pick of Shantung Province; and it is safe to say that for trench digging and all the heaviest work of warfare each is better fitted than the average soldier. It is interesting to note also that the plan works well for the coolie, affording him better wages, food, and clothing than he would have at home and insuring provision likewise for his family in China. This augmentation of Allied resources has now been in progress for months and may prove a not inconsiderable factor toward that victorious outcome of the war for which we of America are hoping.

PENSIONS IN CHURCH BUDGETS

BY GEORGE PERRY MORRIS

WILLIAM LAWRENCE, of Boston, is a bishop, but he also is a financier and ecclesiastical statesman. Witness the \$7,500,000 pension fund for the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and its dependencies which he induced the laity of the churches to contribute during a campaign lasting fifteen months. His predecessor in the diocese of Massachusetts, Phillips Brooks, was a great preacher and served his day and time well. But he never carried through a constructive measure equal in importance to the one defined and executed by William Lawrence. Coming generations, to know what Phillips Brooks was like, must read his sermons or his biography by A. V. G. Allen. There never will be a Protestant Episcopal preacher of tomorrow who in his old age will not profit by the application to his own calling of the test of social justice and fair play which William Lawrence brought to the workings of the church in 1915-1916.

All of which is the more interesting because of the ancestry of the statesman ecclesiast. He was born rich because of the success his ancestors on both sides of the house had had as merchants and manufacturers in nineteenth-century New England. From the day when he served as curate in a small church in a city named Lawrence after his forbears down to the hour when he stood before the entire church in general convention assembled and argued for action

conserving the health, morale and peace of mind of the superannuated clergy, William Lawrence never had been of any other thought than that the way the church neglected its moral duty to the clergy was both scandalous and wasteful. His business instincts and aptitudes, as well as his Christian

ethics, revolted at the way in which the men who had served faithfully on small incomes were left to charity in their old age. Especially inconsistent, to him, seemed the appeal of the church to employers in the secular world to care for their aged workmen, when the church itself made no move at all adequate for settling its own old-age problem.

It was natural, therefore, for him to be the promoter of an investigation by the General Convention as far back as 1911. Returns from 74 per cent. of the clergy showed such facts as to underpayment and distress as the period of superannuation

came on that it was not difficult to induce the church court to authorize a more detailed study of the problem, in which some of the best actuaries of the country and the Carnegie Foundation shared. Ninety-nine per cent. of the clergy were polled by the queries of a full questionnaire. Careful study of the pension systems of other churches, of city and State employees, and of industrial concerns was made. The best actuarial ability of the country was enlisted in planning for a pension system that would not break down. Then the outcome of the planning was



RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE
(Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts)

brought before the General Convention of 1913 for approval. Instead permission was given to present the plan to the sixty-eight diocesan conventions, and during the next two years all of them approved. In 1916 the General Convention acted, putting the essence of the plan into a new church canon, so that it became a part of the administrative law of the church. Then the call was made on Bishop Lawrence to go forth among the churches (mainly among the laity) and get the \$5,000,000 which it was imperative to have, according to the actuaries, if the plan was to become operative.

Bishop Lawrence delegated his diocesan duties to another bishop, planned his campaign of action, made out his schedule of visitation and persuasion, built up a finely arranged cordon of cooperating local committees, and set forth to get his \$5,000,000. He had the interests of 5200 clergy at heart—men whose present average salary is \$1200 a year, which is higher than is the case in many of the largest Protestant denominations. He had back of him his own record as a successful leader in the campaign to raise \$2,000,000 for Harvard's endowment of her teaching staff.

Thanks to the admirable way in which the cause had been made an educational one in all the dioceses, thanks also to the pertinency and cogency of the literature that went with the official call for aid, the response to the bishop's lead was generous from the start. He soon found that he had the big leaders of the laity with him, and that the rank and file would certainly follow. But never in his fondest imaginings when he entered the campaign did he suppose that he would finish at the set date with a total of \$7,500,000. But the money came because of the just cause and the unprecedented unity of the church in its behalf. It flowed in without any artificial stimulation and without any playing off of donor against donor and diocese against diocese.

To be concrete and come down out of the rhapsodies of eulogy of the man to the level of the plan which he and his colleagues evolved for approval, what is it? It is a non-contributory fund, so far as the clergy are concerned. The churches they serve and not the meagrely paid clergy will provide the funds that in the future will supplement the millions already raised. The sum in hand, it has been estimated, will make possible immediate application of the scheme to all clergymen now in the church. Here

is its great advance over anything of the kind ever attempted by any American church's pension or superannuation fund. "Accrued liabilities" are to be met out of this princely gift of the laity.

But since April 1, every local church (in theory at least) has been paying into the fund a sum in addition to the salary paid its rector, which will furnish the capital for future disbursements as the clergy of the morrow or their widows reach the age limit or the annuity age. That is to say, the plan calls for a 7.5 per cent. addition to salaries paid the clergy, which fund is to be conserved by a special commission and invested by the highest actuarial advisers and always subject to annual investigation by the New York State Insurance Department. A clergyman's retiring allowance will be determined by the salaries he has received, provided the local churches he has ministered unto also have paid their pro rata pension assessments. Obviously it will be for the interest of the clergy to induce the churches to contribute.

The chief merits of the scheme as worked out by Bishop Lawrence, by his expert actuarial advisers and by eminent business men are in its covering of the accrued liabilities of the church as a whole, so that every clergyman now in the church is eligible to the benefits. It puts the onus of future support on the churches and the laity and not on assessments drawn from already scanty clerical incomes. It puts the whole issue on the plane of justice and fair play, and not on that of charity; and at once sets clerical workers free from the haunting terror of an impecunious senescence, either for themselves or for their widows, if they chance to be married men. Moreover, widows with children are assured of extra incomes.

The consequences of the changed pecuniary status of the clergy will be moral and spiritual, Bishop Lawrence believes. Self-respect will grow, professional prestige will mount, indifference to death and peril will be intensified if they come in the path of clerical duty now that there is some security for loved ones; and high-grade, ambitious youth will be more likely to choose the clerical calling, since it has a juster status and fairer standard of enlistment. Lastly, the laity will be relieved from the intermittent begging of a charitable cause. Every congregational budget hereafter will take into account the item of a clerical pension just as much as it does a clerical salary.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE BRITISH REVIEWS AND THE WAR

IT would appear that the standard English reviews have attracted less notice in America since the war began than formerly. This may be partly due to the fact that their receipt in this country has been so seriously delayed, from month to month, by the slow transatlantic mails, but it is probable that American readers have had their attention diverted, to a great extent, from every form of leisurely reading by following the dramatic incidents of the war itself.

Those who imagine, however, that our old friends, the *Contemporary*, the *Fortnightly*, the *Nineteenth Century*, and the quarterlies, have weakened or deteriorated in their nation's hour of stress are greatly mistaken. They have gone steadily on their way, providing intellectual Britain with a monthly bill of fare that suffers little by comparison with the magazine contents of ante-bellum years, save possibly in the matter of variety of viands. The war and topics closely related to the war inevitably claim a larger and larger share of each periodical's space—the proportion runs from 50 to 65 per cent. in the August numbers, the last that had arrived at this writing.

In spite of the censorship, there is much wholesome British outspokenness in those articles that deal with the conduct of the war. When was the British reviewer ever known to mask his criticisms of the way his government was doing things? Even in war he asserts his time-honored privilege.

The discussion of the Mesopotamia Commission's Report in the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Fortnightly* is both frank and searching. Major-General F. C. Beatson recognizes in the report "a terrible indictment against all those who are held to be responsible for failures in the conduct and maintenance of the operations during the period considered by the Commission." He finds the one bright feature in the story to be the bearing of all ranks of the troops, both British and Indian. He does not fully ac-

cept the conclusions of the Commission as to the fundamental faults of the Indian military policy in themselves.

Another writer in the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr. Everard Cotes, writes on the Mesopotamian disclosures as "the tragedy of an impossible system." He maintains that the machine broke down because it was too weak to bear the strain that was put upon it, and it was too weak because it was badly organized and was run on too cheap a scale. "Throughout the critical seasons of 1914 and 1915 the Army of India continued to lack things that were procurable: things which if they had been provided, as they might have been by the prompt and copious pouring out of money, would undoubtedly have produced in 1916 and 1917 results, if not as splendid, at least to some extent comparable to those achieved in the same period in the army at home." He agrees with General Beatson that the Indian troops themselves did wonders. With adequate transport and a proper system of financing the expedition, the results might have been very different.

Writing in the *Fortnightly*, Mr. Y. M. Chesney reviews in some detail the successive phases of what he calls the "Mesopotamia breakdown," which he characterizes as the "most signal reverse sustained by Britain in the East since the destruction of Elphinstone's force in its desperate attempt to escape from Kabul in 1842."

Apart from the controversial aspects of the topic, Mr. H. Charles Woods contributes to the *Fortnightly* an informing article on "the Bagdad Railway in the War." Although this account was written before the publication of the Mesopotamia Report, it explains with great clearness the advantages valuable to the enemy.

In the same number Sir Malcolm McIlwraith writes on "Egypt in War-Time." In the latter part of his article he directs attention to the large Egyptian

interests of Great Britain's allies in the war. So far as France is concerned, these are chiefly financial, while Italy has the most numerous foreign colony in Egypt after the Greeks. England's position in Egypt has been "regularized," so to speak, by the formal declaration of a protectorate in December, 1914, but there had been a protectorate in fact for about thirty-five years and this had been recognized by France and other powers in 1904.

The hopes and aspirations of the lesser European peoples have come in for serious attention from the British reviewers. In the *Fortnightly*, Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich outlines "A Jugo-Slav Federation," while G. Frederic Lees defines in the *Contemporary* the claims of Lithuania, and in the same review there is an anonymous article on "Albania, Austria, Italy, Essad." Other articles on European nationalities are, "Reconstruction in Spain: An Educational Effort," by Stefan Moxon; "The New Spirit in Austria," by H. N. Brailsford, and "The Trials of Russia," by C. Hagberg Wright—all three in the *Contemporary*.

The growing belief in England that a vigorous Anglo-American naval offensive is now feasible and will shortly be demanded by the situation is voiced in the *Nineteenth Century* by Gerard Finnes.

In the *Fortnightly* Archibald Hurd measures Britain's naval strategy in the war by the Nelsonian yardstick, and in the *Contemporary*, Hugh H. L. Bellot discusses the "Submarine Menace" largely from the diplomatic standpoint.

A note of welcome to the United States as an ally is sounded in the *Contemporary*, by S. K. Ratcliffe. Some of the lessons learned in three years' experience in England and now available for America's guidance are set forth in an article on the "Problems of War Control," by A. Carson Roberts.

In addition to the specific articles already mentioned, the August reviews have a fair representation of the type of general war essay that is met with on both sides of the Atlantic. Brigadier-General F. G. Stone dissents from President Wilson's clear discrimination between the "Government of the German Empire," and the "German people." General Stone commits himself unqualifiedly to the proposition that England at least is at war with the German people "from the All-Highest to the lowliest of his subjects."

"A Regular Officer" expresses the wish

that the British army "could be inspired with religion as were the Ironsides of Cromwell, or the ragged heroes of Lee. I suppose that religion, or at least a sense of transcendental things, can do more towards making an army serene and invincible than all the training in the world." This officer laments the British "shyness" of religion, which he says is a national failing. The chaplains, he thinks, are as shy as anyone. He even goes so far as to intimate that religious shyness may be disastrous to military efficiency.

Two non-controversial articles that contribute to our knowledge of war-time conditions are "In Freed France," by Laurence Jerrold (*Contemporary*), and "Impressions of the Interned in Switzerland," by Bishop Bury (*Nineteenth Century*).

The *Fortnightly* continues its monthly "History of the War" with excellent maps. An unexpected contribution to this number is an essay, "Within the Rim," which was one of the last things written by the late Henry James, and one of the very few things that he wrote about the war. *Politician* analyzes the Austrian situation.

It would be a mistake to infer that English editors are interested in nothing except war topics, for the programs of all the leading reviews give prominence to Literature, Art, and the Drama with unfailing regularity. Thus in the *Fortnightly* S. P. B. Mais pays tribute to Jane Austen on the occasion of her centenary, and Miss Winifred Stephens to George Sand and Juliette Lamber, while the *Contemporary* appends a literary supplement of twenty pages containing important book-reviews, and also contains an appreciation of the new French writers on the war.

A writer in the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr. Robert C. Witt, feeling the need of certain readjustments in the world of Art, proposes an annual conference representative of every side of artistic activity at which there might be full discussion and comparison. In connection with such a conference exhibitions might be arranged. In this way much overlapping and duplication of effort such as now exists might be avoided.

One topic is nearly always at the front in the English reviews—the constitution of the Empire. It is discussed afresh apropos of the recent Imperial War Conference, by G. B. Firth in the *Fortnightly*, and also by Sidney Low in the *Nineteenth Century*. Both articles are extremely optimistic. The Irish question is dealt with by D. C. Lathbury in the *Nineteenth Century*.

EXPRESSIONS FROM NEUTRAL LANDS

SOME of the discussions of current topics in the Dutch, Scandinavian, Swiss, and Spanish reviews are especially interesting at this time. We summarize below a few of the articles that have recently appeared:

Holland

Vragen des Tijds contains a significant contribution concerning some aspects of the economic situation in Holland after the war. What will be done with Dutch capital? Will it continue to flow abroad, and, if so, will it flow in greater or less volume? And what will be the result? The writer makes a statement that may surprise many people; he says that, speaking on the percentage basis, Holland sends more of her money to be invested in foreign securities and enterprises than any other country. The main reason for it is that a higher rate of interest can be obtained. The effect of the outward flow of capital is to increase the price of commodities at home; that is not a desirable outlook for the period after the war.

On the other hand, he has no doubt that the investment of capital abroad serves to augment the influence of the investing nation, and as a consequence increase its trading prospects and assist it economically in other ways. He considers that Great Britain benefited enormously during the last half of the nineteenth century by reason of her foreign investments. In this, as in so many other things, Holland should endeavor to preserve the golden mean, or she may suffer internally to a great extent.

In the usual article on the course of the war, the intervention of the United States comes in for full attention; that intervention will have a very powerful moral and material effect. The torpedoing of Dutch ships is dealt with, and the writer of these articles never spares the Germans when they have not acted in accordance with agreements.

What is the N.O.T.? The Netherlands Over-sea Trust is not, as many imagine, a British committee set up in Holland since the war for the purpose of making sure that goods sent to Holland are for use there, and not intended to be exported to enemy countries. The institution was founded before the outbreak of hostilities; presumably it was intended to assist the development of Dutch trade abroad, but (as a writer in *De Beweging* says) very little is really known about it, for its business is kept almost entirely private.

It happens that the letters N.O.T. are the initials of the title in both Dutch and English, but it is frequently assumed that they represent the English title, and that has accentuated the belief that the institution is British. It is interesting to note that the English word "trust" is in use in other countries, even in Germany.

De Beweging contains a scathing indictment of Germany in connection with its treatment of Belgium. The writer compares Governor von Bissing with the Duke of Alva, to the disadvantage of the former, and declares that the occupation and oppression of the Belgians is, and will be, a curse to the German Empire. He alludes to M. Passelcq's book of German atrocities and then goes on to the deportations that have horrified Europe and all the world. What has Germany gained by it and what will be the result to the people of that country when peace is finally declared? Can Germany be insane enough to imagine that the Belgians will forget and permit the Central Empire to reap the benefit of trade with the oppressed land?

Sweden

The Liberal review *Forum* criticizes very sharply the Conservative Swedish press for the position it takes on U-boat frightfulness. President Wilson's resentment when American boats are sunk is attributed by the Conservatives to greed and pecuniary motives. When Norway loses nearly half her tonnage they say, "Why does Norway allow her vessels to sail in the danger zone?" and when Swedish shipping suffers such hard blows from the German U-boats they are silly enough to imagine that had Germany foreseen the outburst of indignation in Sweden she would have prevented the raids against the Swedish boats! But *Forum* says that Germany does not care a fig for people's opinions, least of all a small people's.

Her object is to terrorize Sweden and the other little neutrals from trading with her enemies. Some lay all the blame on the German Government, and say the German people have nothing to do with these horrors. But as the German nation has not protested against the doings of her Government, we cannot now differentiate between it and the people. Should Germany gain her end—ultimate victory—by her brutal arts of war, her people will go on condoning the means;

but if she loses, the people will, without doubt, sooner or later let the Government know that it has outraged their sense of right. The articles closes by saying, "The sooner that day comes the better!"

In an editorial in *Det nya Sverige* on "The Russian Infection" the writer expresses anxiety for a possible rising of the people in Sweden, too. The soil is well prepared. The young generation is, in his opinion, unruly, physically below par, and given to immoral excesses. The discipline in the Army, especially with regard to the conscripts, is not what it was, and in barracks and encampments they dream of following in the wake of the Russian soldiery. A strong anti-social propaganda is rife everywhere.

The Conservative review, *Svensk Tidskrift*, warns its readers that Germany much desires Sweden to join the coming "Central European Commercial and Customs Union." To be swallowed up in this *Zollverein* would mean, says *Svensk Tidskrift*, death to all future hopes for the independence of Swedish trade and industry. There are already in Sweden too many German firms, and far too many of the rich mines and forests of Sweden are in German hands. German influence is increasing both in the world of commerce and in social life.

Spain

Teodoro Rodriguez contributes one of his interesting essays on social topics to *Ciudad de Dios*, the learned fortnightly review issued by the Royal Monastery of the Escorial. This essay deals with the subject of "Social Problems after the War." The word "social" is used nowadays in so wide a sense, says the writer, that it is necessary to state

that it is employed in a very limited sense in the essay; it means the condition of affairs as between rich and poor, employer and employed. Furthermore, the phrase "after the war" is vague, but it is not possible to make it definite; everyone must hope that peace will come soon, although the prospect at present is not bright.

Statesmen must watch for the real opportunity for making peace; if war drags its weary length along to too great an extent, may Europe not be laying herself open to an attack from the Far East. Think of the hundreds of millions that could come from that part of the globe and overrun Europe if certain conditions were to arise as the result of too prolonged a war!

Then, dealing with the actual subject, the writer does not feel sanguine that the war will level distinctions, as so many people now suppose; it is true that men of all grades of society have fought and suffered together and are now acting in the most fraternal manner towards one another in the trenches, but it is not quite the same among those outside the scene of combat, and after the war the old differences will reassert themselves. Each class will think of its own interests and there will be strife as of old.

The hope entertained by many prior to the outbreak of war was that the internationality of socialism would generate brotherly feelings among all peoples, but internationalism is dead; nationalism triumphed, for the Socialists of belligerent countries forgot all save their own country and the members of the international brotherhood fought one another in the trenches and on the open battlefields. Education and religion seem to be the remedies.

HOLLAND AS A GERMAN SOURCE OF SUPPLY

SINCE there has been some question as to the relative quantities of foodstuffs shipped from Holland to Germany and Great Britain, respectively, during the war, it is interesting to note the Dutch official statistics covering the point. These figures are cited by Mr. John C. Van der Veer, London editor of the Amsterdam *Telegraaf*, in a communication to the New York *Times*. The exports for 1915 and 1916, in metric tons, are given as follows:

	To Germany		To England	
	1915.	1916.	1915.	1916.
Butter	36,679	31,413	2,463	2,194
Cheese	63,237	76,286	8,427	6,849
Eggs	25,184	30,364	7,820	795
Meat	82,153	49,314	15,488	9,957
Fish	160,645	155,524		
Beet sugar, raw.	1,205	22,874	18,450	2,036
Potatoes	212,550	122,000	472	3,137
Potato meal....	77,097	65,451	21,399	9,916
Fresh fruit....	161,283	70,851	14,685	17,705

Total 820,038 624,077 89,204 52,589
Totals for 1915 and 1916: Germany, 1,444,115;
England, 141,793.

The Dutch statistics do not specify the quantities of fish sent from Holland to England in 1915 and 1916, but they were, according to British reports, less than 1,000 tons. On the other hand, Germany received in these two years some thousands of live cattle from Holland, besides 8159 tons of hides, skins, leather and leather goods!

Mr. Van der Veer admits that the excess of exports to Germany was considerably reduced last year, as the result of British action, but Germany was still favored in December and during the first quarter of 1917.

Last December, Holland sent Germany 16,559 metric tons of butter, cheese, eggs, meat, fish and potato meal, and England 5276 tons. The latter figure does not include fish, of which the quantity sent to England is not specified in Dutch statistics, which merely states that 4879 tons were sent to "other countries." That quantity was not sent to England, nor could it have made the total figures for December favorable to this country.

The export of Dutch foodstuffs was, during January-March of this year, in metric tons:

	To Germany	To England
Butter	1,847	531
Cheese	9,216	3,493
Eggs	3,443	593
Meat	4,682	5,778
Fish	4,404	3,859
Potato meal.....	5,616	160
	29,208	14,414

Before the war Germany sent Holland large quantities of grain, beet sugar, potatoes, potato meal, eggs, and even some butter. All that import of Germany's produce into Holland practically ceased during the war. Instead of Germany helping to feed Holland, the latter helped more than ever to feed Germany. Since their invasion of Belgium the Germans deprived Holland also of the large quantities of agricultural produce she used to get from that country. Furthermore, the export of German coal to Holland decreased from 14,211,308 tons in 1914 (including five months' war) to 6,028,524 tons in 1915 and 4,873,040 tons in 1916. And, on top of it all, Germany sank numerous Dutch merchant ships and fishing boats. That was her thanks for the material services which Holland, by the export of her national produce, rendered to Germany during the war.

War-profiteering has not been a blessing to our country, nor has been the smuggling habit, which German agents have industriously fostered in Holland. "Righteousness exalteth a nation," not the gain of money. And the flood of German paper money in Holland has naturally made some of our people interested in a German peace.

The section of Dutch public opinion represented by the *Telegraaf* opposes the extensive feeding of Germany with Dutch produce for these reasons, as stated by Mr. Van der Veer:

First, in the interest of our own people, who

were made to suffer for the large export of our foodstuffs to Germany, whereby a comparatively small number of Dutchmen enriched themselves.

Secondly, we considered it a bad policy to harm and endanger our future commercial relations with Great Britain, which has always been a good customer of our agricultural produce, by supplying her during the war with much less and Germany much more of that produce. The unfairness of that change was also kept in our mind. The Prussian agrarians did their level best before the war to prevent the import of Dutch agricultural produce into Germany, in order to keep the prices of their own produce high. On the other hand, Great Britain never hampered the imports of Dutch agricultural produce. And could we, in fairness, ask her to maintain that policy after the war, when in time of her greatest need we withheld from her the fair share of our national produce, in order to supply Germany with so much more of it? It is a sound Dutch saying, "A friend in need is a friend indeed."

The third motive of our opposition to favoring Germany in particular with the supply of our foodstuffs is based on moral and national grounds. German militarism has long been a standing menace to the independence of our country. Germany's brutal invasion of Belgium threatened Holland implicitly. The German atrocities in Belgium, the slaughter of innocents there, the deliberate burning of Belgian towns and villages and the atrocious deportations of Belgians shocked no people more than ours. Moreover, the Germans have at sea destroyed numerous Dutch ships and killed many of our sailors and fishermen. Is it not natural, then, that we resent supplying that country chiefly with our national produce and enabling her thereby to carry on her barbarous struggle? We pride ourselves on the fact that Hugo Grotius was a Dutchman, and that he, three centuries ago, by writing his famous work on the "Rights of War and Peace," laid the foundations of international law. Being in the happy possession of an old copy, I have, during the war, often consulted his book and found it a running commentary on Germany's illegal and ruthless practices. But nothing impressed me more than the high moral maxims laid down by Hugo Grotius for the conduct of neutrals in a war between right and wrong. In that respect he wrote:

"Neutral peoples are bound not to render assistance to those whose cause is bad, nor to impede the movements of those whose cause is just. If the issue of the war is doubtful, they must follow an even conduct toward both belligerents."

In our opinion, the issue of this war is in no way doubtful. Germany's cause is as bad as ever any country went to war for.

Finally, this Dutch journalist declares without reservation what he believes to be the prevailing sentiment of his people:

Let me, however, in conclusion, assure you, and your great nation, that the overwhelming mass of the Dutch people are not to blame for our country's material aid given to "the enemy of mankind." Generally speaking, the Dutch nation has been, since Germany violated Belgian neutrality, and still remains, in hearty sympathy with the Allies.

AMERICAN SOLDIERS INSTRUCTED BY FRENCH OFFICERS



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LIEUT. MORIZE

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL
PAUL AZAN

TWO OF THE FRENCH OFFICERS ENGAGED IN THE INSTRUCTION OF YOUNG AMERICAN OFFICERS AT THE HARVARD TRAINING CAMP

(Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Azan—at the right—will supervise the extensive system of instruction by French officers at the National Army cantonments)

IN view of the fact that France has graciously yielded to the request of our Government for 140 of its army officers to give instruction in the cantonments of our National Army, special interest attaches to the glowing reports that have gone out regarding the teaching at the Harvard Reserve Officers' Camp during the last few weeks by a group of French officers known as the "Mission to Harvard," headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Azan, who, it is said, will supervise the instruction in the Eastern, Northeastern and Central Departments. The 550 American army captains and lieutenants who have just finished a course of intensive training in the technic of trench-fighting and grenade-throwing at Harvard are enthusiastic in their praise of the teaching ability of these French officers. In the *New York Times* of September 16 one of these reserve officers is quoted as saying:

Now and then I look back with amazement and self-ridicule at the solemn way in which people used to repeat an old commonplace—it sounds a million years old now—about France being a "decadent" nation. And it wasn't the three years of war that showed me how utterly ridiculous

it all was—though that was enough to prove it. It was the contact with these French officers. They are the most wonderful men I have ever met. That sounds like *matinée* idolater talk, doesn't it? Well, call it that—call it whatever you like. But ask any man in the battalion if there's any exaggeration in it.

You associate the word "attractive" with a sort of drawing room favorite, but here we have a bunch who are remarkably attractive—who have a charm that holds you every minute—and have with it such a love for work as I have never seen. They ask us to write out questions. We write 'em out by the dozen—a lot of them pretty foolish, too: How wide is a mine crater? How many shots a minute compose a barrage? Over how wide a front is an offensive?—all kinds of questions. The French officer in charge of that particular session will collect the sheets and a day or two later he will turn up with each question carefully answered in writing. And then he'll ask if the answers are clear, and if they are not he'll expand them.

Nothing ever seems to tire them or dampen their enthusiasm. They are on the job every minute. And clearness! I never knew what the word meant before. I used to hear in college about "clarity" in connection with French literature. Not until I came to this class did I know what it really meant. The French officer is the clearest-seeing, clearest-talking teacher in the world; I'm convinced of it.

The *Times* article further states:

Some of the French teacher-officers now in this country were sent here direct from their own front, where they had been in service since the beginning of the war, with ample opportunities to note defects in methods and to help correct them. In teaching Americans they have illustrated their points by telling how things were done at the outset of the fighting and how they have been improved. Great stress is laid by them upon the flexibility of the new warfare system which gives such opportunity, and also responsibility, to the leader of a platoon, who may be a Second Lieutenant or even a non-commissioned officer.

Another thing taught in the lecture rooms at Cambridge and in the demonstration trenches has been the importance of relieving troops in the front line trenches with fresh men. Such an operation generally takes all night, and it may be for the relief of a single platoon or for a long stretch of the line, but the relieving line is commonly a battalion, and the officers leading it in through the several miles of *boyaux*, or connecting ditches, must know the twists and turns and numerous forkings of these ditches as well as they know their own village streets.

Then there is the *liaison* or the keeping in touch of platoon with platoon, of artillery with infantry, of airplanes with troops on the ground or under it. But the greatest *liaison* is that of morale, which depends upon every man's understanding his work and knowing what to do next to coöperate best with his comrades.

A FRENCH VIEW OF THE POPE'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WAR

AN article of unusual interest, appearing in the *Mercure de France* of August 16, treats at length of the present Pope's attitude towards the belligerent powers. The writer, Georges Rivals, bases his judgment in great part upon Benedict's actual utterances, many of which he quotes. He finds him culpably lenient towards the Central Powers, far too oblivious of German misdeeds, and, consequently, lacking in sympathy for the nations that have been so foully wronged. He qualifies his rigorous criticism, however, by observing that the Pope may have been misled. The article was written before the Pope's appeal for peace had been published to the world.

Before entering upon a study of the present pontiff, the writer recounts the attitude of Leo XIII and Pius X towards the leading European powers, and, a thing of special interest, tells us how Benedict XV was generally regarded at his accession to the Papacy.

Leo XIII, after suffering numerous affronts from the Central Powers, broke with the Triple Alliance. Pius X displaced the political axis and kept up a friendly intercourse with the Austrian Emperor, whom he termed "Il nostro santo Imperatore!"

The writer thus describes the candidate to the Papacy, Giacomo della Chiesa, now Benedict XV:

That Cardinal, newly promoted, a sphinx incarnate, struck one with the smiling impenetrability of his glance. His Genoese origin, legal training, diplomatic career, his aristocratic temperament, singled him out for the solution of the enormous international difficulties confronting the Vatican. Moreover, he could be acceptable to both of the rival parties: to the admirers of Leo XIII as having been the confidant of Cardinal Rampolla and made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor by Carnot; while the followers of Pius X pointed to his welcome at the Court of Spain, to his acting as substitute of Merry del Val the first four years of that Pontiff's reign. In the eyes of the Quirinal, finally, he stood out as the brother of a Rear-Admiral and of a captain of the navy.

The investment of the new Pope, in September, 1914, was quietly solemnized, the time being ill-fitted for elaborate ceremonies. He was heartily welcomed by the French press, the radical papers expressing delight at having a Pope who would break with the brutal policy, so little friendly to France, of Pius X. While some rejoiced

that he did not call himself Pius XI, others emphasized the fact that neither did he call himself Leo XIV—each one beheld in the new Pontiff the Pope of his desires.

It was, it will be recalled, the time of what was termed the Catholic revival at the front. Military chaplains were reinstated; priests enrolled in the medical service, nuns predominated in the hospitals, etc.

Wherefore and how has Benedict XV, far from coöperating or promoting this national conversion, impeded, and perhaps endangered, it for years to come? That is what the writer aims to show.

Dating from October, 1914, people returning from Rome discouraged the French Catholics. Not only—was it said—was the Sacred College, with the exception of Cardinals Gasquet and Billot, favorable to the Central Powers, but the Pope himself and his Secretary of State evidenced the greatest friendliness towards them. These rumors were soon confirmed by a diplomatic silence. Benedict XV made a point of remaining perfectly mute on hearing of the atrocities which marked the beginning of the war. He emphatically wished to ignore the massacre of priests, the violation of nuns, the destruction of temples and sacred emblems.

And, worse still, at the moment when Cardinal Mercier dared to openly score the invaders, the Belgians were stunned to learn that the Papal Nuncio had left King Albert's court at Havre, without being reprimanded, to become the guest of Bissing, Belgium's governor. The Belgian refugees in Rome, wishing to celebrate a requiem mass for the thirty-seven priests shot by the Germans, encountered all sorts of difficulties, but finally obtained permission from the vicariate on condition that the ceremony should be in no wise official. The date was astutely set for the very time when the Pope held his secret Consistory, so that no cardinal could participate.

And then, shortly after—January 27, 1915—on William II's birthday, an official *Te Deum* was sung in one of the churches, twelve cardinals, including the Papal Secretary, assisting at the ceremony.

Why this attitude? It must be remembered that the Roman salons have been influenced by German diplomats mobilized around the Vatican by

the Emperor himself. Baron de Ritter, of Catholic Bavaria, paid daily visits to the Pope, accompanied by the Austrian Ambassador. At each new German outrage cries of protest were raised by the French and Belgian clergy, but they were drowned by the cold and polished denials of the Austro-German diplomats, and the prudent Pope suspended judgment.

This political campaign was not only defensive but offensive as well. Stress was laid upon the anarchic spirit of France, a nation of Socialists and atheists, it was claimed. Furthermore, definite promises were held out. In April, 1915, Erzberger, leader of the German Centrists, traversed Italy, promising that victorious Germany would restore the Temporal Power.

Owing to the course of events in high Catholic circles, the Pope seemed to hear but one voice clearly—the one hostile to the Allies, and his repulse in proposing the "truce of Christmas" in December, 1914, served to strengthen his predisposition.

Benedict XV is the first Pope who has visited Lourdes in the course of his numerous diplomatic wanderings; but he has not fully grasped the French spirit. He does not realize how closely allied are the ultra-nationalists and the more particularly Catholic groups. That explains his disastrous silence, which for France has compromised for a long time to come any great revival of Catholicism. It was no longer a question of Chauvinist revenge but of hearing the head of the Church solemnly brand crimes, considered as such by the world at large. Benedict remained silent.

The writer shows by citations how the Pope in his exhortations, unconsciously or cautiously, adjudges an equal share of responsibility to each of the belligerents. The lay conscience and sound sense are offended

by such encyclicals, he exclaims. The Belgians were, of course, dissatisfied, and Cardinal Mercier acted as their discreet interpreter. It is December, 1914. The Pope must perforce reply—but, never fear, jailer Bissing may read the letter without annoyance. Not a word of the destruction of Louvain and its famous library! But Louvain had had its precursor: Rheims in flames, the cathedral bombarded daily—and the Pope ever silent.

Benedict XV may henceforth take any steps he pleases; the public has classified him and is little interested in his doings. How many Catholics echo the modernist Tyrrel's saying: "Popes pass, but the church remains!" and are silent only through deference.

Seeking only the truth, however, the writer adds, he does not wish to appear harsh towards the Pope. Putting aside his intentions, then, of which we are ignorant, and which may be good, we must ask, has he not allowed himself to be circumvented by the Austro-Germans, not only as to details but as to the general aim of the conflict? Does he realize its high moral significance, or does he not rather regard it as a war "like the others," novel only by its proportions?

The peace which the Pope has not ceased to advocate, says the writer in closing, would perpetuate war; the victory of the Allies, whatever form it may take, will inaugurate true pacifism.

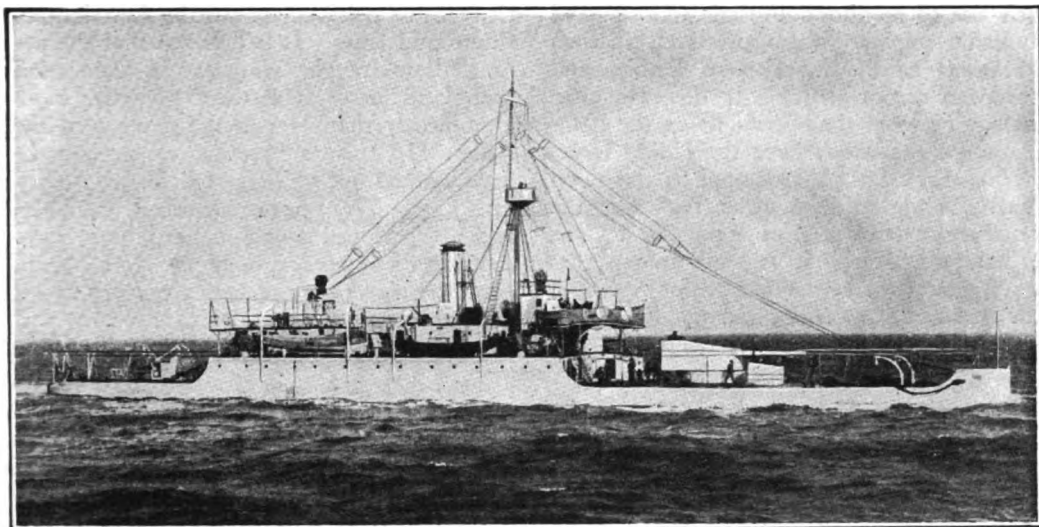
THE REVIVAL OF THE MONITOR

IT is an interesting fact in connection with the great war in Europe that many weapons and methods long since considered obsolete and discarded have reappeared in one form or another. This has been true at sea, as well as on land, and Americans will be interested to know that the monitor, which played so important a part and marked the turning point in naval construction in the Civil War, has again come into its own, and is an important factor in naval operations in Europe. In a recent issue of the *Engineer* (London), the history and development of this special form of war craft, and its application to modern conditions are comprehensively outlined.

Ericsson's *Monitor*, built in 1861, was succeeded by a number of ironclads more or less approximating this type in Europe. For

many years, American popular tradition rather clung to this idea, though with later developments it was discarded in favor of the battleship and the more speedy cruisers. From time to time, however, monitors were constructed, and the last of these ships in the American Navy were the group, subsequently named the *Ozark*, *Tallahassee*, *Tonopah* and *Cheyenne*, whose construction was authorized in the naval appropriation program of 1898. These were the last of the American coast-defense vessels of the monitor type, and their construction was by no means universally approved in naval circles.

In Europe, however, the present war has found opportunity for the employment of this type of vessel, and three monitors under construction for the Brazilian Government, and launched in 1913, were purchased by the



THE BRITISH MONITOR "MERSEY," PURCHASED FROM BRAZIL IN 1914

(Because of their light draught—less than nine feet—these monitors are able to navigate very shallow water)

British Admiralty in August, 1914. These were named the *Severn*, *Mersey* and *Hum-ber*, and were 265 feet in length, of 49 feet beam, and 8 feet 6 inches in depth, with a displacement of about 1250 tons. The designed speed was 11.5 knots, with a radius of 4000 nautical miles. The armament consisted of two 6-inch quick-firing guns mounted in one armored turret on the upper deck forward, and operated by electric machinery. On the upper deck aft were two 4.7-inch howitzers, while on the boat deck there were four 47 mm. quick-firing guns and six machine guns.

These monitors had a double-bottom construction and carried heavy armor, extending from the upper deck to well below the waterline. They were first used at the time of the German invasion of Belgium, where, going inshore, they were able to attack the advancing troops and interfere with the transport of material, requiring the Germans to bring up heavy artillery in order to keep them away from close proximity to the shore. The *Severn* and the *Mersey* in the following year unexpectedly appeared in the Rufiji estuary, East Africa, where they succeeded in totally destroying the German cruiser *Königsberg* by their gunfire.

With the development of the war larger monitors were constructed, especially for shallow-draught work, and a number of these, such as the *General Crauford*, *Lord Clive*, and others, have been mentioned in various dispatches dealing with naval operations. These have been referred to as fol-

lows: "According to published descriptions, these vessels are high-freeboard, sea-going vessels. Their beam is large and they are said to maneuver indifferently. It has been publicly stated that 15-inch guns, intended for the new *Royal Sovereign* class of dreadnoughts, were appropriated for arming these ships. The 14-inch guns, ordered in America for the Greek battle-cruiser *Wasilefs Giorgios* (ex-*Salamis*), building in Germany, were also purchased for these monitors."

In addition to vessels of the larger type, small monitors were constructed and have been present at almost every theater of naval operations. At Gallipoli, the monitors, which are practically immune from torpedo attack, were able to support the invading army after the appearance of German submarines had compelled the temporary withdrawal of the Allied squadron. Furthermore, they were able to maintain a steady bombardment of the Turkish position with their big guns, and thus to cover successfully the evacuation. On the coast of Flanders monitors have been used repeatedly and effectively against the German fortified positions, and have been the means of restricting the activity of the German bases at Ostend and Zeebrugge. In Mesopotamia small monitors were used on the Tigris, and rendered valuable assistance. At Gallipoli and off the Flanders coast, the fire of the monitors has been controlled by aerial units. This proved particularly effective in the bombardment of Ostend.

But the British have not been alone in

their use of monitors. Austria, Russia, and Rumania employed them effectively in such operations as the invasion of Serbia, and European critics are able to detect a close analogy between the operations on the Danube and those which gave the Union forces the mastery of the Mississippi in the Civil War. While opinions differ regarding the construction and use of monitors by the Allies, nevertheless, it is well known that heavy guns have been mounted on vessels of this type, and are taking part in the opera-

tions in the Adriatic against the Austrian positions and bases. It is believed that the use of shallow-draught gunboats in connection with land forces is destined to figure more prominently than ever in the strategy of the Allies. In this as in other respects, problems worked out or suggested in the American Civil War have furnished examples which, developed along modern lines, have proved distinctly valuable. Here again American experience of half a century ago is helpful to our Allies to-day.

DUTCH NEGOTIATIONS WITH GERMANY

ALL of the neutral nations are having their own troubles with Germany, as did we until an accumulation of injuries forced us into the ranks of the belligerents. In the monthly war chronicle of the Dutch magazine *Vragen de Tijds* (Haarlem) for July we note a significant account of the negotiations between Dutch shipowners and the German Government with reference to attacks by marauding U-boats on harmless and peaceable fishercraft. It is the stranger that such attacks should have been frequent since doubtless much of the sea-provender the latter secure goes to feed German mouths. The editorial writer says in the magazine cited:

We have referred previously to the almost entire cessation of the sea-fisheries trade and to the journey of a deputation from the Netherland Sea-fisheries Ship-owners to Berlin to lay a complaint in regard to the numerous torpedoings and destruction of fisher craft and the failure of Germany to live up to the agreement concluded last March. So long as the efforts of this deputation were without result, by far the greater portion of the trawlers remained at home; only a few fared forth, but at their own risk and without any responsibility on the part of the Mutual War Risk Company.

Since then the above-mentioned gentlemen have returned from Berlin. They have succeeded in concluding a new agreement with the German Government, whereby various grievances, though not all, have been cleared away. We select the following paragraphs from the detailed *communiqué* sent out to the press by the Assembly of Netherland Sea-fisheries Ship-owners:

"The agreement concluded in March concerning the quantity of imports and the prices is renewed, with certain modifications. A considerable enlargement has been secured of the area wherein fishing is permitted without danger of submarine attack. This, however, affects fishing craft alone, and not merchant ships. In spite of this conces-

sion herring fishery can be practised only partially, and that under very difficult conditions; the herring catch from which most profit is made falls always within the barred zone."

The possibility is advanced that the German Government will allow damages for the craft unjustly destroyed. All cases of this sort in which our Government desires to take action, both in past as well as future occurrences are to be submitted to a permanent arbitration commission, one member of which shall represent Germany, and one the Netherlands, with a third who shall be non-partisan. A promise has already been made that the arbiters shall take serious account of the probability that delimitations made in good faith upon the spot may be inaccurate? Does this mean that, when the limits defined by the skipper do not coincide with the delimitations endorsed by the submarine commander, the arbiters will bear in mind the small opportunity a submarine affords for correct reckoning?

The commission was not able to arrive at definite conclusions concerning the coal supply. The new agreement goes into effect on July 1, 1917. All the new provisions therein must be confirmed by England, but the representatives of the English Government now in this country have given it to be understood that they expect no difficulties to be raised on the part of England.

From later information it appears that England is in accord with the new rulings as regards fresh fish; negotiations are still in progress with regard to herring fishery; the desired outcome from these negotiations appears to be confidently expected, at any rate, in the last few days of the present month [doubtless June] a large number of steam trawlers and luggers have again set forth to fish.

Let us hope that the new agreement will offer fewer difficulties in practice than did that of last April, and that the safety of our fishermen is apparently better secured.

The latter portion of the article contains an account of the Falmouth matter with a cautiously worded expression of dissatisfaction in spite of the settlement of "economic damages."

SPAIN'S NEUTRAL ATTITUDE

AN attempt to offer certain suggestions as to what attitude Spain should maintain in the present war is made by Señor Juan V. Alonso, in *Nuestro Tiempo*. Although the writer proclaims himself to be rather pro-Ally than pro-German, it is easy to see that his sympathies, with France at least, are not very lively, and that he is held aloof from Germany rather because of his distrust of her disinterestedness than because of any strong antagonism to her methods or aims.

It is true that he finds in the famous phrase of the "yellow peril" a wilful denegation of the common right of all the races of mankind to realize their legitimate ambitions, and that he welcomes in this connection the participation of so many and diverse peoples in the Allies' cause. He is careful to state, however, that in this he does not blame the German people, but the German policy, more exactly the German Emperor himself.

As to the immediate interests and aspirations of Spain, Señor Alonso lays stress upon the fact that, owing to her closer geographical and commercial contact with the Allied powers, her interests have often clashed with those of one or the other of them, and her history records aggressions not easily forgotten. These should not, however, be allowed to create any bitterness in the present moment, and the only essential matters are those concerning the welfare of the country.

As to Gibraltar, the subject of so much agitation among Spaniards to-day, the writer's views are very reasonable and conservative. He recognizes that in many ways the present status of things is that least disadvantageous for Spain, since were it possible for her to regain Gibraltar, she would incur a responsibility too heavy for her to bear, and would only risk losing it again to some power more dangerous for her than England. The internationalization of the Strait he regards as a purely conventional subject of diplomacy. Each nation naturally wishes to have the way kept clear for its own ships and rendered difficult for enemy ships. Hence one and the same nation can be alternately favorable and unfavorable to a truly international agreement. Señor Alonso fears that if Spain had ever been able to establish a purely Spanish control, she would have found herself in the unenviable situation of Greece in the present conflict.



FEEDING THE FISHES

(Where neutrality sends Spanish provisions)
From *Esquella* (Barcelona)

As to France, however, the writer clearly enough shows that his views are more ambitious, although he is careful to express them with the requisite caution. He thinks that while it may be doubtful whether Spain should or should not protest against the division of Morocco, she cannot fail to fix her thoughts upon another, neighboring territory, which serves as a proof that she is still able to colonize successfully. He alludes to the Algerian department of Oran, the capital city of which, bearing the same name, has a population two-thirds the size of that of the city of Algiers itself. Of this region he writes as follows:

Need I say that it would be a consolation for many Spaniards to see our Spanish flag float anew over Oran, thus freeing so many families from the necessity of either renouncing their nationality, or living in a difficult situation, ever struggling with the fear that their sons may elect to become French, although the parents are not so? Can we be indifferent to this? Gibraltar is a piece of land, but the Province of Oran represents our blood and our race. We say nothing of the added embarrassments that the present state of war creates for the Spanish population.

Far above this is the fact that we are witnessing here a continuous dismemberment of Spain, because we have been either a part of our popu-



"WHICH SHALL I CHOOSE?"

SPAIN: "My suitors are all becoming so insistent that I shall soon have to make a decision."

From *Campana de Gracia* (Madrid)

lation that is ceasing to be Spanish, or else a Spanish province subjected to the rule of French authorities. This situation cannot be compared with that of our emigrants to South America.

A PROPOSED ALLIANCE BETWEEN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

IN a recent number of the *Nuestro Tiempo* of Madrid, Eloy Luis André makes the suggestion that Spain and Portugal might serve their mutual interests by becoming allies, declaring that the antagonistic sentiments which seemingly separate the two nations have been encouraged by France and England for purposes of their own, and that the only way to allay them is by loosening the bonds which so closely unite Portugal to the imperialistic policy of England, at the same time freeing her from "the powerful influence exerted by the zealous disciples of Voltaire and of Auguste Comte."

Mr. André believes that the most important result of such a union would be a definite solution of the various problems concerning the African colonies on the one hand and South American relations on the other.

It is indisputable that the Spanish and the Portuguese are the sole legitimate heritors of the Roman and Latin mind to which they are assimilated, without, however, ceasing to be Celtiberians; this precious patrimony can be preserved only by a solid alliance.

It is an oft-repeated remark that the smallest European nations tend to gravitate toward the largest. By reason of this Spain can revindicate her individuality and independence if she ceases to be under the domination of French bankers and British negotiators.

Those who go thither, to their own greater or lesser personal advantage, are fulfilling the mission of keeping alive the Spanish character in these sister nations, in which it is important to counterbalance the antagonistic efforts of non-Spanish immigrants. In Oran this might be, and perhaps ought to be the case, but it is not so. Moreover, we must bear in mind that our interests require that the portion of the African coast facing the Peninsula, even though it may not be autonomous, shall at least not directly depend upon any other European power.

In conclusion, while submitting this problem to his readers, Señor Alonso expresses the hope that Spain will always observe an attitude of just consideration toward her neighbors, with whom she has had conflicts in the past, but with whom she is now essentially in agreement, and who are now subjected to such hard trials. Two merchants may be active commercial rivals, but when one of them sees the other's house on fire or invaded by burglars he can hardly applaud.

Verily, if a nation of nearly twenty-five million souls is not in the first rank among European nations it is because she lacks the will to be. We believe that the disasters of the present war will bring Portugal to a comprehension of the necessity of a fraternal union with Spain.

Their interests in North Africa are common and demand unity of action. The control of the Strait of Gibraltar is much more important for Spain and Portugal than for all the other countries. Not only is this passage primordial in itself, but also, it may be called the national route to that America of the South which was founded by us.

An intelligent foreign policy, capable of assuring the control of this route would maintain the connection between the Iberian civilizations of Europe and of America. The three great republics reunited in the A B C alliance show us the political unity of action of the Argentine, Brazil, and Chili, and may serve us as a model.

As there can be no question of aggression or coveted conquest between Spain and Portugal they could truly realize an ideal *entente* and propagate their culture throughout the New World; this would not be confined to moral and intellectual ties, but would comprise useful economic reforms.

The greatest obstacle to this expansion of Spanish influence resides in the resistance of the United States to the admission of our emigrants as simple citizens [certainly an unfounded assumption]; so long as the European emigrant continues to be held aloof from the native, Spanish civilization will have trouble in propagating itself, and yet it is to this civilization that all the South American countries owe their existence, their qualities and their defects.

SOCIALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

A KEEN analysis of the socialistic ideal of internationalism from the pen of John Spargo, who has recently left the ranks of the American Socialist party because of its attitude on the war, appears in the September *Atlantic*.

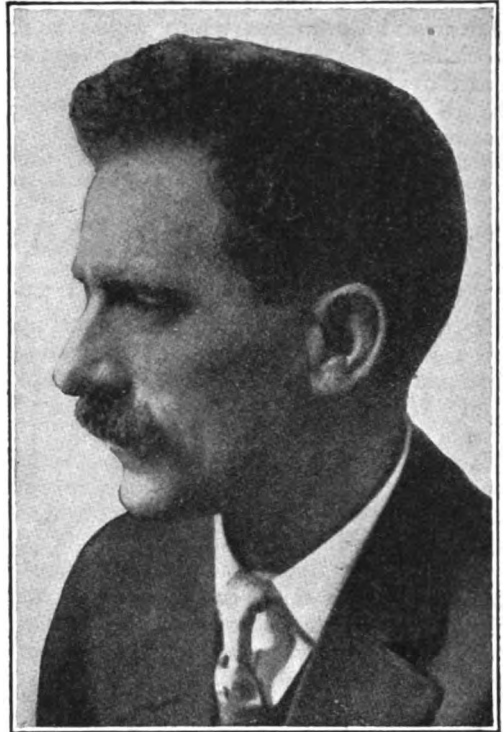
Citing the classic socialistic authorities, Mr. Spargo maintains that internationalism, so far from being a synonym for a hatred of nationalism, as some latter-day Socialists had implied, itself presupposes nationalism. "It is the interrelation of independent nations, their union by fraternal ties. The life of independent nations is a precious thing to be preserved. Just as the individuality of the separate human beings comprising society must be preserved if we are to have a great and a worthy social state, so the life of individual nations must be preserved if we are to have a great and worthy internationalism." One of the clearest socialist thinkers, Georges Renard, is quoted as saying:

The end which Socialists are seeking to attain is not the disappearance of national unities; it is the grouping of nations in great peaceful federations, which shall gradually draw closer so as to embrace the whole civilized world; it is the gradual elaboration of international laws which shall organize humanity, as state laws have organized nations. But that great structure which we wish to build—vast enough to contain the whole human race—will have nations as its pillars; it will rest on their strong foundations, which have been cemented by the labors of ages, and whose destruction would bring about its own ruin.

This conception of internationalism is regarded by Mr. Spargo as fundamental to socialism, not to be abandoned without sacrificing the very soul of socialism. The socialism of Marx, says Mr. Spargo, "must rest upon the ever-growing union of free and fraternal nations, not upon the suppression or 'benevolent assimilation' of small nations by larger ones."

According to the principles which we have outlined, the invasion of Belgium was an assault upon the foundations of internationalism. No Socialists could support their government in its attack upon the integrity and independence of a friendly neighbor state without being disloyal to proletarian internationalism. And the Belgian worker, fighting to defend his fatherland and to repel the invader, was fighting the cause of internationalism. In truth the cause of his fatherland and that of internationalism were one and indivisible.

Oct.—7



Photograph by Paul Thompson

JOHN SPARGO, A SOCIALIST WHO UPHOLDS NATIONALISM

According to Mr. Spargo, there is a patriotism that is coincident with the highest internationalism, that "leads away from imperialism and war to fraternalism and peace."

Alone among the important socialist groups of the world, the Socialist party of America has adopted a position at variance with the historic Socialist attitude. Following the declaration by Congress that a state of war existed between the United States and Germany, the Socialist Party at an emergency convention attended by some 200 delegates adopted a resolution stigmatizing our declaration of war as "a crime against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world." "In all modern history," runs the resolution, "there has been no war more unjustifiable than the war in which we are about to engage." It called upon the organizations of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars and declared that the only struggle which would justify the organization in taking up arms, is the struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from econ-

omic exploitation and political oppression. This resolution, remarks Mr. Spargo, is the antithesis of historic socialism, and as a statement of principles which would guide Socialists it "is remarkable for its abandonment of the principles of internationalism which from the days of Marx have guided the movement."

It places the Socialists who accept it in direct opposition to all uprisings and wars for national independence. According to this declaration of principles, no people can be justified in arming itself to repel invasion by barbarian hordes. Such a doctrine is subversive of civilization and morality, and no movement based upon it can ever gain the support of the best elements of mankind.

VARIOUS BRANDS OF WAR BREAD

THE modern world has recently been made to realize afresh—with something of a jolt—how truly bread is the staff of life, and the importance of wheat in its making. Hence there are widespread experiments with the object of lengthening the aforesaid staff by mingling various other food substances with wheat flour to produce more or less palatable forms of what is generally known as "war-bread."

The usual admixtures are flour or meal made from the other cereals, barley, oats, rye, corn, rice, etc. But various other things have been employed, including flour made from potatoes, chestnuts, and bananas, or other starchy vegetables or fruits. Even sawdust, made from the young sap-filled twigs and bark, has been successfully used in Germany, we are told. The *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne) discusses the subject as follows:

It is manifest that little is gained by putting bran in bread. Man is not constructed to digest cellulose, of which bran is principally composed. The *bacillus amylobacter* is not sufficiently abundant in his large intestine. It is this which enables the herbivora to transform into an alimentary sugar the cellulose of grass and hay, fodder, bran, etc., and even of wood. The well-known chemist, Mr. E. Gavtrelet, of Vichy, in his excellent little book, "*Expertise Alimentaire Rapide*," recounts that during the disastrous drought of 1911, when the lack of forage made such ravages among the live stock of central France, a farmer of his acquaintance saved all his stock by feeding them entirely on sawdust sprinkled with salt. It is told that in various famines in Europe, India, and the Far East, the populace has been nourished for long periods on the bark of trees, as are many animals during the winter. . . . A German is said to have patented a process for making savory, nutritious, and digestible bread composed of from 70 to 80 per cent. of wheat flour, with the addition of from 20 to 30 per cent. of sawdust flour. . . .

In France the effort has been rather to make use of various substances of known alimentary value. The potato and the chestnut have been rejected for this purpose, according to a report

made to the Academy of Sciences by Mr. Balland, the well-known specialist, because "all the tests since the time of Parmentier (the real inventor of K and KK bread) have proved that they are not suitable and that it is preferable to consume them in the natural form or in thick soups."

The experiments made in the laboratory of the *Invalides* have consisted in adding various other flours to wheat flour. Barley flour gave good results in proportions of 5 to 30 per cent. Up to 10 per cent. the flavor of the barley could not be detected, and the bread remained fresh a long time. With maize flour the bread had a yellow color and the taste was apparent with a 10 per cent. admixture. With 15 to 20 per cent. it required more careful working and the crumb was harder. Rice flour gave satisfactory results up to 15 per cent.; beyond that it was harder to work, the bread was less developed, the crumb was more compact and crumbled more readily. Tapioca flour (manioc) was found preferable to rice; it worked better, and the taste of the bread was not modified.

Interesting experiments were also made with peanut flour made from the residue left after extracting the oil.

This flour had undergone a slight toasting. With 10 per cent., the bread acquired a slight flavor of rye; 15 per cent. gave it a dark color and made the crumb hard. Other breads were made with 15 per cent. of barley and maize, barley and rice, or barley and peanut flour. These were very acceptable, the barley softening the flavor of the maize and the peanut flour.

In general, all these flours can be used in proportions of 10 to 15 per cent. Working is facilitated by making use of fresh yeasts obtained with fine wheat flour. These mixed breads were found to have good keeping qualities. The peanut flour is extraordinarily rich in nitrogenous matter, but poorer in starchy substances.

Similar experiments may be recommended to American bakers and housewives. Bakers, however, should be required to state materials and percentages, that there may be no adulteration.

DRUG ADDICTION AND THE HARRISON LAW

THAT the federal Harrison Law, regulating the sale of narcotic drugs, is seriously defective is the charge made by Mr. Charles B. Towns in the *Maryland Medical Journal*. Mr. Towns has been a close student of the subject of drug addiction for many years and he was the author of the Boylan Law, of New York State, from which several desirable features of the Harrison Law were borrowed. He states that the Boylan Law, as originally drafted, was a nearly perfect solution of the drug problem, but the value of the law was greatly impaired by the amendments introduced in order to secure its passage. In spite of well-intentioned legislation, he says,

the great drug-mill grinds ceaselessly on, remorselessly taking its toll in ever and ever greater numbers of men and women, young and old, whose fate is an indictment against the society that permits it. There are two things we can do now. One of these is to restrict the medical practitioner in prescribing and administering these drugs. The other is to impose the heaviest penalty possible upon the illicit drug traffic.

The framers of the present federal law, in the laudable desire to avoid inflicting unreasonable hardships upon confirmed drug-users, have opened the door to such grave abuses as seem to render the law almost nugatory.

Confirmed drug-takers have been put in the same class with all other drug-takers, with no attempt whatever at classification. The ruling of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has necessarily made it possible for the physician to use his discretion in prescribing for such patients. A drug-taker—or anyone purporting to be a drug-taker—can at the present time have just as many physicians prescribing a narcotic for him as he sees fit to have; and he may demand just as much of the drug as he chooses to take. The doctor does not now have to find out whether or not the patient is a confirmed drug-taker; he can take the man's word for it, and prescribe just what the patient asks for.

Thus, by making the rounds of the doctors and securing prescriptions for liberal allowances of drugs covering periods of time to which there is no legal limit, a few addicts, or pretended addicts, could, says the author, almost corner the habit-forming drug market and acquire a stock in trade to embark in the business. One glaring defect of

the law is its failure to provide any adequate check on the ready prescription-writer:

Nor is there any provision in the Harrison Narcotic Law for uniform prescription blanks, which means that the patients submitting prescriptions for these drugs can forge or rewrite the prescriptions without check. As there is at this time no law requiring the record or registering of physicians legally eligible to write prescriptions for habit-forming drugs, there is, outside of New York State, no verification of the prescriptions written for such drugs. Under the present law the doctor in New York State may prescribe any quantity of an opiate or any other habit-forming drug to someone he has never seen on a simple statement in writing from the individual that he is a drug-taker and on his unverified answers to such questions as the physician may require. Venders of so-called "home treatments" are also permitted to sell a drug in any form or any quantity they may please. So a regular "correspondence course" business in vending habit-forming drugs has grown up and venders of so-called "home treatments" are permitted to go just as far as they like.

Two conspicuous defects in the Harrison Law are, according to Mr. Towns, that (1) it fails to enforce any accounting for the sale and use of drugs, and (2) it fails to provide for the medical treatment of those afflicted with the drug habit. Neither, says this writer, does it interfere with the manufacture, sale, and use of many patent and proprietary medicines which are largely responsible for starting people on the path of drug addiction.

Case after case could be cited where the taking of opiates began with the taking of proprietary medicines, sold freely under the present law over the counters of drug stores without a physician's prescription. The patient went to a druggist and got something for diarrhea, headache, neuralgia, insomnia, a troublesome cough, or rheumatic or gout troubles. The "something" that he got contained just enough of a narcotic to relieve the pain, and so the man or woman came back regularly for more. Thus the habit was established; for the findings of my work have conclusively shown that the drug habit is fixed, not by the quantity of the drug taken, but by the regularity with which a quantity, however small, is taken for a period long enough to establish tolerance and fix the "habit."

The spread of the cocaine habit was originally due to so-called "catarrh cures," containing only from 5 to 10 per cent. solutions of the drug, and heroin was first put on the market as an ingredient, in small quantities, of cough mixtures. The well-

nigh universal use of these patent "remedies" for colds helped to introduce cocaine to a larger public.

As a simple cure for the evils resulting from the use of the many alkaloids of opium, the author suggests the drastic plan of forbidding the sale of all of them, allowing opium to be sold only in the form of the crude drug and as laudanum and paregoric. He declares that these would serve all the purposes for which opiates are now administered, though elsewhere in his article he seems to approve the use of morphine under proper restrictions, while calling attention

to the present gross abuse of hypodermics. He emphasizes the importance of holding the physician to a strict accounting for all habit-forming drugs he may prescribe or administer, and as a further means of keeping their use under strict supervision he suggests that the traffic in such drugs might be made a Government monopoly.

Lastly, Congress should authorize the President to appoint a commission of able men charged with the task of examining all phases of this great problem and eventually outlining appropriate federal and State legislation.

LATIN AS AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

THE project of reviving the use of Latin as an international language, especially in scientific literature and intercourse, is now attracting a good deal of attention in Europe, particularly in Great Britain and Italy. In the latter country this idea has long had many warm advocates. It was put forth somewhat prominently in the year 1892 by Prof. Giuseppe Tuccimei, and especially, in 1894, by Prof. Guido Bacelli, in his presidential address at the Eleventh International Congress of Medicine, held in Rome.

On the occasion of Bacelli's recent death his advocacy of the project in question was recalled to the minds of British men of science by Sir Lauder Brunton, who wrote a letter to *Nature* in which he urged that this plan be given careful consideration on the part of British educators—just then involved in a somewhat acrimonious discussion concerning the respective merits of the classics and the sciences in modern curricula. The writer pointed out that most of the objections raised to the amount of attention now paid to Latin in the schools would disappear if this subject were taught as a living instead of as a dead language, and if Latin could be utilized in international intercourse, commercial as well as scientific. Several communications on this subject have appeared in subsequent numbers of *Nature*, and the consensus of opinion appears to be strongly in favor of the proposal.

Apparently the suggestion was made at a propitious moment. The headmaster of the Perse School, Cambridge, wrote that the boys under his charge had always been taught

to speak Latin, and that by making it a living language, taught the same as French and German, he was able to turn out proficient Latin scholars in one-fifth the usual time. Another correspondent, Mr. W. A. Caspari, made a strong plea in behalf of using Latin in preference to "an international Pidgin, like Volapük, Esperanto, Ido, etc." His letter sums up the advantages of Latin by citing the following facts:

(1) That Latin is to a large extent "on the spot"; (2) that it lends itself quite as well to the purpose in question as any living tongue; and (3) that it is a *language*, a vehicle of thought and style and expression, as distinct from a shorthand written in longhand characters.

Do not let us be influenced by the notion that Latin is a stone-dead language. Written and spoken it survives to this day in the Roman Catholic world. Pharmacy has never given up the use of it. Within living memory the debates of the Hungarian Diet were held in Latin, and, in many Continental universities dissertations, scientific and other, were couched in Latin, the use of which remains optional even at the present time.

He might have added that botanical and zoölogical nomenclature is still wholly Latin, and that the discoverer of a new species is still expected to furnish the learned world with a Latin description of it. In short, Latin is *already* the international language of science, so far as any such language exists.

In Rome the Latin League, recently formed, is waging an active propaganda in behalf of international Latin. In Milan the Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, at its session of July 21, 1917, after listening to a communication on this subject

from Prof. Carlo Pascal, adopted a unanimous resolution in behalf of the idea, and authorized the president to announce this action to the Italian Government and to the learned societies of Italy and foreign countries.

Perhaps the most comprehensive recent exposition of the subject is given by Prof. Ignazio Galli in the *Atti* of the Pontificia Accademia Romana dei Nuovi Lincei (Rome). Professor Galli is one of the most versatile of Italy's older scientific men, and his interest in the question of an international language is characteristic.

This writer reviews the familiar arguments in favor of the adoption of an auxiliary language for international use, and also the requirements which such a language should fulfil, as set forth by the Delegation for the Adoption of an International Auxiliary Language, founded in connection with the last Paris Exposition. One of these requirements is that the language shall be simple and easily learned. Unfortunately, says

Professor Galli, the artificial languages, such as Volapük, Esperanto, Ido, and Simplo, go so far in the direction of simplicity that they do violence to the laws of thinking; it is impossible to cast our thoughts in such simple molds. Moreover, none of them really attain independence of the idiomatic characteristics of the several national languages on which they were founded, so that for a large part of humanity each of them presents serious difficulties.

The best proof of the suitability of Latin for international use is found in the history of the language itself. For centuries after it ceased to be a national language, and down to a comparatively recent time, it served as the usual means of intercourse among scholars of all countries, and its literature embraces nearly the whole range of science, philosophy, and jurisprudence.

Professor Galli mentions the fact that the journal in which his article appears continues to publish occasional scientific papers in Latin down to the present day.

A FRENCH TEACHER'S VIEW OF THE STUDY OF THE CLASSICS

COINCIDENT with the discussion on this side apropos of the place of the classics in education, *La Revue* (Paris) publishes an article by Louise Cruppi on reform in the secondary schools for girls.

Mlle. Cruppi makes a plea for the organization of more varied practical and scientific courses in the lycées of France. She reviews the history of the education of women during the last forty years and describes in clever detail the innovations made in 1880 when four sessions of the Senate and Chamber were occupied with the subject in debates from advocates of every conceivable theory and shade of opinion on the education of women. The extension of the country's educational facilities to women was at that time an almost startling innovation. But the writer wishes to remind the present authorities that the evolution of women has been so rapid that there are now, in view of present conditions, almost as startling defects. After an exposition of certain flaws in the structure so proudly and so bravely reared by the legislators of 1880, she urges forcibly that such reforms may be introduced as will secure to the women of the country every opportunity

for efficient training for whatever walk in life.

What might be of interest to the pedagogues in this country who have been engaged in the impassioned classics-or-no-classics debates, is her warning against the intrusion of the classics into all the courses of all the schools for girls, especially the lycées. She would not have the study of the classics given up entirely, but she suggests that the essence of such training is abstract, "it moves in a different circle from the world of labor." She would like to see an arrangement instead of a system in the lycées whereby the individual could be fitted for life according to her most urgent demands. To this end she argues: "Aside from the schools which fit women to be privates in the industrial army, we must have schools to train those who are capable, to be officers. There must be not only agricultural workers, but scientific agriculturalists; there must be architects, scientists, entrepreneurs, captains of industry, etc. And classical education will see a great reform and will be followed only by those whose special talents will have led them to it."

NEW PAGES FROM TOLSTOI

THE posthumous novel by Tolstoi, "Hadji-Mourad," contained a few pages descriptive of the character and career of Nicholas I when written. These were excised before his death by the master, on the ground that Nicholas was not one of the important characters in the book, but appeared merely episodically. Their recent publication in Russia has roused interest, and *La Revue* (Paris) presents them in a French translation in the August number. We find the most interesting feature of this striking study of an autocrat the great Russian's philosophic remarks upon the nature of autocracy. After giving a revolting picture of the crimes, the follies, and the personal villainess of Nicholas and his predecessors, he observes that all of them were not only shameless, but, with swollen pride and egotism, considered themselves benefactors instead of persecutors of their people. He continues:

There is but one explanation of this extraordinary phenomenon. What is great in the eyes of men is vileness in the sight of God. It is not by chance that the men who hold supreme power are the worst in the world; it is an eternal law, and indisputable, that he who occupies the summit of human grandeur should be a man profoundly depraved. And it cannot be otherwise.

When a soldier in the ranks is made to strike another soldier who is forced to run the gamut between the lines his culpability is almost nil. If he refuses to strike he will himself be punished. This is why the moral responsibility of the soldier who strikes his comrade does not exist, so to speak. The officer who shares in the same task is at once more responsible. It is true that if he refuses to take part in this cruelty he will lose his privileged and relatively honorable position, but he will not be subject to physical violence and he will be able to find a means of existence outside the army. * * * Hence by taking such part he shows a degree of moral depravity.

The more highly placed the superior, the safer his situation, the easier it is for him to make another career for himself, if he refuses to participate in the torture of a man, the greater his moral responsibility if he does this, and the greater the depravity of his mind and heart. But if the man is an emperor, who would lose naught in renouncing a wicked and cruel piece of work, and has naught to gain, yet who permits, prescribes, exacts, cruel actions like Nicholas, ordering the execution of students and of thousands of others, then this man must have reason and heart completely depraved. This is true of all potentates, and the more autocratic they are, the truer it is; and this was so in the highest degree of Nicholas *Palkine*, as he has been surnamed (from the Russian word *palka*, a club).

After giving a description of the personality of Nicholas in his youth, and of his

training, Tolstoi is moved to further thought upon the circumstances that mold character.

Man cannot live in discord with the law of life except by hiding his departure from that law by a lie. But in hiding by a lie his departure from the law he departs therefrom still further and has need of a still bigger and thicker lie to conceal his sin. It is well when this lie is recognized only by those who have need of it and not by the *entourage*. He who recognizes such a lie, who has need of it, ceases to believe in it and seeks to destroy his departure from the law of life which this lie covers. But there are cases in which the lie is not only recognized but aggravated by the whole *entourage*. Then the lie, giving birth to the departure from the law, grows like a ball of snow, attains fantastic dimensions, forcing the man who is burdened by it to depart more and more from the law of verity and bringing him to a state of complete madness and profound moral suffering.

Such was the life of Nicholas I. after a reign of twenty-seven years. In spite of all his external grandeur, which at that time had not its equal in Europe, he was now profoundly, irremediably isolated and unhappy. All his life since his coming to the throne had been a continuous departure from the law of life and therefore a continuous lie.

His reign had begun by a lie. Playing his part he told every one, on every occasion, propitious or not, that he did not know that Alexander had named him his heir, and that he did not desire the throne. That was a lie. Loving power, limited, ignorant, coarse, and that is why he was a soldier full of assurance, he could not help desiring power; he was interested only in power and desired but one thing, to augment it. His oath to Constantine, which he and his sycophants later represented as a heroic act of sacrifice, was provoked by fear. * * * But the obvious lie he told when he said he was burdened with power became a truth which cruelly punished him. After twenty-seven years of his horrible reign the burden of power which he deplored in words when he really desired it with all the strength of his soul, became in very deed a terrible burden, which stifled him. He could not recognize as evil the road he had followed for twenty-seven years. But in continuing to follow it he found himself more and more unhappy and he had no consolation.

The extract closes with words which sound prophetically significant:

Power? In Russia it was omnipotent but he had become so habituated to it that he no longer took any satisfaction in it. Besides, the principle of power, power in Europe, was irremediably shaken: the revolution of '48, the election of Napoleon III. by universal suffrage, the Constitution which his brother-in-law, the King of Prussia, had consented to give his people; power, the only thing which sustained him and placed him above the moral sense—that power had, in principle, already begun to totter to its fall.

THE NEW BOOKS

BIOGRAPHY AND RECOLLECTIONS

A Son of the Middle Border. By Hamlin Garland. Macmillan. 467 pp. \$1.60.

Mr. Garland long since won an honorable place among our men of letters and his autobiography is sure to be widely read for its own sake by those who have followed his writings. "A Son of the Middle Border," however, is much more than a book of personal memoirs; it is the story of a pioneer family that epitomizes most graphically the life of the advancing frontier in the generation immediately following the Civil War. Those who lived in rural Wisconsin, Iowa, and the Dakotas during those days will remark the striking fidelity of the picture. There were so many Garland families in the border movement of the '60's, '70's, and '80's of the last century! The courage and the vision of those simple, sturdy pioneers created the bone and sinew of the Middle West—the core of the nation as it is to-day.

James Monroe Buckley. By George Preston Mains. The Methodist Book Concern. 305 pp. \$1.50.

By common consent, Dr. J. M. Buckley, for more than thirty years editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, has been and still is the accepted spokesman and leader of American Methodism. This fact alone might entitle him to the somewhat unusual honor of a biography published during his lifetime; but Dr. Buckley's personality is so compelling, his versatility in thought and expression so remarkable, and his proved ability in diverse fields of activity so well known, that thousands within and without the great Methodist fold will welcome the book that his colleague, Dr. Mains, has felt impelled to write. The work is naturally eulogistic, but the author does not permit himself to abandon the judicial attitude. He treats his subject in separate chapters as editor, debater and parliamentarian, traveler, and author. Not the least interesting part of the record is the story of Dr. Buckley's triumph over physical handicaps that would have discouraged an ordinary man.

Franklin Spencer Spalding. By John Howard Melish. Macmillan. 297 pp. \$2.25.

The life and letters of the manly, outspoken preacher and missionary bishop, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who in recent years became a convert to Socialism. Bishop Spalding was killed by an automobile three years ago in the streets of Salt Lake City.

William II. By S. C. Hammer. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 272 pp. \$1.50.

In the quarter-century preceding the Great War an extensive literature had grown up

around the German Kaiser's personality. A large proportion of this material was frankly laudation, with no pretensions to historical value. Since the outbreak of the war the pendulum has swung the other way—in France and England, at least. The present volume is an English attempt at a calm, clear-cut analysis of the imperial psychology as disclosed by numerous speeches and contemporary German writings. The author admits, however, that the speeches—about one thousand in all—have helped very little. William II is to-day, as he was to Bismarck in 1888, "the Problem," still unsolved.

The Journal of Leo Tolstoi. Translated from the Russian by Rose Strunsky. Alfred A. Knopf. 427 pp. \$2.

Many Americans have derived practically all they know about Russian life and the spirit of the Russian people from the writings of Tolstoi. In the journal of the greatest Russian author, kept during the years 1895-99, now published in English for the first time, there is a still more complete revelation of the Russian soul. Besides an introduction by the translator, Rose Strunsky, the volume contains many explanatory notes by V. G. Chertkov, the editor of the original Russian edition, a short sketch of the life of Tolstoi at the period covered by the journal, and a list of his writings during the same period.

Life of Lyof N. Tolstoi. By N. H. Dole. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 467 pp. \$1.

Count Ilya Tolstoi has strongly commended this biography of his father, which first appeared in 1911. He says: "In reading it I have been amazed at the extent of the author's information, and especially pleased with his skilful selection of material."

Jean Jaurès, Socialist and Humanitarian. By Margaret Pease. B. W. Huebsch. 157 pp. \$1.

"The greatest democratic personal force in Europe—even in the world" is Ramsay MacDonald's characterization of Jean Jaurès, the French Socialist leader who was shot down by an assassin on the very eve of the Great War. In this little book Mrs. Pease summarizes tersely the big facts in his career and explains his advocacy of particular causes. There is an interesting chapter on Jaurès and the Dreyfus Case."

Lady Login's Recollections. Court Life and Camp Life: 1820-1904. By E. Dalhousie Login. Dutton. 345 pp. \$4.

The greater part of the nineteenth century is covered by this volume of personal recollections from the pen of one of the faithful subjects and friends of Queen Victoria.

The Life of Robert Hare. By Edgar Fahe Smith. Lippincott. 508 pp. \$5.

This volume contains the life story of one of America's pioneer chemists, who was born in the last year of the Revolution and died three years before the beginning of the Civil War. He was identified with the University of Pennsylvania and to Provost Smith, of that institution, himself a chemist of distinction, the preparation of this biography has evidently been a labor of love.

Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe. By Sir Edward Thorpe. Longmans Green & Co. 207 pp. \$2.50.
At the close of Robert Hare's long scientific

career at Philadelphia, Sir Henry E. Roscoe was just entering on a still longer one at Owens College, Manchester. He lived to become one of the greatest chemists of our time and died on December 18, 1915. This biographical sketch is the offering of a co-worker and lifelong friend.

Some Personal Recollections of Dr. Janeway. By James Bayard Clark. Putnam's. 33 pp. \$1.

The tribute of a personal and professional associate to the eminent New York physician, Dr. E. G. Janeway, who had the reputation of being the best diagnostician in the world. He died in 1911.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC WORKS

Sociology. By John M. Gillette. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 159 pp. 50 cents.

In this department we have already had occasion to refer to the excellent "National Social Science Series" edited by President McVey, of the University of North Dakota. Prof. John M. Gillette, of the same university, gives a bird's-eye view of the science of sociology in 150 small pages—an effort in condensation, the like of which was probably never before attempted in this field of knowledge. Two classes of readers should derive benefit from this book—those who have not time for exhaustive reading and can use only a primer of the science and those who expect to continue their studies in college and require such a book as this merely as an introduction.

Social Environment. By George R. Davies. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 149 pp. 50 cents.

Another member of the North Dakota University faculty contributes this brief exposition of environment as a sociological factor. The author prefers to consider the nature of society as a "spiritual rather than a biological reality," taking the term spiritual as used in this connection to refer to the intellectual, artistic, and moral achievements of civilization. By emphasizing these elements Dr. Davies dignifies the personality of the individual.

The Psychology of Citizenship. By Arland D. Weeks. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 152 pp. 50 cents.

In this little volume the mental traits affecting the quality of citizenship are dealt with. The author makes a strong appeal for more effective publicity in matters of government—local, State, and national.

An Introduction to Social Psychology. By Charles A. Ellwood. D. Appleton & Co. 343 pp. \$2.

The subject matter of this book might be designated as psycho-sociology or psychological sociology equally as well as by the term employed in the title itself—"Social Psychology." All three terms are virtually interchangeable. The field, as the reader will quickly have discovered, is theo-

retical sociology and the importance of this aspect of the science cannot be ignored, since the solution of all social problems, as the author points out, must start with the control of the psychic elements involved. In the main, this volume is a simplified restatement of the theories presented in the author's earlier work, "Sociology and Its Psychological Aspects."

Education and Living. By Randolph Bourne. Century. 236 pp. \$1.25.

A series of essays on the tendencies of American school and college education. The Gary schools and the Flexner experiment in modern education under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation, are among the timely topics treated in these essays.

Criminal Sociology. By Enrico Ferri. Little, Brown. 577 pp. \$5.

An American edition of the standard treatise by the well-known Italian criminologist, Enrico Ferri. As a pupil of Lombroso, Ferri has long been conspicuous as a defender of the Italian school of criminology, but, as Professor Ellwood points out, his sociology is that of Herbert Spencer and Karl Marx, modified in some slight degree by the biological doctrines of Darwin—that is to say, Ferri is a materialist and rejects the doctrine of free will.

Social Diagnosis. By Mary E. Richmond. Russell Sage Foundation. 511 pp. \$2.

This volume is the outcome of fifteen years of practical experience in social work. It is illuminating as showing how the questions that make up schedules of inquiry used by charitable organizations are made to serve a practical purpose in listing pertinent social facts. The book is full of suggestions that would prove invaluable to social workers beginning inquiries of this nature.

A Seasonal Industry: A Study of the Millinery Trade in New York. By Mary Van Kleeck. Russell Sage Foundation. 276 pp. \$1.50.

This book is noteworthy for the amount of up-to-date information it contains regarding an industry of which comparatively little is known

outside the ranks of the workers employed in it. It sets forth the essential facts regarding the working conditions and the environment of the workers.

The Problem of the Unemployed. By Rev. W. S. Williams, M.D. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 106 pp. \$1.

The author of this essay, who is both a clergyman and a physician, goes into the causes of unemployment, its dangers, and the proposed remedies, with special application to conditions in the United States.

The City Worker's World in America. By Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch. Macmillan. 235 pp. \$1.25.

A study of the life of the industrial family in the American city, by the director of Greenwich House, New York. There are chapters on dwellings, standards of living, education, leisure, health, poverty, politics, and religion.

Crimes of Charity. By Konrad Bercovici. Alfred A. Knopf. 270 pp. \$1.50.

An attempt to show from a relation of episodes in real life the blighting effect of the methods employed by organized charity.

Jewish Philanthropy. By Boris D. Bogen. Macmillan, 391 pp. \$2.

A statement of the principles and methods of Jewish social service as evolved during the past two decades in the United States. Incidentally to its main purpose, the book contains a great mass of information regarding various Jewish philanthropies, although no attempt is made to present statistical matter in a formal way.

Workmen's Compensation. By J. E. Rhodes. Macmillan. 287 pp. \$1.50.

One may learn from this book the principles on which workmen's compensation in this country is based, and at the same time may inform himself on the methods adopted by the various States for putting this economic reform into effect. Within less than a decade compensation laws have become operative in several of the most populous States of the Union, and most of these have stood the test of constitutionality as applied by the various State courts. These laws differ from one another in minor features and the present volume does a useful service in pointing out the precise discriminations that are made by these several statutes. This is done, in the main, in a non-technical fashion, so that the average reader, as well as the insurance official or State Labor Commissioner, may profit from the presentation. The author is a claim examiner in the compensation and liability department of a large insurance company.

Cyclopedia of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals. By Deets Pickett, Clarence True Wilson, Ernest Daily Smith. The Methodist Book Concern. 406 pp. 50 cents.

In this compact volume we have a well-digested statement of all the important facts relating to the anti-liquor movement in this country. The in-

formation is brought well up-to-date and is presented in convenient form for quick reference.

Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic. By Lamar T. Beman. The H. W. Wilson Company. 237 pp. \$1.25.

Following the method employed throughout the "Debater's Handbook Series," the compiler of this volume has endeavored to select the best of what has been written on each side of the prohibition question, and much of the material thus selected is of very recent origin. It sums up very effectively the spirit of the debate that has been in progress in this country within recent years and especially since the beginning of the Great War. Perhaps we do not generally realize in this country that since that date sixteen States have adopted prohibition as a State-wide measure, while others have considered and rejected it. The voters of several more States will have to decide the question within the next two or three years.

Are We Capable of Self-Government? By Frank W. Noxon. Introduction by Harry A. Wheeler. Harper & Brothers. 322 pp. \$1.50.

A survey, from the business man's standpoint, of national problems and policies affecting business, as developed in the United States since the beginning of the twentieth century. While the title of the book might indicate a pessimistic tendency, the author really shows that our form of government is favorable to the growth of those factors which may by proper coöperation produce the best results in both business and political life. In his chapters on recent achievements he comments most favorably on bank legislation and the Federal Reserve Board which he terms the balance wheel for regulation. The advance of freight rates is hailed as a new era in railway legislation.

Civilized Commercialism. By Ernest G. Stevens. Dutton. 252 pp. \$1.25.

In this volume the author presents his theory of the application of democracy to business. He discusses "Monopoly and Past Civilizations," "Barbaric Commercialism: Its Baneful Soil and Fatal Seed," "Barbaric Commercialism and Hard Times," "Business Is Justice and Justice Is Business," "Civilized Commercialism: Its Constitutionality." The author proposes to eliminate cut-throat competition and yet to promote the fullest useful growth and activity of business corporations of any size.

Unfair Competition. By W. H. S. Stevens. The University of Chicago Press. 265 pp. \$1.50.

In this discussion of modern business practices with special reference to the trust problem, the author makes a sharp discrimination between the kind of competition that he regards as fair and legal and those methods and acts which he is led to condemn as unfair. As an attempt to establish a rule by which business may be judged, the book is of interest and value to the legal profession as well as to the business man.

Business Competition and the Law. By Gilbert H. Montague. Putnam's. 318 pp. \$1.75.

Many of the problems arising from the applica-

tion of the anti-trust laws are set forth in this volume. While the book is based upon court decisions and legal proceedings, it is really addressed to business men rather than to lawyers or economists, as such. It deals with the stern facts of everyday business life which, as the author says, "present themselves daily as spelling either success or failure for great merchandising organizations, for nation-wide sales campaigns, for carefully conceived and elaborately executed marketing plans, and for the network of hundreds of thousands of distributing channels that create national distribution among millions of consumers for scores of competing producers and manufacturers."

Some Legal Phases of Corporate Financing, Reorganization, and Regulation. By Francis Lynde Stetson, James Byrne, Paul D. Cravath, George W. Wickersham, Gilbert H. Montague, George S. Coleman, William D. Guthrie. Macmillan. 389 pp. \$2.75.

This volume is made up of lectures by eminent corporation lawyers. These lectures offer many suggestions of a helpful sort to fellow practitioners who may be called upon, from time to time, to advise clients interested in corporate reorganizations.

The Financial Administration of Great Britain. Prepared by William F. Willoughby, Westel W. Willoughby, Samuel McCune Lindsay. Appleton. 361 pp. \$2.75.

The adoption of a national budgetary system was urgently advocated by President Taft's Commission on Economy and Efficiency, and since that commission made its report the State of Maryland has adopted a budget amendment to its Constitution. Other states and many municipalities as well, are keenly interested, at this moment, in this financial reform. The one foreign nation whose experience with the budgetary system is of most value to America is Great Britain. This report, made by three American students of national reputation, two of whom are experienced in governmental administration, analyzes and summarizes the British system most effectively. Investigation was made in 1914 and the outbreak of the war caused its scope to be restricted to Great Britain, although data obtained in France and Holland may be utilized later, in studies of Continental budget procedure.

The Romance of Labor. By Twombly and Dana. Macmillan. 287 pp. 75 cents.

An ingenious selection and arrangement of scenes from novels which picture the real work of the world in various industries.

BOOKS RELATING TO THE WAR

Complete U. S. Infantry Guide. From Government Publications. Arranged by James K. Parsons, U. S. Infantry. 2176 pp. \$6.

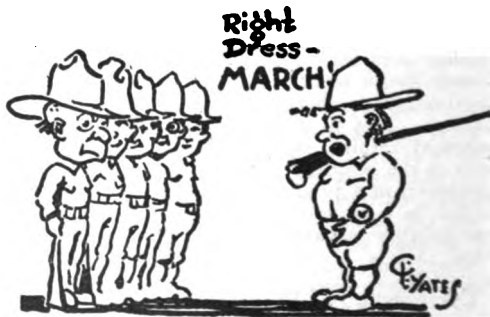
Every officer or private who has aspirations toward wearing shoulder or sleeve insignia in any of the armed forces of our country will be glad to possess a volume which includes all the War Department publications relating to his arm of the service. Such a work is the "Complete United States Infantry Guide for Officers and Non-commissioned Officers" published by the Lip-pincott Company. It contains all the essential manuals for the soldier, has over two thousand pages, and is profusely illustrated with charts and diagrams. This encyclopedic volume should be in every military man's library.

On the Edge of the War Zone. By Mildred Aldrich. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 311 pp. \$1.25.

Miss Aldrich, the American woman who from her country house overlooking the Marne Valley was permitted to see the turning back of the Germans in September, 1914, has remained in France since that date and has thrown in her lot with the French people behind the firing lines. This new book, in the form of letters to a friend in America, takes up the story where "A Hilltop on the Marne" left off. It is full of vital, soul-stirring experience.

Rookie Rhymes. Harper Bros. 139 pp. Ill. 75 cents.

A collection of rhymes, parodies, jingles and songs written by members of the 1st and 2d Provisional Training Regiments for Officers, at Plattsburg, N. Y., during their encampment from May 15th to August 15th, 1917. These lyric renderings of the trials of the "rookies" are accompanied by clever line drawings that add considerably to the humor of the book. As a bit of fun to drive away homesickness, it will undoubtedly find its way into many soldiers' kits. About one-third of the verse is written to be sung to familiar tunes.



THEY BELIEVE IN US BACK HOME
(From "Rookie Rhymes.")

CONCERNING THE DRAMA

IN old St. James' Churchyard, at Wilmington, North Carolina, in an unmarked grave there lies Thomas Godfrey, poet and dramatist, who occupies a significant position in the history of American literature. His particular distinction is that of having written the first tragedy ever composed by a native American and produced on the professional stage in the United States. "The Prince of Parthia" was written during his sojourn in North Carolina and produced in Philadelphia, at the New Theater in Southwark, by the Douglas Company, Mr. Lewis Haller playing the character of the *Prince*. The drama is now published

Schooner *Charmine* Capt. J. Moulowny to Halifax.

By Authority.

NEVER PERFORMED BEFORE.

By the AMERICAN COMPANY,

At the NEW THEATRE, in Southwark,

On FRIDAY, the Twenty-Fourth of April, will be presented, A TRAGEDY written by the late ingenious Mr. Thomas Godfrey, of this city, called the

PRINCE of PARTHIA:

The PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS by: Mr. HALLAM, Mr. DOUGLASS, Mr. WALL, Mr. MORRIS, Mr. ALLYN, Mr. TOMLINSON, Mr. BROAD-BELT, Mr. GREVILLE, Mrs. DOUGLASS, Mrs. MORRIS, Miss WAINWRIGHT, and Miss CHEER.

To which will be added, A Ballad Opera called

The CONTRIVANCES.

To begin exactly at Seven o'Clock.—*Vigant Rex et Regina.*

April 23.

TO BE LETT,

For TWO entire LOTS, situated near the Theatre.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FIRST PRODUCTION OF
"THE PRINCE OF PARTHIA"
(From the *Pennsylvania Journal*, April 23, 1767.)

in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the production, without variation from the original, and accompanied by a biography and historical and critical introduction by Archibald Henderson. The tragedy has many passages of great beauty and is a remarkable achievement for the youthful Godfrey, who was but twenty-three years of age at the time of its composition. There are passages that seem to parallel passages in Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and "Julius Cæsar," but one is certain that the plagiarism was quite unconscious, the re-echo of an earnest study of the Bard of Avon. This is the first adequate account of Thomas Godfrey, and one that presents a picture drawn from historical data, of the literary and cultural conditions of American society in Philadelphia and Wilmington 1750-67. Beyond the dramatic and commemorative value of the work, it has significance as an item of Americana. Only 550 copies were printed for sale.

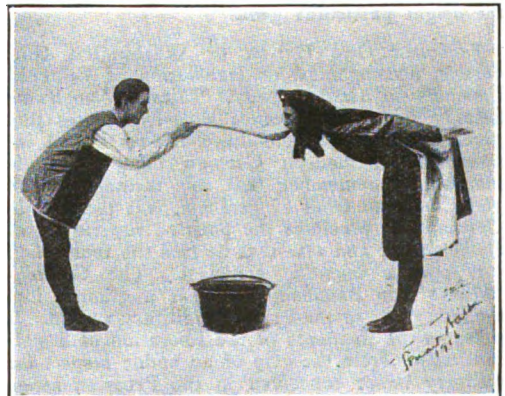
A second edition of Montrose J. Moses' valuable work, "The American Dramatist,"² has been

¹ The Prince of Parthia. By Thomas Godfrey. Little, Brown. 189 pp. \$2.50.

² The American Dramatist. By Montrose J. Moses. Little, Brown. 409 pp. \$1.75.

revised and enlarged to contain a history of the progress of the motion-picture industry and the advance of American drama since 1910. Mr. Moses presents the drama largely in its sociological aspects, and his character sketches of dramatists, with a biological trend, which gives them unexpected piquancy and interest. Notable among the latter is a study of Percy Mackaye and his father, Steele Mackaye. There is an interesting chapter on "little theaters," but he is not enthusiastic about their educational value beyond the fostering of good taste which will necessarily increase general intelligence. He commends several, however, among them the theater at the University of North Dakota, the Portmanteau Theater, the Neighborhood Playhouse of New York City, and the Arts and Crafts Theater of Detroit, managed by Sam Hume. The closing chapter discusses the privileges and duties of the dramatic critic. Chief among them is to recover for the theater its long-lost literary dignity, and to abet any "sincere effort that holds life and truth above glory and gain."

The traits which Mr. Moses eulogizes in his summary of Percy Mackaye and his genius, poetic and dramatic, are in evidence in a thin volume, "Community Drama,"³ an interpretation previously delivered as a lecture before the American Civic Association in 1916. The poet visions the Golden Age and frequently expounds idealistic democracy. Mr. Mackaye considers community drama the "ritual of democratic religion." Also by offering a dramatic channel for social consciousness he would convert the mentality of competition into the mentality of coöperation, and foster the growth of the international mind, thus making end to war. For the need of heroism and self-sacrifice closely associated with the psychology of war he would substitute dramatic expression. Whatever flaws one may find in his theory, his object is Christ's social message "in brief, splendidly and efficiently to be neighbors."



"SIX WHO PASS WHILE THE LENTILS BOIL":
THE BOY AND THE BALLAD SINGER

(From "Portmanteau Plays," by Stuart Walker)

³ Community Drama. By Percy Mackaye. Houghton, Mifflin. 48 pp. 50 cents.

"Portmanteau Plays"¹ contains four plays by Stuart Walker, the inventor and director of the Portmanteau Theater. The plays are "The Trimplet," "Six Who Pass While the Lentils Boil," "Nevertheless" and "The Medicine Show." Together they comprise an evening's bill. The Portmanteau Theater is in a direct line of descent from the toy theater. It is a complete traveling stage that can be set up in any room sixteen and a half feet high, by twenty-five feet wide, by forty in length, which allows for an audience of one hundred or more. It can be struck and boxed in an hour and a half, and together with switch-board and necessary paraphernalia weighs only three thousand pounds and can be loaded on a single truck. This theater, with the simplest kinds of scenery, became under Mr. Walker's direction and with his marvelous handling of lights a domain of poetry and magic. Its simplicity was a protest against the complexity and over-intellectualization of stage art so often encountered. As Mr. Edward Hale Bierstadt says in an admirable preface, this experiment has revealed that the abnormal intellectualization of art is fully as destructive to the vital spiritual quality as the etherialization of art would be to the necessary intellectual quality. Of the four plays, "Six Who Pass While the Lentils Boil" is undoubtedly the most successful from both a literary and a dramatic point of view. Besides these plays, Mr. Walker has written and produced several other plays and pantomimes, among them a highly successful adaptation from Oscar Wilde, "The Birthday of the Infanta."

In "Plays for a Negro Theater,"² by Ridgely Terrence, we have the first dramatic valuation of the negro which in theme, character and situation approaches the actual psychology of negro life. They are: "Granny Maumee," "The Rider of Dreams," and "Simon the Cyrenian." As presented in New York City in the season of 1916-17, they enjoyed a deserved success. No less can be predicted for them in their printed form. They have the haunting wistfulness of primitive racial characteristics emerging in a foreign civilization and their philosophy is distinctly that of the negro. Of the three, "Granny Maumee" is the bright particular gem.

Professor Otto Heller, of Washington University, accompanies his translation of Gotthold Lessing's brilliant comedy, "Minna Von Barnhelm,"³ with a preface of sixty-two pages that gives an outline of Lessing's life-work and influence upon modern German thought. It is pleasant to remember that this member of the great German triad of geniuses, was the first in Germany to proclaim the positive superiority of Shakespeare, and also that he laid the foundation for modern scientific criticism. The Comedy, "Minna Von Barnhelm," affords a glimpse into the iron caste of the Prussian military system. It presents the incidents of the liberation of a gallant major from the grip of an undue respect for military honor conceived in the Prussian sense, and as Professor Heller adds, "thrice impractical

sense." Technically speaking, it is considered Lessing's dramatic masterpiece.

"Comedies of Words and Other Plays,"⁴ by the brilliant Austrian playwright, Arthur Schnitzler, contains five plays. They are: "The Hour of Recognition," a study in matrimony and hidden phases of personality; "The Big Scene," an amusing character study; "The Festival of Bacchus," an explanation of the need of emotional climax to balance the tedium of average existence; "Literature," a super-farce, and "His Helpmate," a study in human frailty and disillusionment. Schnitzler is Freud turned dramatist. His great power consists in his building plays not upon the broad basis of general and tested character values, but upon the psychology of our occasional lapses away from the average, our hidden emotional unleasings, sudden angers and momentary caprices.

"Let's Pretend"⁵ is a book of delightful children's plays by Lindsey Barbee. They are "The Little Pink Lady," "The Ever-Ever Land," "When the Toys Awake," "The Forest of Every Day," "A Christmas Tree Joke," and "If Don't Believe Is Changed into Believe." With the exception of the first play, they are arranged for rather large mixed casts. They are merry and whimsical and carry their little sermons unobtrusively.

Another translation is "The Sorceress,"⁶ from the French of Victorien Sardou, by Charles A. Weissert. The scene of this thrilling tragedy is Granada immediately after its capture by the Spanish from the Moors. The theme, the forbidden love between a patriotic Spanish officer and a noble Moorish woman, Zoeraya, who is accused of sorcery because she practises the art of healing. Mr. Weissert has written an informative preface to accompany the text. He has been a member of the editorial staff of the New York Herald, and is at present a member of the Michigan House of Representatives.

Mr. Barrett Clark has provided a practical manual, "How to Produce Plays,"⁷ for the assistance of amateur producers. The contents cover organization, copyrights and royalties, casts, scenery, costumes, lighting, rehearsal, etc. The appendix gives a selective list of plays suitable for amateurs and a chapter of instruction on the art of "make-up." Mr. Clark is qualified to write on this subject, for he has made a careful and detailed study of methods of stage production in England, France, and Germany. He was a former actor and assistant stage manager with Mrs. Fiske, and is at present in charge of the dramatic department at Chautauqua, N. Y.

Another manual that will help the student of dramatic art is Mr. Joseph A. Mosher's "Essentials of Effective Gesture."⁸ A group of selec-

¹ Portmanteau Plays. By Stuart Walker. Stewart, Kidd. 137 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

² Plays for a Negro Theater. By Ridgely Torrence. Macmillan. 111 pp. \$1.

³ Minna Von Barnhelm. Translated by Otto Heller. Holt. 152 pp. \$1.25.

⁴ Comedies of Words and Other Plays. Translated by Pierre Loving. Stewart, Kidd. 182 pp. \$1.50.

⁵ Let's Pretend. By Lindsey Barbee. Denison. 160 pp. 75 cents.

⁶ The Sorceress. Translated by Charles A. Weissert. Badger. 136 pp. \$1.

⁷ How to Produce Plays. By Barrett Clark. Little, Brown. 144 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

⁸ The Essentials of Effective Gesture. By Joseph A. Mosher. Macmillan. 188 pp. \$1.

tions arranged in four groups convenient for practise are given in the last chapter. Professor Mosher is instructor in public speaking in the College of the City of New York.

Mr. Cranstoun Metcalfe has provided in a small

handbook, "Amateur Entertainments,"¹ practical advice on the preparation and staging of dramatic and musical diversions for the use of "entertainment committees" and those who must provide for clubs, churches or schools a regular series of amusements during the winter months.

MUSICAL THEORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND POPULAR MUSIC

"VOCAL ART SCIENCE"² is a comprehensive illustrated treatise on vocal matters written by Dr. Frank E. Miller, long an authority on the subject. He says: "Voice is cosmic utterance. According to the law of life the human voice is a manifestation of universal energy and puts the material nature in harmony with the divine." How to accomplish the vocal freedom to effect this harmony, Dr. Miller shows in his chapters on vocal utterance and vocal science. He believes that everyone can and should learn to sing, and advances a theory of certain pyramido-prismatic forces within the body comparable to those which produce light and energy. With scientific training these forces give us beautiful utterance both of the speaking and the singing voice. Exercises are given to guide the self-taught student, and over sixty illustrations assist the reader to a definite comprehension of the author's vocal gospel. The introduction is by Gustav Kobbé.

"Scientific Singing,"³ by E. Standard Thomas, is an attractively bound handbook that contains little preachments of science and common-sense in regard to the art of singing. The author tells us that every man can sing if he will but try, and that his vocal art is limited only by the scope of his intelligence. Farther than this helpful admonition, the book assists one to gain poise and an intellectual and philosophical basis for free vocalization.

A biography of Beethoven⁴ by Romain Rolland gives a vivid picture of the great musician, leader, and teacher. The intimate quality of the work is unusual. Rolland brings us the living Beethoven, now merry with a favorite pupil, now sorrowful and thoughtful, and again transfigured with inspiration. The philosophic basis of the musician's life is brought out in order to explain his profound and spiritualized music. The volume includes an analysis of the sonatas, the symphonies, and quartets by A. Eaglefield Hull, accompanied by twenty-four musical illustrations and four plates. The introduction is by Edward Carpenter, the translation by B. Constance Hull.

Music is too much our diversion and too little our salvation, Thomas Whitney Surette writes in "Music and Life."⁵ This practical and inspiring book makes clear the relations between human beings and music, building its argument on Scho-

penhauer's saying, "Music is the image of the will." "Being musical" is defined rather as a state of being than the ability to perform with technical brilliance. The chapter on music for children should interest all parents, and another on music in the public schools is of great value to educators. Others treat of community music, the opera and the symphony. Frank Damrosch has endorsed the material as "illuminating, sane and helpful."

"The Song Play Book" (A. S. Barnes Co., \$1.60.), compiled by Mary Wollaston and edited by C. Ward Crampton, Director of Physical Training, New York Public Schools, contains fifty song-plays chosen for their adaptability to play-ground conditions. They also afford vigorous physical exercise and have been carefully tested in the New York Training School for Teachers. Most of them are especially useful to grades 1A to 3B. Not alone teachers but mothers with growing families should avail themselves of this excellent series of song-plays.

Among the collections of popular music suited to general taste are the "Green Books" of D. Appleton Company: "Songs the Whole World Sings," "Ballads the Whole World Sings," "Piano Pieces the Whole World Plays," "Violin Pieces," etc., "Grand Opera at Home," and "Songs the Children Love to Sing." This excellent series runs the gamut of music both vocal and instrumental that has become deservedly well known. Each book is stoutly bound, contains 26 pages double size, and is sold for seventy-five cents per volume.

"The National Anthems of the Allies," in attractive binding that displays the flags of the Allied Nations, will give pleasure to those who are able to spread the spirit of patriotism by means of music. (G. S. Schirmer, 25 cents.)

"Writing the Popular Song,"⁶ by E. M. Wickes, tells the beginner in song writing all the essentials of the art and the various phases of business management necessary to marketing one's work. Various types of songs are analyzed, lyric construction, melody construction, song-hits, and song-cycles. A warning is sounded against the unscrupulous "song-sharks" whose advertisements abound in the cheaper publications, who advertise to publish songs and poems—at the expense of the author, as it afterward proves, the cost varying from thirty-five to seventy-five dollars. The introduction is by Harry Von Tilzer.

¹ Amateur Entertainments. By Cranstoun Metcalfe. Dutton. 112 pp. 75 cents.

² Vocal Art Science. By Frank E. Miller. G. Schirmer. 278 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

³ Scientific Singing. By E. Standard Thomas. San Francisco: Paul Elder. 73 pp. \$1.

⁴ Beethoven. By Romain Rolland. Holt. 244 pp. \$1.50.

⁵ Music and Life. By Thomas Whitney Surette. Houghton, Mifflin. 250 pp. \$1.25.

⁶ Writing the Popular Song. By E. M. Wickes. Home Correspondence School Press. 181 pp. \$1.25.

FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—THE NEW GOVERNMENT BOND ISSUE

THE estimated expenditures of the United States Government for the fiscal year 1918 are \$11,782,371,000. The estimated receipts under laws prior to those passed in September are \$1,333,500,000, of which \$225,000,000 are derived from customs, \$1,000,000,000 from internal revenue, and the remainder from miscellaneous sources. The approximate excess of disbursements over revenues is \$10,500,000,000.

How to meet this situation has been the problem of Congress. The Senate finance bill, as amended, provides about \$2,500,000,000, or \$1,060,000,000 from excess profits, about \$900,000,000 from incomes, and the rest from taxes on liquors, amusements, transportation, etc. Post-office receipts are reckoned at \$325,000,000. The old law gave \$1,333,500,000. The uncovered margin of \$7,600,000,000 has to be met by bond issues.

The financing program, as it refers to raising funds through sale of bonds and short-term certificates, provides for \$3,000,000,000 4 per cent. bonds subject only to the surtax and with the interest on amounts to \$5000 exempt from taxes; for the sale of certificates of indebtedness which, together with those issued under the April 24 act, shall not exceed \$4,000,000,000, and for \$2,000,000,000 of war-savings certificates. The Liberty 3½s are convertible into the new 4s at par. The rate of interest on the certificates of indebtedness shall be made at the option of the Secretary of the Treasury. He has already authorized \$850,000,000 of these since the early part of August, with the interest fixed at 3½ per cent. The war-certificate bonds will also bear 4 per cent. interest and will be a medium through which persons of small means, with only a dollar or a portion of a dollar margin for investment at one time, can do their share in financing the war. Interest on these certificates is payable at the end of five years, so that an original payment of \$4 or \$4.10 will be returned to the holder of the certificate in 1922 at \$5. Or by accumulated payments up to \$80 he may have the privilege of transferring into a \$100 bond.

The Increased Interest Rate

Although the Liberty Loan of \$2,000,000,000 was oversubscribed by 50 per cent., it has been the opinion of Treasury officialism, supported by banking wisdom, that as large an amount as \$3,000,000,000 could not be placed at the earlier rate of 3½ per cent. A majority of those who took the first bonds did so from patriotic motives. Few of the individuals who subscribed into the millions in order to get a tax-exempt bond, received any allotment. Since June the interest rate has gone up and prices of the highest-grade corporation bonds have come down to the lowest average in years. The Government has been very desirous that the public and not the very wealthy should take the new bonds. So it has exempted them from normal taxes and placed that rate on a level with the average savings-bank deposit interest.

It is presumed that those who have held their 3½s will convert them into the new 4s. Quite large sales of the bonds have already been made, with approximately \$100,000,000 dealt in on the New York Stock Exchange since they were listed. The buyers at the small discount from par have been wealthy investors who did not get their allotments and would have a better margin in a tax-exempt 3½ per cent. bond than they will have in a 4 per cent. issue subject to the super-tax. The great, uncultivated field for the promoters of the new loan will be that occupied by the middle classes who did not take many of the 3½s, and also the agricultural sections, where subscriptions were small and where it was very frankly stated that a 3½ per cent. bond did not make much of an appeal when local interest rates were double that amount. The campaign is expected to begin on October 1, with the first payments on the new bonds about December. It is probable that there will be five instalments of 20 per cent., each covering a period of several months.

Demands of the Allies

Before the Ways and Means Committee last month, Secretary McAdoo stated that

the average monthly requirements of the Allies would be \$500,000,000. They probably will be in excess of this sum, as they have been increasing. The loans agreed upon up to August 24 were \$2,066,000,000, of which \$1,730,000,000 had actually been taken up. Since then England and France have received further advances. It is interesting that though the present provisional government of Russia has been loaned \$275,000,000, she has only accepted credits of \$87,500,000.

The bill passed by Congress provides for \$4,000,000,000 to the Allies in addition to the \$3,000,000,000 authorized last April. The early provision applies to the supplementary credits, viz., that they are covered by bonds of the borrowing country, bearing the same rate of interest that the lender has to pay and with similar maturities. There has been a great deal of discussion over the life of the bonds. Some have favored short- and others long-term issues. The majority opinion has been that not over thirty years should be the maturity. The difference between what England and France are paying for money accommodation through the American Government and what they would have to pay if they were still compelled to go into the open market, as they did when they floated the 5 and 5½ per cent. loans prior to the war, has been estimated at from \$200,000,000 to \$300,000,000 per annum. Some of the foreign issues are now selling between a 6½ and 7½ per cent. basis, while the French municipal bonds are quoted to return from 8 to 9¼ per cent.

All Belligerents' Bonas Below Par

For some reason Congressmen feel that it is a great stain on America's honor and credit for her bonds to sell under par. They have made much of the small discount at

which the Liberty Loan 3½s are currently quoted, but have evidently overlooked the fact that the Panama 3s are selling on better than a 3½ per cent. income basis. The bonds of all of the belligerent countries have been at a heavy discount ever since they were put out and a majority have been offered originally well under par.

Some interesting information has been read into the bond bill debate in the House bearing on Civil War financing. This shows how, in 1862, the rate realized on Government loans was from 97½ to 76½. In March, 1864, the percentage dropped to 62½ and was a shade below 42 in September of that year. The following June it was above 70. The rate of interest ranged from 7½ per cent. down to 5 per cent. The tide of battles made an immediate impression on prices, and fluctuations were heavy as the North won or lost. Speaker Clark said on September 6, in reviewing war-time finance, "If they had sold bonds when Jubel Early was out here at Silver Springs they would not have brought 25 cents on the dollar."

One very curious feature of the war bonds issued in Europe and the foreign loans floated here since 1915 is the absence of response they have made to military or political developments to their advantage and the equal indifference to events that might be expected to have a depreciating effect. An exception is, of course, the Russian issues, which have moved violently in London and New York and now show losses—to those who purchased them a year ago—of 50 per cent. and over. This decline toward the middle of September began to affect both the English and French government issues listed in New York. They declined to a level where they gave a return of from over 7 to above 8 per cent.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 868—A PLAN FOR INVESTING \$15,000

I have on deposit in savings accounts drawing 4 per cent. about \$15,000.

For patriotic reasons I have subscribed for \$3000 Liberty Loan Government Bonds, 3½ per cent. I have in mind investing the balance as follows:

- \$4000 in railroad bonds.
- \$4000 in utility bonds or stocks.
- \$4000 in railroad stocks.

I would prefer such stocks and bonds as are listed on the New York Exchange and have a ready sale. Do you consider railroad bonds at the present time a good purchase, or is there a probability of a lower level of prices in the near future? What is the present status of railroad stocks, such as

- Atchison common.
- Atchison preferred.
- Great Northern preferred.
- Pennsylvania.

Southern Pacific?

Are these stocks a safe investment at the present market, or is there a probability of their ruling lower in the near future? I desire safe investments and at present prices think I could average 5½ to 5¾ per cent.

In our judgment, the plan of distribution which you have worked out for your contemplated investment of \$15,000 is an excellent one. Especially do we commend you for the consideration which you have given to the 3½ per cent Liberty Loan Bonds of the United States Government. After all, and even in spite of the relatively low rate of interest which these bonds bear, they are an entirely tax free investment and as the premier securities of the world as far as safety is concerned a highly attractive investment.

The situation in respect to railroad and public utility bonds and stocks is one which makes it difficult, if not entirely impossible, to foresee definite limits to the decline in market prices which has been in progress now for the last few weeks. As far as the two classes of bonds in particular are concerned we are now inclined to think that an average price level lower than the one now prevailing may be seen. But it is probably needless for us to tell you that experience has proved that one of the most serious mistakes which an individual investor can make is to undertake to find the bottom of a declining market for securities when he is bent upon buying, or the top of the advancing market when he is bent upon selling.

Putting aside price consideration pure and simple, we do not hesitate to venture the assertion that the present is by no means an unfavorable time to buy well secured railroad and public utility bonds and railroad and public utility stocks of the well established dividend paying classes. It does not make so much difference to the true investor how low a safe bond may go in market prices, provided he is able to buy at a price which satisfies his requirements in respect to income. When one is able to buy such bonds as Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Adjustment Mortgage 4 per cents; Atlanta & Charlotte Air Line Consolidated Mortgage 5 per cents, and Oregon Short Line Guaranteed Refunding 4 per cents at prices to yield a net income of 5 per cent or better, it seems to us that the investment opportunity is one well worth taking advantage of. These are typical of the present day opportunities for safe investment in the category of standard listed railroad bonds.

Among the well secured public utility bonds of the listed class to which the present price situation naturally directs attention are Interborough Rapid Transit 1st and Refunding 5 per cents; Utah Power & Light 1st Mortgage 5 per cents; Virginia Railway & Power 1st and Refunding 5 per cents; American Telephone & Telegraph Collateral Trust 5 per cents and Western Union Collateral 5 per cents.

The best of the railroad stocks, aside from the choicest of the preferred investment issues like Atchison preferred, for example, which at the present time is not selling very much above a 5 per cent income basis, are, in our judgment, Union Pacific common; Great Northern preferred; Atchison common; Southern Pacific, and Pennsylvania. These are the very stocks which you appear to have had under consideration. We name them more or less arbitrarily in order of our idea of their relative investment merits.

We trust that you may find the foregoing suggestions of some help in your undertaking to arrive at a satisfactory solution of your investment problem. If there is any other information you would like to have, we trust that you will not hesitate to avail yourself of the facilities of this Department.

No. 869. BONDS AND MARKETABILITY

I have a few hundred dollars which I desire to invest in some good stock or bond yielding 5 per cent. and with a good degree of marketability. Please give me a report on Springfield Gas first mortgage 6's due 1926, Chesapeake & Ohio convertible 5's, and Jamaica Water Supply first consolidated 5's, due 1946.

These bonds seem to us to be without exception

issues that are likely to prove satisfactory to hold for income purposes, although none of them can be said to be representative of the highest grade and most conservative investments. There are two of them, however, which we do not believe would afford an entirely satisfactory degree of marketability. We refer to the Springfield Gas 6's and Jamaica Water Supply 5's, both of which are relatively small issues having a narrow and at times disappointing market.

The Chesapeake & Ohio convertible 5 per cents are listed bonds of a class which it is almost always possible to sell easily at a price. They are not high-grade railroad bonds, but their general position, judged in the light of the current earnings of the road, seems to be a fairly strong one. We should not be inclined to recommend them for careful investment, but if one were willing to assume at least a slight business risk, we should say that they were not unattractive at their ~~current~~ market price.

No. 870. WHAT IS A "MUTUAL BANK?"

Will you please explain the term "mutual," as applied to savings banks.

As we have endeavored to explain on several occasions, a mutual savings bank is one which does not have stockholders. Earnings of such institutions, over and above actual expenses of operation and certain sums which the law contemplates shall be set aside as reserves for contingencies, are distributed pro rata among the depositors in the form of interest on their accounts. As a class, mutual savings banks are better and stronger than stock savings banks.

No. 871. AN EXCHANGE PROPOSITION

I hold United Light & Railway 6's of 1920 and have been offered in exchange Central Power & Light first mortgage 6's of 1946. What do you think?

In your place, we think we should not be disposed to make this exchange. Our decision in the matter would be based very largely on the theory that in an investment market characterized by so many uncertainties as the present market, relatively short-term, rather than long-term securities are, as experience has shown, the more satisfactory to hold.

No. 872. NORTHERN PACIFIC'S PAR VALUE

I notice in the last issue of the Review the statement that the par value of Northern Pacific stock is \$50. I have some of this stock, bought at 110%, and never heard that its par value was less than \$100. I shall be pleased if you will give me light on the matter.

The designation of Northern Pacific stock in the table published in the September issue of the magazine as an issue of \$50 par value was a typographical error. Its par is \$100, as you have always supposed.

Correction—We have been advised by a banking house closely associated with the financing of the Detroit Edison Company that we were in error in stating in the September number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS that the company assumes the payment of the normal Federal income tax on its first and refunding mortgage 5 per cent. bonds, due 1940. The company assumes the payment of the normal tax on its first mortgage 5 per cent. bonds, due 1933, but not on the issue of 1940. We are glad to make this correction.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.



Photograph by Ledger Photo Service, Philadelphia

AN ARTIST AND HER PRIZE "LIBERTY LOAN" POSTER

American women have already played a great part in the new activities made necessary by the war. Among those who have helped to make the "Liberty Loan" a success, not the least is Miss Eugenie De Land, who was awarded a Government prize for designing the popular poster that our photograph shows on her easel. We reproduce other posters on page 470.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LVI

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER, 1917

No. 5

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*"Frightfulness"
"Tempta to
"Reprisals"*

War is so terrible a business that it obscures the ordinary landmarks of conduct. Perhaps the greatest penalty visited upon those who enter upon aggressive and wicked warfare is the social wreckage that comes from the abandonment of all the standards of private as well as of public morality. Even those nations that are forced by aggression into wars of defense, or into wars for the vindication of righteous principles, must always find it more or less difficult to keep their own right-mindedness, and to emerge without impairment of their standards of general and of personal conduct. And this ought to be considered seriously whenever the question of "reprisals" comes up—a question that never fails to arise in any war between nations. For example, it was reported last month that the British Government, yielding at last to a virtually overwhelming clamor from the newspapers and the people, had decided to make murderous air raids upon the unhappy women and children of communities in Germany that have no military character. Air raids from Germany upon the British coasts and upon the vast metropolis of London, which spreads out over many hundreds of square miles, were incessant during the moonlight nights at the end of September and beginning of October. Some scores of civilians were killed and several hundred were wounded, while no direct military purpose was served.

*Germany's
Descent to
Crime*

In their earlier air raids, while the United States was still a neutral and while Germany was still trying to justify herself in the opinion of the non-belligerent world, there was a claim that the raids had a military purpose and were directed against naval stations, fortified places, munition works, and the like. But for some time past all such pretenses

have been abandoned. The dropping of explosives from German aircraft is nothing but a phase of the deliberate resort to terrorism of all kinds. So far has Germany gone in its insane departure from the accepted rules that restrict the methods of warfare, that no restraints are left. The employment of poisonous gases on the fighting fronts, diabolical as it seemed when first entered upon in the fighting against the British troops more than two years ago, was but a foreshadowing of worse things that have followed. If still deadlier chemical bombs could be dropped upon London, with the result of wholesale destruction of life, there are no scruples at Berlin that stand in the way. The German doctrine of reprisals advocates the slaughter of non-combatants in undefended places, by the use of the most drastic means that can be found. Such doctrines and practices would justify the poisoning of water supplies and the introduction of Asiatic cholera germs.



"WHAT MORE CAN I INVENT, YOUR MAJESTY?"
From the *Globe* (New York)



"ONWARD WITH GOD!"

From the *Commercial-Appeal* (Memphis)

*England's
Decision*

It is argued in England that the only way to meet these German air raids successfully is to make similar raids upon Germany and to kill more non-combatants than the Germans have been able to kill in England. It seems that the War Cabinet has not been able to resist any longer the clamor of the popular press, and the gibes of the cartoonists; and Mr. Lloyd George last month informed the English public that the policy of retaliation had now been decided upon, and would merely await the moment when England's superiority in aviation could provide aircraft in addition to the needs of the battlefield and the requirements of home defense. It is to be hoped, however, that wiser counsels may yet prevail. With the help of the United States, the Allies will in the near future have more battle planes and more trained aviators than Germany. At the earliest possible moment there should, indeed, be incessant raids upon German military communications, upon fortified places, munition works, shipyards, submarine bases, and everything contributing to Germany's war strength. It is not likely that Germany will be able to continue her air attacks upon England after the new aviation program of the Allies is a little further developed. To oppose the German crimes with counter-crimes would not be in accordance with the spirit of the American army or the American people; nor is the perpetration of

cruel atrocities in real keeping with the methods and policies of England, France, and Italy.

*Let Germany
Monopolize
Terrorism*

It is true that the German methods have aroused intense anger, and the provocation to strike back by any means is obvious. The German treatment of women and children in Belgium and northern France stands out as one of the greatest obstacles to future peace. The air raids on England have been even more stupid than wicked, because Germany beyond question is planning for a resumption of her foreign trade on an immense scale after the war is over, and evidently fails to perceive that her criminal methods—far more than her deeds in recognized warfare—will stand in the way of her future prosperity in so far as the goodwill of her neighbors is concerned. It should be the determination of the Allies to smite German military power, while abstaining in so far as possible from resort to any of those methods of cruelty and terrorism that have so deeply disgraced the German name. Since the German Government is so identified with these bad methods, let them remain a German monopoly. To retaliate would make matters worse, even at present.



A PLACE IN THE MOON

HANS: "How beautiful a moon, my love, for showing up England to our gallant airmen!"
GRETCHEN: "Yes, dearest, but may it not show up the Fatherland to the brutal enemy one of these nights?"

From *Punch* (London)

*Why Paris
Is Not
Bombed*

It is the impression in England that Paris has been relatively immune from German air attacks, by reason of the understanding that the French would immediately retaliate in kind. But this is not a very convincing argument. France has suffered and is still suffering almost incalculable atrocities at the hands of the Germans. A little casual damage in the streets of Paris, from explosives dropped by German aircraft, would be utterly insignificant as compared with the actual obliteration of hundreds of villages, the achieved wreckage of large towns, and the irreparable ruin of priceless monuments like the Rheims Cathedral. Thousands of women and children in the occupied parts of France have been done to death through unspeakable cruelties and crimes. Thus any further energy that the Germans might be able to expend in the form of air attacks is naturally devoted to England. Hatred has had its full opportunity so far as the French are concerned. Bombing Paris would not be worth while.

*England
Quite
Unscathed*

But England thus far could be assailed only through the use of U-boats and aircraft. The U-boats have not yet brought England to the point of starvation, although they have sacrificed a good many innocent lives. Nor have the aircraft had any other effect in England except to strengthen the whole nation in its determination to win the war, although in the aggregate several hundred civilians have been killed and some damage to property has been wrought. It would not hasten the progress of the Allies in winning the war



BRITANNIA: "WHO DARES TO TALK OF PEACE WITH THIS AT LARGE?"

From *Cassell's Saturday Journal* (London)



A CLOUD NO BIGGER THAN A MAN'S HAND

(America's intention is to prepare as quickly as possible thousands of airplanes to attack Germany)

HINDENBURG: "Sire! Sire! Even if we resist all other attacks, this arm must crush us!"

From *Punch* (Melbourne)

against Germany if they should adopt German methods of terrorism. There will be ample need, in the waging of legitimate war, for all the aircraft that England, France, Italy and America can produce. In the earlier stages of the war the Germans set great store upon the use of Zeppelins and airplanes as a means to carry fire and destruction into England, and as an aid to the achievement of a victorious peace. Still more was the unrestricted use of submarines against merchant ships relied upon to prostrate England and end the war. It is well to remember that all of Germany's resorts to methods that contravene the agreements of civilized nations have been appalling failures.

*Germany
the Real
Victim*

They have been worse than failures, for they have reacted upon Germany in the most disastrous manner. The use of the U-boats, like the atrocities in Belgium and northern France, and like the air raids over England, has indeed been successful in inflicting great misery upon innocent people. But it has harmed its perpetrators most of all. If it has prolonged the war, it has also led the whole civilized world to the conviction that Ger-



From the Canadian official photograph service

RUINS OF A BEAUTIFUL STREET IN ARRAS, FRANCE, TYPICAL OF WIDESPREAD GERMAN DEVASTATION IN NORTHERN FRANCE AND BELGIUM

many must at any cost be defeated. It has caused the United States to enter the war and to bring to the aid of the Allies aggregate resources against which German maritime ruthlessness can never prevail. It has aroused the hostility of South America and China, and these countries in many ways can give substantial aid to the enemies of Germany. It has outlawed the German autocrats, and it will bring them to destruction.

*Low
Morale in
Diplomacy*

We have within the past few weeks had many fresh disclosures of the perfidious character of German diplomacy. It is conceivable that Germany's delusions as to her destiny might have impelled her to an attempt to dominate the world, believing that the world's best welfare required the authority of the one nobly superior nation of modern times. But the student of history expects to find some redeeming traces of a really noble spirit, when a great race goes forth to conquer because it follows the star of a high destiny. It has taken us several years to find out how ig-

noble and devoid of self-respect and honor has been this latter-day German policy, that has substituted schemes and plots and intrigues for the diplomacy that would befit a high-souled and masterful nation. The Russian Revolution came as the reaction from an intriguing German diplomacy that centered about the Empress and the traitors at the Czar's court. It would be an agreeable relief to find a few bright, clean pages in the recent record of Berlin's diplomatic dealings. Much of the effort of the Japanese commission to this country during recent weeks has been given to an exposure of the plots by which German diplomacy was trying to make trouble between the United States and Japan. We have had recent revelations of vulgarly perfidious diplomatic methods on Germany's part in Mexico, Argentina, and elsewhere. The manner in which Germany has compromised the integrity of Sweden's diplomatic relations, while humiliating to the Swedish people, is to be laid wholly at the door of Germany's unscrupulous official methods. Never in modern times has there been so odious an employment of spies and

secret agents; and we have now a great mass—still accumulating—of evidence to show how the German Foreign Office has subsidized a propaganda to affect American public opinion, while also subsidizing sabotage, incendiarism, and widespread felony.

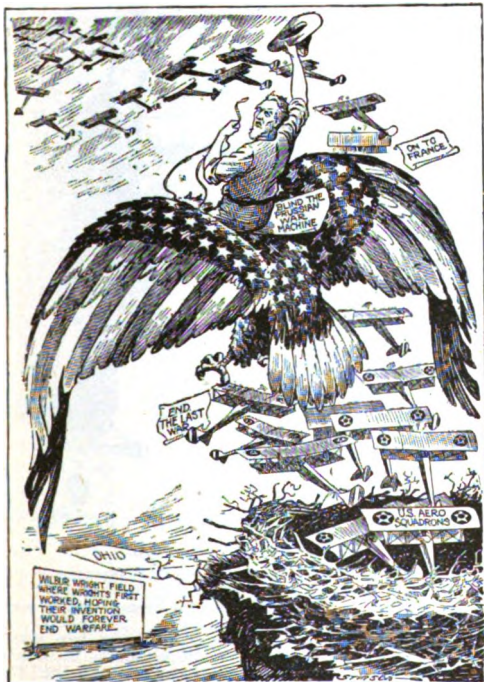
Making the New Times as We Go Along

The new world in which all wise and sensible people hope to live is to be a world in which moral power is substituted for physical force. The most marvelous thing that has happened since 1914 is the rapid evolution of this new world. In a very substantial sense the coming together of the nations for justice is already taking place, and the dream of the international reformers is being realized amidst the clash of arms. It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to keep honor bright and to keep enthusiasm high. We are far from perfect in this country, and life has its sordid and selfish side in every race and nation. But there is such a thing as a declared and accepted standard of public and official conduct, precisely as there are standards in the business and social communities, and in private life; and our public standards to-day are elevated and ethical. The aims of American policy at this time are in accord with justice, while being tempered with generosity.



BRIG.-GEN. GEORGE O. SQUIER

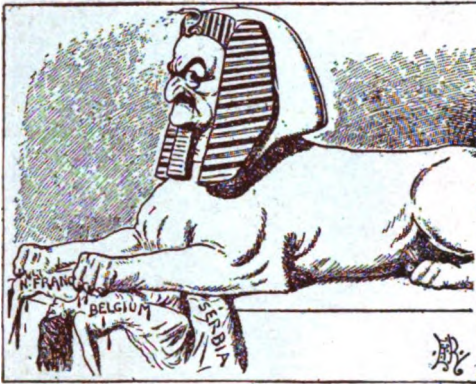
(General Squier, head of the Signal Service, is pre-eminently fitted to lead in the great undertaking of our Government that aims at nothing less than sheer superiority in the military use of aircraft. He is a scientific scholar of the first rank and a representative of the best and highest American aims.)



STARTING TO MAKE THE DREAM COME TRUE
From the *Daily News* (Dayton)

Contrasting Standards

The standards of German public policy, on the other hand, are not those of justice and generosity. The conviction that Germany is pursuing policies and methods dangerous not only to Europe but to the world's civilization, has progressively alienated one country after another. It was not that other European powers were blameless, or had made records wholly free from the stain of greed and aggression. But while these other powers were coming under the restraints of moral power—restraints exercised wholesomely through public opinion at home and abroad—Germany had definitely rejected the principles of justice and had become the chief surviving type of a government whose policy was based upon the unrestricted use of physical force. Not only was Germany's policy based upon military power, but it was seen everywhere that the object of Germany's militarism was not the defense of rights, but the trampling down of whatsoever lay in the path of German ambition. The more clearly the moral issues were defined, and the more



THE SPHINX THAT CLINGS TO ITS VICTIMS, BUT DARE NOT SPEAK

(See Dr. Michaelis' speech in the Reichstag—or, rather, what he did not say there)

"I must decline to state our war aims."

From the *Sunday Evening Telegram* (London)

completely the Allies purified their own war aims, the more certain it became not only that Germany would be defeated but that civilization at large would have gained much from the struggle.

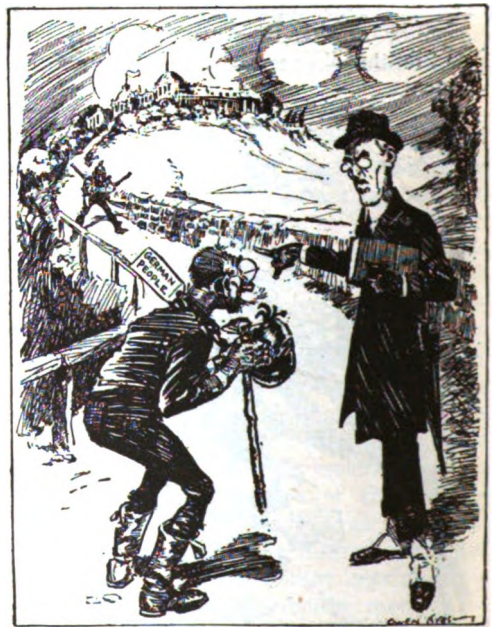
*Moral
Forces
Supreme*

Thus while physical forces of colossal magnitude are engaged in prosecuting the war, still greater forces of a moral nature are working in the minds of men and are tending to bring governments* and ruling classes into a more complete accord with the true interests of the people at large. It is not always easy to see what is right and what is wrong, for the principles of good and evil are at work everywhere, often under conditions of great confusion. Yet in the main there are clear distinctions not only of theory but of application. It is plain enough that public policies to be safe and permanent must in these times be in tune with sound moral principles. The German leaders are so blind as to reject this idea. Peace is postponed because the German leaders refuse to recognize anything except military force. Their study, for instance, of the problem of Belgium is entirely from the standpoint of military, naval, and economic power. They refuse to admit that there is any Alsace-Lorraine question, because they deny that France and her allies can ever have military force enough to reconquer the provinces.

*The
German
Parties*

A great debate is raging in Germany, in which there are two strong parties and a third that is less strong but will grow. The first of

the two strong disputants is the party led by Tirpitz, the Crown Prince, and others, who declare that through the further use of the submarines and of military effort Germany will be able to retain Belgium, and to give permanence to the Middle Europe idea of complete German dominance from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf. The second disputant is the party that has less confidence in the U-boat and believes that on military grounds Germany should be moderate in her demands and make peace at once. Neither of these parties is affected in the slightest degree by moral considerations, or by a recognition of the essential equality of all races and peoples. Both of these parties are firm believers in the ultimate dominance of Germany. The third party, made up in the main of members of the Social Democracy, has some notion of international right and of the principles that must underlie future peace in Europe. But Germany has been so falsely educated during the past two generations that it will be extremely hard to make the truth prevail. But the German people must in due time see the light.



EASIER SAID THAN DONE

THE PRESIDENT: "Here is the road to democracy and you will find rest and peace when you reach the top."

GERMAN PEOPLE: "But that armed man bars the way, Excellency, and won't let me pass."

THE PRESIDENT: "Well, just throw him on one side." (President Wilson's reply to the Pope's peace manifesto is to the effect that no negotiations can proceed until the German people adopt Democratic institutions and remove their present rulers)

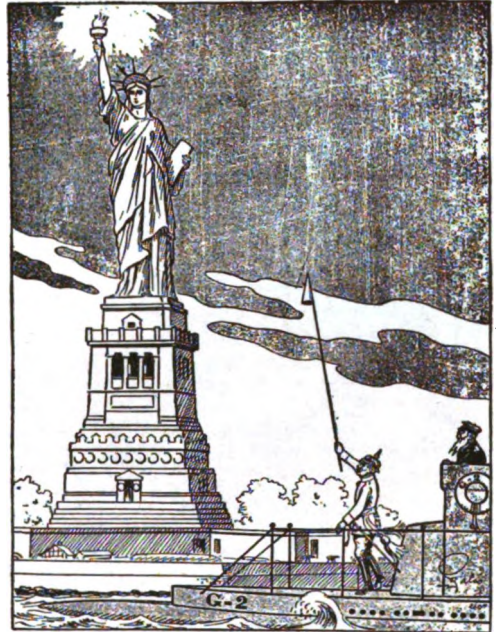
From *The Passing Show* (London)

*Distrusted
by Her
Partners*

Meanwhile, Germany's "Mittel-Europa" policies, which look so impressive upon the map and which as a temporary expedient in the present war seem very formidable, must in due time fall to pieces like a rope of sand, because they do not inspire confidence in the various nations and races whose destinies are immediately involved in the scheme. The peoples of Austria-Hungary are seeking escape from the war, and are much more eager to find their way back to an association with the nations of a right-minded world than to be forever under the yoke of the men who make military policy at Potsdam and Berlin, and those who dream of world aggrandizement at Hamburg, Bremen, and Kiel. The people of Bulgaria are historically bound to the English liberals, and are strongly American in their sympathies. They are eager for a just peace and a restored membership in the family of nations. As for the peoples of Turkey, there is no race or element that owes the Germans any affection, and only the leaders are pro-German.

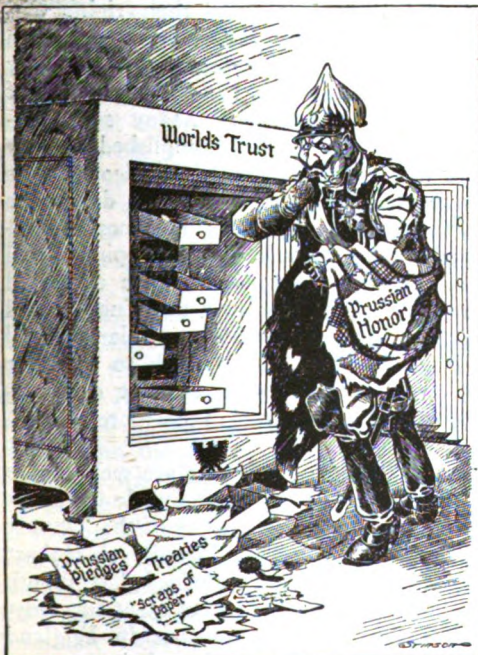
*Turkey
WIN Reject
Germany*

Germany has condoned, if it has not incited, the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Armenians and the mistreatment of Greeks and other elements of the population of Turkey. There



EMPEROR WILLIAM: "I NEVER REALIZED THAT LIBERTY WAS SO VERY HIGH. IT WILL BECOME IMPOSSIBLE TO EXTINGUISH THE FLAMES"

From Le Pele Mele (Paris)



THE MORAL BANKRUPT
From the Daily News (Dayton)

will be a new Turkey, safe for all its races and peoples, but the leaders in its reconstruction will not be Germans. The best friends of Turks, Armenians, and Greeks are the American educators and missionaries, but there are many others—Englishmen, Frenchmen, Russians, and also some Germans—who are prepared to take part in a friendly and helpful remaking of Turkey. Apart from the Turkish rulers who are in German pay, the Turks themselves would much rather put their future in the hands of England than in the hands of Germany. Thus, even when from the Berlin standpoint the grandiose new empire—dominating everything from Antwerp and Hamburg, across the Balkans and Asia Minor, to the Persian coast—had become a realized military and economic fact, its maintenance was utterly hopeless because there was lacking the moral basis of confidence and good will without which the political association could not survive.

*Building The
Temple of
Liberty*

On the part of the Allies and their friends, there has been no unity of action and control that could for a moment compare with the efficient military mastery that welded together, for the purposes of the war, the Central Powers under Prussian dominance. And yet



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FRANCE'S THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF THE MARNE, ON SEPTEMBER 6

(M. Ribot, then Premier, is reading his address. In the foreground, among his audience, several notable Frenchmen will be recognized. The new Premier, Professor Painlevé, is in the exact center of the picture. Next to him, to the right, is President Poincaré. Toward the left is General Joffre)

the Allies have been creating a vast structure that is now quite certain to survive. It is a structure of friendly association based upon a genuine striving to understand one another, to repress unworthy rivalries, and to pursue courses that would at once develop a moral sentiment in the world and win the approval of that sentiment. After more than three years of heroic effort, France is stronger in her own chastened spirit and the unity of her people than ever before; while she is so established in the admiration and good-will of other nations that her future may be regarded as peaceful and secure. Her losses and sacrifices have been so great that one dares not stop to reckon them up, but the celebration of the anniversary of the Battle of the Marne, on each recurring September 6, will through centuries to come represent the beginning of the greatest era of French history. Mr. Simonds, in his contribution to this number of the REVIEW, shows us how bravely the French have borne the brunt of a war that concerns all mankind.

John Bull at His Best It has now become the turn of Great Britain to take an increasing part in the struggle, and the best that is in the British national character

has responded with courage and tenacity to the emergency. John Bull will be less arrogant and insular henceforth, and his respect for other people and their rights will be less obscured by the sense of his own superiority. The Irish question seems likely to be solved through the mere process of rising above prejudices. Many social reforms will have been accomplished rapidly under war pressure. Mr. Lloyd George, who was so recently thought to be a dangerous radical of socialistic views, is almost a conservative now because national opinion and actual government practices have advanced so rapidly. The ideals of the English and French people are growingly popular, and all the plans of these nations look to a future in the popular interest and under democratic control. Each day makes this more evident.

Education in England and France

These tendencies are well shown in a sympathetic article contributed to this number of the REVIEW by President Lyman P. Powell, of Hobart College. Dr. Powell returned last month from a period of some weeks spent in studying the educational conditions in England and France. It is true that the temporary disturbances due to the war have interrupted

educational work everywhere in Europe. But in England the most advanced educational plans are now on foot that have ever been seriously considered. It is proposed to rebuild the whole nation on the basis of a really universal and democratic kind of training of the children. Dr. Powell sees the opportunity in the early future for a scheme of international reciprocity in education that will go far beyond any proposals of the pre-war era. It is not merely that these projects have an educational aspect in the technical sense, or that they have a humanitarian appeal in view of human losses that France and Belgium have suffered. The idea of Dr. Powell and others is one that has especial value because popular education for the most part has been narrow and national. It has intensified language barriers and racial prejudices, whereas it ought to be the mission of education to unify the nations on the plane of a common science and of common moral and intellectual aims. All of these generous ideas and programs are worth noting because they have so marked a bearing upon the nature of the peace that it will be possible to make when Germany becomes sane, or is subdued. The growing motive is that of justice, rather than the extension of empires.

Actual
American
Unity

In the United States—under the stimulus of immense undertakings for which there is a high motive, and through the success of which noble ends may be secured—there has been exhibited to the world a remarkable degree of national unity. Blind acquiescence is not to be desired. Freedom of thought and freedom of speech are essential to any unity worth having. But in emergencies where action on the great scale must follow decision, unity is expressed in the willing efforts of all classes, groups, and elements to work out a successful result along the line of the main thing decided upon. Tested in this way, the unity of the American people is not to be doubted. A vigorous and bold-speaking minority had long demanded that this country should join the Allies and fight. The great majority, while sympathizing with the Allies rather than with Germany, saw the conflict as a European affair, hoping and believing that peace would come without our taking up arms. Conditions, however, after the failure of President Wilson's peace efforts last December, and after the collapse of Russia, had altered the aspects of the great struggle. Germany was winning victories on



SENATOR FLETCHER OF FLORIDA AND PRESIDENT BUTLER OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

(Last month some thousands of representative men from the Southern States assembled in New York for the annual meeting of the Southern Commercial Congress. The occasion brought out strongly the loyalty of the South and the rapid growth of its industrial and commercial life. Its presiding officer was Senator Duncan U. Fletcher, of Florida. As seen above he was photographed with President Butler on occasion of the visit of the delegates to the University)

land, and had resumed the U-boat campaign in the belief that President Wilson and his supporters of the South and West would not fight. Our newly elected House of Representatives was evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats. President Wilson convened it in extra session on April 2, delivered his war message, and left the decision to Congress and the country. On April 4 the Senate passed the war resolution by a vote of 82 to 6. Two days later the House passed it by a vote of 373 to 50.

Decision
and
Action

When this decision was made, the time for talking had ceased and the time for acting had begun. Speaking generally of those who had voted against the resolution, there was complete acquiescence as soon as the step had been taken. Congress proceeded at once to authorize a series of war undertakings upon a scale of vast magnitude. So much has happened that it is hard for many of our readers to remember that the war resolution was voted less than seven months ago, and that the

session of Congress which ended by adjournment on October 6 had—within exactly six months after making the war decision—not only appropriated many thousands of millions of dollars for the Government's plans and projects, but had seen many of these plans well on the way towards realization. In voting great sums of money, and in authorizing particular projects, Congress has been so sure of the definite purpose of the country that its votes on numerous occasions have been absolutely unanimous. North and South, East and West, have pulled together.

*Leadership
and
Loyalty*

The people of the country, in November, 1916, had voted to make Woodrow Wilson President of the United States for another four years, and commander-in-chief of the armies and navies. The Constitution, and the precedents of more than a century, have taught us exactly what it means to support the Government under the President's lead in a time of war. Good citizens of all political parties, especially those of some degree of trained intelligence, have understood their obligation and have acted and spoken accordingly. It has been a fortunate thing that President Wilson should have expressed the best American sentiment so clearly. It is easier to unite on high ground than on low. Congress authorized the President to lend huge sums of money to our Allies for the purchase of supplies, at exactly the same rate of interest that our Government pays upon its own borrowings. We are constantly lending to the Allies at a lower rate than that which they pay to their own people for what they borrow at home. This is not a quixotic policy, but a typically wise and sensible one.

*Taking
Practical
Steps*

Great quantities of copper, steel, clothing, breadstuffs, and material of all kinds were needed by Uncle Sam for his own army and navy purposes. How to regulate prices justly was a difficult problem. Here was room for different views and free discussion. In due time Congress granted ample authority to the Executive, and remarkably efficient measures were devised, in the hands of able and trustworthy men, by means of which it became possible for the Government to unify and control its purchases of coal, iron, copper, wheat, and other things. At once our Government extended to the Allies, in their American purchases, precisely the same bene-

fits of price and of system that it had worked out for our own uses. These decisions having been made, and the system having been installed, it became the plain duty of good citizens to adjust themselves to the arrangements and to help them. Thus we have found all the railroads of the country unified for Government purposes into one system, with the best railroad talent unreservedly at the call of the President. It would be impossible to give effect to so vast a series of industrial and commercial innovations without some injustices and some frictions. But upon the whole the system has been marvelous for its efficiency on the one hand and for its loyal acceptance by the public on the other hand.

*Greating
Armies and
Navies*

Germany's U-boat campaign had indicated the need of great naval effort on our part, as well as for the development of merchant shipping. Congress supported every plan brought forward for the preparation of the navy, and granted authority and money without stint for the building of ships and for Government control of all ships sailing the seas under the American flag. The nature and extent of the armies to be raised and trained was a matter that required free discussion, and about which radical differences of opinion were to be expected. But the principle of universal compulsory service in time of war is embodied in the Constitution, and it has been upheld from Washington's time to the present day. That principle is just and democratic. It was expressed in the Draft Law, and this also was enacted with substantial unanimity. The Senate bill was passed by a vote of 81 to 8, on April 28, and on the same day the House bill passed by 397 to 24. These bills were very different in details, but the compromise measure of the conference committee was accepted by both Houses virtually without opposition.

*Duty to
Uphold
Law*

Some different kind of army bill might have been much better; but Congress did the best it could, and the resulting measure was accepted by all the leaders of both parties, to be put into effect by the War Department. Ten million young men from 21 to 31 years of age were enrolled, and—in prescribed districts throughout the country—hundreds of carefully selected exemption boards passed upon the individual cases and made selection with anxious care to do justice. The spirit

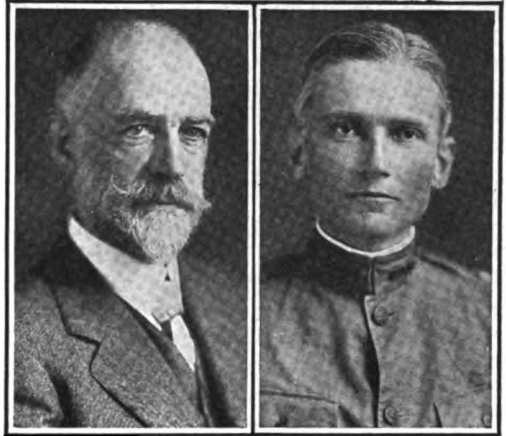
of the country in accepting the scheme and in coöperating for its fulfillment was magnificent. Nothing could have been clearer to well-balanced minds than the duty of supporting the execution of this law. To obstruct in any way the efficient working of such a law in time of war is to be guilty of dangerous misconduct. To express in a proper way the opinion that this or any other legislation might be further improved by amendment is within the range of permissible freedom of speech.

*Raising and
Spending
Money*

A study of the war from the standpoint of its use of new inventions led the Government to lay out a special program for the construction of aircraft and the training of aviators on a large scale. This was laid before Congress, and although it called for an initial appropriation of \$640,000,000 the plan as a whole and in detail was authorized by unanimous vote in both houses. When Congress had voted authority to President Wilson to carry on the war through the expenditure of twenty billion dollars or thereabouts, it was incumbent upon the law-making body to find ways to raise the money. With entire unanimity, Congress authorized the raising of the largest Government loans ever undertaken by any nation. It also undertook to obtain by taxation the largest sums ever taken in a single year from the pocketbooks of any people. How to construct a war-tax bill is always and everywhere a question for thorough discussion and for differences of opinion. We are explaining in subsequent paragraphs the main features of a tax bill completed just before Congress adjourned, that will raise two and a half billions and that, in our opinion, is not a skilfully devised or scientific measure. Something, however, had to be passed, and Congress did its best according to its lights and in the lack of expert advice. The decision having been made, the business community will rise to the occasion and help to see that the Treasury gets the money. It will be permissible to try to get better tax laws next year.

*"Enemies
Within"*

So impressive has been the unity of the country in supporting the Government's war plans that the future historian will see these positive achievements, and the many expressions of national devotion to common ends, and will not make much note of the unfortunate exceptions. There were great numbers of un-



© Harris & Ewing

DR. WILLIAM F. DURAND

PROF. HIRAM BINGHAM

(The country is scarcely aware of the rapidity with which the schools and camps for the training of aviators are growing in numbers and working out methods of instruction. The work on the scientific and technical side is serious and thorough. Among the men directing it are eminent scientific scholars and mechanical engineers, one of whom is Prof. Hiram Bingham of Yale, who has a major's commission in the Signal Corps, and another is Dr. William F. Durand, of Stanford University, California, who is one of the most famous mechanical engineers this country has produced)

naturalized Germans and Austrians in this country at the time of our entering the war, besides millions of American citizens of Teutonic origin, many of whom had sympathized in 1914 with the Germans rather than with the Russians and British. It was to be expected, therefore, that there would be some enemies here who would have to be watched or interned, and who would try to do mischief. Great care is necessary in order to protect our ships and our industries from dynamiters and incendiaries. This situation is simply a phase of war. There is another situation more difficult to deal with, which involves the question of loyalty and disloyalty on the part of our own citizens. The President has been empowered by Congress to use summary means to curb treason and disloyalty and to prevent the giving of aid or comfort to the enemy.

*Seditious
Conduct*

On no pretext must there be any interference with the carrying-on of the war business of the Government in any of its phases. The ideals of peace are those that the country itself has espoused in entering upon the war. The horrors and misery of war are keenly understood, and most of all by those who are closest to the facts. The individual citizen—professing to be for peace—should be careful how his words or his attitude may seem to

bring him outside of that necessary loyalty that is the duty of all men and women in a period when action must follow decision. The Government, on its part—when a country has shown itself to be so generously united as Americans have been in their loyalty of conduct this year—can afford to be extremely careful to prevent its zealous agents from bothering innocent persons and trying to find treason where there is none. It would be very dangerous and harmful to interfere with the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, the right of assembly, and the established processes through which democracies form and express their opinions.

*Censorship
and
Publicity*

We have established in this country a military and naval censorship for the avowed purpose of keeping the enemy from knowing things that could be used against our soldiers or our ships at sea. This, of course, must not be developed into any attempt to prevent just as free discussion of the conduct of the war in American journals as exists in England. The Post Office Department has been denying the use of the mails to certain periodicals and newspapers that were considered disloyal, and particularly it has brought the foreign-language papers under surveillance. But Mr. Burleson's decisions are all subject to a review of the courts. These are war times, and the protesting and calumniating journalists must take their chances. But the officials should show intelligence, and respect the freedom of the press. There seems to have been no interference with constitutional guarantees of personal rights and liberties.

*An Official
News
Shop*

We are publishing a very interesting article on the way in which Mr. George Creel and his associates of the Public Information Bureau are carrying on their publicity system for the Government at Washington. This service is in control of a committee consisting of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the head of the working bureau, Mr. Creel, who was selected by the President. As the bureau has developed, its purpose is not to restrict the press but to promote the wide distribution of those matters of information that the different branches of the Government desire to disseminate. Mr. Wilhelm's article gives a clear account of the objects and methods of the bureau. Our own opinion of its work is increasingly favorable.

*A Well-
Behaved
Press*

It seems to us that the newspapers of the country have shown a very high measure of loyalty and discretion in what they have printed, and that the editors in expressing opinions have, upon the whole, been sensible and patriotic without being subservient or feeling themselves in danger of the kind of official control that exists in a number of the European countries. It is plain enough that American opinion is not going to be indulgent towards any expressions, whether by well-known public men or by unwashed soap-box spouters, that are disloyal in their suggestions. The newspapers and the public, however, seem so ready to deal with all such offenders—even where their remarks are foolish and in bad taste rather than seditious—that we are not able to discern any danger of a kind that requires the services of secret agents and prosecuting attorneys at public meetings. It is possible that some of the I. W. W. leaders have been corrupted by German money. But it is not to be supposed that masses of ordinary men belonging to any labor organization or other society have been intentionally disloyal.

*Neutrals Have
No Standing
Left*

When the United States went into the war, and the members of the Pan-American Union one after another recognized Uncle Sam as their own champion and refused to construe against us their obligations of neutrality, there no longer remained such a thing as a neutral world looking on at the war and representing the normal rights of non-combatant nations. China, Japan, India, were associated with the Allies. So were Egypt and the whole of North Africa, as well as South Africa. Apart from Spain, every state in Europe was involved except the three small countries touching Germany—Holland, Switzerland, and Denmark—with the Scandinavian peninsula comprising Sweden and Norway. Spain is doing a profitable business, entirely with the Allies. The other small countries are in hard luck because they are literally "between the devil and the deep sea." Switzerland and Holland can scarcely exist without obtaining supplies from Germany. On the other hand, all of the five are dependent upon obtaining certain supplies from America. The people of the United States have a warm friendship for these small countries. But our War Trade Board, headed by Mr. Vance McCormick, is using its new embargo power to teach them a neces-

sary lesson. This country will not export food or other supplies to any country that is helping directly or indirectly to support Germany in keeping up the war. It is unfortunate that Holland and Scandinavia do not find themselves in position to make common cause with us in a war that is essentially for the protection of small countries.

*Our Ships
and Their
Use*

While the War Trade Board is thus using the embargo power to bring economic pressure upon Germany, the Shipping Board, of which Mr. Hurley is chairman, is making remarkable progress in its creation of a Government-controlled merchant marine. All ships flying the American flag have now been ordered into Government service. Every vessel of any size under construction in private yards on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and on the Great Lakes has been commandeered. Contracts have also been let for large numbers of new ships to be built on the Shipping Board's standardized plans. The submarine menace continues to be extremely serious, but the American ships will, we hope, be the means of overcoming it.



© Harris & Ewing, Washington

HON. EDWARD M. HURLEY, OF CHICAGO

(Mr. Hurley, as head of the Shipping Board, is about to find himself the greatest master of ocean transportation the world has ever known. Unified control is meeting a situation that was becoming intolerable)

*Ships and
Food, or
Men?*

There has arisen a question of judgment as to the relatively greater need in France of American supplies or American soldiers. There ought to be no doubt on this score. If the war continues, 1919 will be our fighting year, as Mr. Simonds shows (see page 486). We must train officers abroad, but use our ships this winter chiefly for sending supplies. France and Italy have been greatly hampered for lack of the things that we must be sending. Meanwhile, we shall have our hands full. Our business is to furnish supplies and ships, to create and dispatch our force of aviators with their machines, to send surgeons and engineers and various experts. There must be a limit to the despatch of raw regiments to be maintained in training camps abroad, because of the lack of ships.

*Work
in the
Cantonments*

Much enthusiasm attends the work of training that goes on in our great cantonments here at home. To show the quality of American "conscripts," they subscribed something like \$60,000,000 to the Liberty Loan last month. In some of the companies every man subscribed. Officers and men in all the camps entered heartily into a system of organization to support the Government's financial re-



© Paul Thompson, New York

HON. VANCE C. MCCORMICK, OF PENNSYLVANIA

(Mr. McCormick, who was chairman of the Democratic Campaign Committee last year, is now at the head of the War Trade Board which exercises the embargo powers and so controls American exports as to see that no coal, wheat, cotton, or other American products may directly or indirectly contribute to Germany's military power)



LEADERS IN RED CROSS WORK AT THE HEAD OF THE GREAT PARADE IN NEW YORK CITY LAST MONTH

(Mr. Henry P. Davidson, at the left, a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., was selected by the President to organize on a vast scale the war work of the Red Cross organization. Mr. Robert W. DeForest, in the center, is vice-president of the Red Cross and prominent in many kinds of charitable activity. Major General William C. Gorgas, at the right, is Surgeon-General of the United States Army and a distinguished sanitary expert)

quirements. This plan was ably devised and directed by a committee appointed by Secretary Baker, consisting of Col. H. M. Lord, of the Quartermaster's Department, with

Major Thomas L. Smith as his assistant, and Mr. R. G. Cholmeley-Jones, who was called to the work from the business staff of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. It was all typical of



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SUBSCRIBING FOR "LIBERTY LOAN" BONDS AT AN ARMY TRAINING CAMP

(Besides giving their entire time to their country, and risking their lives, the soldiers in Uncle Sam's service have also lent their money to an astonishingly large amount. The illustration above shows members of the New York National Guard subscribing for bonds at their training camp in South Carolina.)

the way in which officers of the army and navy, civilian officials of the Government, and unofficial citizens are uniting their varied kinds of experience and ability to serve the country.

Allied Strategy There is prospect that the Allies, at their approaching conference, may arrive at some fresh decisions concerning matters involving higher strategy. Their resources are greatly superior, but it is difficult to work out the most effective plans of coöperation. Thus Russia and Rumania still have some fighting power in the Balkan region, while Italy is said to have a half million men in Albania and a Greek army of more than half a million is available. The composite Allied army with headquarters at Salonica, under General Sarrail's command, must also be more than half-a-million strong. Turkey's military supplies are surely dwindling, and it is known that Bulgaria dreads the fighting she must face from these four armies within the coming year. The greatest need of the Allies is an organization of their highest strategic intelligence, so that men, ships, and all kinds of supplies may be used in the right places at the right time. The Allies are seeking the views of the American army and navy authorities, and are undoubtedly tending towards improved efficiency in their team work.

Germany in the Baltic The German Government continues to play upon the hopes of the German people by advertising some new exploit or some unavailing victory. Thus through September and October Germany was kept aflame with enthusiasm over the taking of Riga. This Russian Baltic port was put boldly on all the maps of the greater Germany. Now has come the sensational activity of the German navy in the Baltic, with the occupation of islands lying off the gulfs of Riga and Finland. The Russian navy seems to have behaved well, though it was entirely outclassed. The provisional government promptly decided to move the Russian capital from Petrograd to Moscow.

Russia's Problems These events look worse for Russia in the newspaper headlines than they really are. Russia is to elect her constitutional convention late in the present month of November. Recent local elections indicate that the great

constitution-making body will by no means come under control of the anarchists and muddle-headed extremists of the Lenine type. In any case Russia must spend the coming six months in reorganization, and for such purposes Moscow is a better capital than Petrograd. Mr. Stoddard's article, in this number of the REVIEW, on the racial and political structure of Russia, will be found very timely in view of the problems that are uppermost. The better support Finland now renders to the cause of a free and liberal Europe, the more certain will be her self-governing future. The chief obstacle to Finland's realization of her long-deferred hopes is no longer the Russian autocracy but is the German menace.

Sweden's New Cabinet In the Swedish parliamentary elections, held during the last ten days of September, the Social Democrats, headed by Hjalmar Brantling, succeeded in returning a plurality of the Riksdag and with the Liberals now control the government. The Conservatives were third in the running. Both Liberals and Socialists were adverse to a coalition ministry including Conservatives, although such was the plan proposed by King Gustavus. After some delay a cabinet was named consisting of six Liberals, four Socialists, and a non-partisan Foreign Minister (Dr. Hellner). The new Premier is Professor Eden, of the University of Upsala, while Brantling is Minister of Finance. The outstanding fact of the situation seems to be that Sweden is overwhelmingly radical in spirit, as contrasted with her position a few years ago. At all events the resulting government is likely to be one with which the Entente Allies can get on without undue friction.

Canadian Politics The dissolution of Canada's "Long Parliament" last month was quickly followed by the announcement that influential Liberals had yielded to Premier Borden's invitation to become members of a coalition ministry not unlike that of Great Britain under Lloyd George. Nine opposition leaders, all of whom had supported the conscription law, accepted portfolios. One of these, Mr. F. B. Carvell, of New Brunswick, had been regarded as the most active and effective opponent of the Borden government on all questions save that of conscription. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the aged Liberal leader, takes the ground that the conscription law is now on



© Western Newspaper Union

URGING MAYOR MITCHEL, OF NEW YORK CITY, TO ACCEPT RENOMINATION AT THE HEAD OF A CITIZENS' NON-PARTISAN TICKET

(Ex-Judge Hughes is speaking. Colonel Roosevelt also addressed the meeting. Between Mr. Roosevelt and Mayor Mitchell is Henry Morgenthau, recently ambassador to Turkey)

the statute-books and must be obeyed, but that future extensions of the draft must be submitted to referendum vote. It is thought more than probable that the Conservatives will be returned to power in the Parliamentary elections which take place in January. In spite of opposition in Quebec, Canada as a whole seems to be sturdily backing its government in all war measures.

*The New
York City
Election*

Seldom has the country's attention been focused so intently on a municipal campaign as in the case of this year's mayoralty election in New York City. In these pages last month we spoke of the candidacy of Mayor John Purroy Mitchel and the Republican primaries in which he was opposed for the nomination by the Hon. William M. Bennett. A recount of the votes showed that Mr. Bennett, by a small plurality of the 72,000 Republican voters who took part in the primaries, was in fact the party's nominee. Thus Mr. Mitchel failed to receive a designation on the ballot as the Republican candidate, although many Republicans who do not believe in maintaining party distinctions in local elections had made it known in countless ways that Mr. Mitchel was their choice. A great mass-meeting in front of the City Hall on October 1 was addressed by ex-President Roosevelt, Hon. Charles E. Hughes, and other eminent citizens of New York, who made it clear that the Mayor's reelection is

demanding by a great body of citizens on the grounds of his fitness for the place, as established by a four-years' record, and especially his fearless and alert championship of the Nation's cause at a moment when faltering or negligence in the government of the city might have wrought untold injury.

*A Four-Cor-
nered Fight*

In this campaign the opposition to the Mitchel Administration is divided. A very large radical vote is expected to go to Morris Hillquit, who has received the Socialist nomination for Mayor, but a section of this vote which in ordinary times might be cast for a Socialist ticket will this year go to Mayor Mitchel on the score of loyalty. American-born Socialists of the type represented by J. G. Phelps Stokes have declared for Mitchel. On the other hand, an indefinite number of foreign-born voters throughout the city may be expected to vote for Hillquit. The candidacy of Judge John F. Hylan, of Brooklyn, has the united support of Tammany and the Hearst newspapers. Before his nomination in the Democratic primaries Judge Hylan had been almost unknown in New York politics. He, as well as the other candidates, professes loyalty to the Government, and no one is disposed to question his sincerity in this matter. Registration this year was unusually large, reaching nearly 700,000, and practically equalling the registration of 1916, a Presidential year.

**The
New Revenue
Bill**

The new Revenue Bill became a law on October 3. Some of its provisions were to go into effect at once, others on November 1, and still others at various dates, the full tax, in the case of the periodical publishers, becoming operative four years hence. It is estimated that the measure will raise taxes for the current year aggregating \$2,534,870,000. Far the most important items, in point of size, are the excess profits tax, estimated to yield \$1,000,000,000, the income schedules amounting to \$851,000,000, and the imposts on spirits, wines, and liquors aggregating \$193,000,000. It is possible that the sum of money thus provided by taxation may be in something like a proper proportion of the total amounts to be raised in 1917 for the prosecution of the war when compared with the sums to be borrowed. Also it is, generally speaking, true that the tax money is to come from the well-to-do rather than from the poor. When so much has been said it is difficult to add commendation. The bill is full of obscurities—puzzling even to its friends—with its cross-purposes and its unscientific attempts to “catch” citizens with too many awkwardly devised nets.

**The
Excess Profits
Tax**

The Senate had at one time in its work on the bill a clean-cut plan for segregating the enormous profits resulting specifically from the episode of war. The method of segregation proposed was that used by Great Britain, in



HOW ENGLAND DEALS WITH THE “PROFIT-EAR” IN LEVYING THE EXCESS PROFITS TAX

(As shown in a new English cartoon)

From Cassell's Saturday Journal (London)

which the average or normal profits of the pre-war period are, through a liberal formula, entirely exempted, and a very heavy rate applied to any excess over these normal profits earned in the war years. It is perfectly obvious that, given liberal exemption of normal or peace profits, a very high rate indeed can be levied on the true excess war profits without hardship and with the utmost justice and propriety; but when the present revenue law had reached its final form in the Senate, the pulling and hauling of debate had already deprived this most important section of its true character of a war profits tax. There had come attempts to invade peace profits in the same schedule, and a disposition to be niggardly with exemptions—both utter mistakes from the standpoint of the Government revenues as well as of the people taxed. For as soon as the principle of segregating the excess profits of war was lost, it became impossible to apply the rates which only these particular excess earnings could bear; and where the rates actually applied hit normal profits they will inevitably produce hardship. Then, when the Senate bill was matched in conference with the House bill, which had been built on an entirely different and still less scientific plan, the entire tremendous and delicate work degenerated into a series of compromises not in the least valuable for the purposes of getting a good tax bill, though necessary to get some kind of a tax bill passed. The business community deserved more statesmanlike treatment.



DIVIDING THE MELON
From the World (New York)

*Expert
Work Absolutely
Needed*

It is possible and easy to frame a revenue measure raising a half-billion dollars in suchwise as to cause great injustice and suffering to the industrial life of the nation and to individuals. It is possible also, though not so easy, to raise three billion dollars without these ill effects. The revenue bill before us, and the manner of its growth, demonstrated that the special knowledge, study, and scientific attitude required for a task of such magnitude and detail cannot grow out of Congressional debates. There is imminent need of an expert body to frame plans for our war taxes, based on scientific principles, knowledge of industrial and financial operations and common sense. If the war should last several years longer we shall be in serious danger of failing in the work of supplying sinews for it, if we do not find an entirely different method of devising taxes from that which has been in operation in Washington during the last spring and summer.

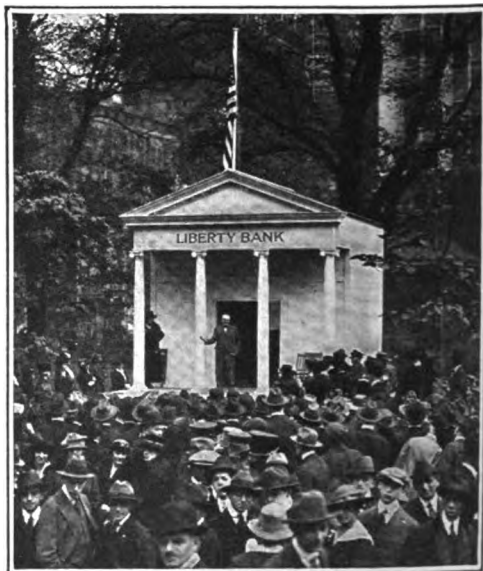
*Increases in
Periodical
Postal Rates*

The new revenue law contains provisions for increasing the postage rates on newspapers and magazines through the operation of a zone system. The increases are progressive, beginning in July of 1918 and attaining their final bulk in 1921. Very much heavier additions are made to the postal charges on the advertising contents of periodicals than on the reading sections. It is not necessary to point out that this scheme has no place in a war revenue bill, or that it has no relation to the task of raising money to conduct the war. The fact that the rates will not be in full effect for several years shows this at first glance. Many Congressmen are aware that, even assuming that a change in second-class postal rates is called for, the present plan is highly unwise and awkward. They see further that a business question of this sort, involving vast detail and many delicately balanced factors, has no place whatsoever in the heat and fury of debate over an emergency war revenue bill. They see also that the present measure flies in the face of common sense and of every expert commission and opinion. There is no doubt that effective effort will be made to rescind it in the next session of Congress. The net effect of the new schedules at their maximum on a periodical of national circulation and normal advertising patronage would be to increase its carrying charges—its freight rate—by well over 250 per cent., and to make this carry-

ing charge about five times greater for subscribers in the far West and Southwest than for those close to the publishing centers in the East. These considerations were thoroughly appreciated by the Senate after hearings had been accorded the publishers, and the whole proposal to raise postal rates was thrown out of its bill. The present plan was forced into the bill by the House conferees, who had refused to give hearings or to consider the merits of the case.

*The "Silent
Panic" in Wall
Street*

With the final shaping of the Revenue Bill, the security markets began a downward movement which, by the middle of the month, had brought even standard stocks and bonds to a level below any reached in the panics of this century. Several of the railroad stocks with the longest records of prosperity and stability were quoted at the lowest prices in their histories. There were many rumors that the governors of the Stock Exchange were considering the closing of that institution. It was later denied that the Stock Exchange would be closed. The Comptroller of the Currency issued a statement, announcing that the national bank examiners would not require the banks to charge their investments of unquestioned intrinsic value at the low quotations, and that discretion would be exercised as to the depreciation to be charged



"LIBERTY BANK," IN MADISON SQUARE, NEW YORK
(The structure is a miniature of the United States Sub-Treasury Building in Wall Street, and was erected by the Woman's Committee as a place to sell Liberty Loan Bonds. The speaker is Mr. Job Hedges)



THE NEW YORK "LIBERTY LOAN" COMMITTEE OF PROMINENT BANKERS, WHO DIRECTED THE CAMPAIGN TO RAISE ONE-THIRD OF THE NATION'S TOTAL SUBSCRIPTIONS

(Seated, from left to right, are: Allen B. Forbes, of Harris, Forbes & Co.; Charles V. Rich, vice-president National City Bank; Seward Prosser, president Bankers' Trust Co.; Jacob H. Schiff, of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; George F. Baker, chairman First National Bank; Benjamin Strong, governor Federal Reserve Bank; James F. Curtis, secretary Federal Reserve Bank; James S. Alexander, president National Bank of Commerce; J. P. Morgan; Martin Vogel, Assistant Treasurer of United States; Albert H. Wiggin, president Chase National Bank; James N. Wallace, president Central Trust Co., and Gates W. McGarragh, president Mechanics' & Metals' National Bank. Standing, from left to right, are: Charles H. Sabin, president Guaranty Trust Co.; William Woodward, president Hanover National Bank; Walter E. Frew, president Corn Exchange Bank; E. C. Gray, assistant secretary Guaranty Trust Co.; A. M. Anderson, of J. P. Morgan & Co., and Guy Emerson, V.-P. National Bank of Commerce)

off in any six months' period. The Comptroller of the Currency also gave it as his opinion that the crash in the stock market was partly due to the efforts of investors to sell high-class railroad and industrial securities to obtain funds for purchases of Government bonds.

A Plea for Higher Freight Rates

The railroads have again applied to the Interstate Commerce Commission for increases in freight rates. In the decision handed down by the Commission last June, the roads were denied their request for a horizontal increase of 15 per cent., but certain concessions were allowed which are estimated to amount to 5 or 6 per cent. of the revenues. At that time the Commission indicated that it would keep an open mind and that if, later on in the autumn, the roads were able to show data which made their case stronger, the question would be taken up and considered again. On October 18, the railroad heads were accorded a hearing at a public session and the roads and the shippers were given sixty days to prepare their arguments for and against the rate increases. The plight of the carriers in the eastern territory is peculiarly hard. They have been much heavier sufferers from the increased cost of labor and

materials than the western and southern railroads. In the month of August, the net revenues in eastern territory were nearly three million dollars less than in the same month of 1916. For the whole year the net revenue per mile, averaged for the entire country, was \$507 against \$528 last year, and in eastern territory the per-mile net revenue had fallen from \$881 to \$834.

No Money for Repairs

The problem of the railroads is immensely increased by the fact that the great Government loans and unprecedented demands of industry for capital have raised the cost of obtaining working funds to such heights that it is now literally impossible to get money on any livable terms for purposes of extension and improvements of service. This results temporarily in a somewhat better relative showing of net earnings for the roads, because it means that they must refrain from buying locomotives and improving their tracks; while by working the plant they have for all it is worth, the current operating results in dollars and cents look better for a time. But no more dangerous situation could exist, both for the railroads and their owners and for the country at large, than to overwork our transportation plants to the point of their

Lend Your Money to Your Government

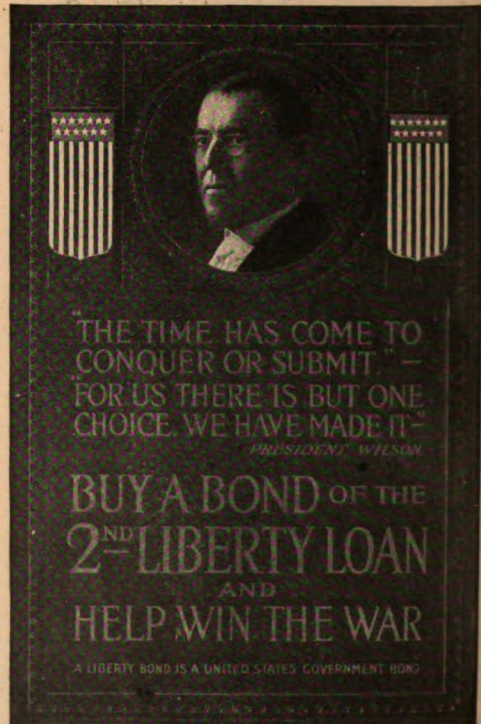


**BUY A UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT BOND
SECOND LIBERTY LOAN OF 1917**
U. S. Treasury will pay you interest every six months

THE TREASURY BUILDING AT WASHINGTON—LARGEST AND MOST POPULAR OF THE LOAN POSTERS



AN UNCLE SAM POSTER, IN RED, WHITE, AND BLUE.
THE PHRASE IS BY SECRETARY MCADOO



QUOTATIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO
RUSSIA AND HIS FLAG DAY ADDRESS.

"LIBERTY LOAN" POSTERS WIDELY DISPLAYED LAST MONTH

becoming less efficient. No present way out of these difficulties seems to be open except the granting of higher freight rates, which will encourage investors to lend money to the roads and also give the roads a chance to pay for a part of their necessary improvements out of earnings.

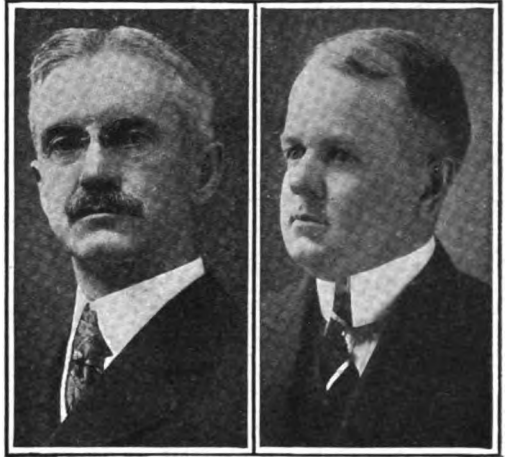
**Labor
Troubles
Rife**

In the middle of October it became known that 200,000 railway employees—conductors, baggagemen, trainmen, brakemen and yardmen—on nearly sixty railroads in the northeastern section of the United States and eastern Canada had demanded an increase of 10 per cent. in wages. The new proposed schedule will be put to the vote of the members of the unions and then be presented to the railroad executives. In New York City the owners of vessels were struggling with a strike of the Longshoremen's Association, which, in the second week of October, placed the metropolis in serious danger of a port blockade. The great strike of the shipbuilding trades on the Pacific coast, involving 30,000 metal-trades workers, was settled at the end of September, but only after serious delay in an enormous amount of Government work. With news of important strikes imminent in the coal mines of the Southwest, Fuel Administrator Garfield, on October 16, telegraphed the heads of the unions, demanding that there should be no walkouts and warning the labor men that he would use every power committed to him to prevent any strike at this time. On the same day forty mines in Illinois were shut down as a result of the strike of some 15,000 miners who demanded an immediate increase in wages. By Monday, October 22, however, most of the strikes in the Illinois and Indiana coal fields had been called off.



© Harris & Ewing
CLYDE B. AITCHISON,
NEW MEMBER OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

(Mr. Aitchison was formerly a State railroad commissioner in Oregon, and has recently been connected with the valuation committee of the National Association of Commissioners)



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GEORGE W. ANDERSON

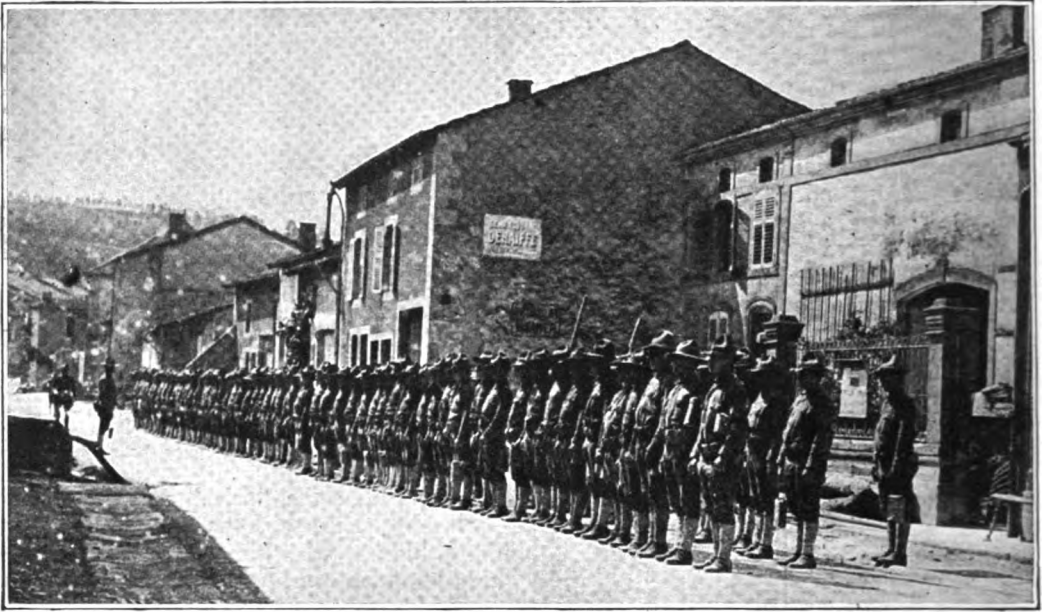
ROBERT W. WOOLLEY

(Two new members of the Interstate Commerce Commission. New legislation increases the number of members of the board, and Mr. Anderson, a prominent lawyer and publicist of Boston, has been appointed by the President to one of the vacancies. Another appointee is the well-known newspaper man and publicity manager, Mr. Robert W. Woolley. The third new appointee is Mr. Aitchison, of Oregon)

**The
Liberty
Loan**

In the "drive" for the second Liberty Loan, during the last three weeks of October, Secretary McAdoo went on a speaking trip as far as the Pacific Coast; ex-President Taft, William J. Bryan, members of President Wilson's Cabinet, and many other men made tours of the country to stimulate interest in the great loan. This, the first loan unrestricted in size ever offered by the United States Government, was counted on to raise \$3,000,000,000, and Secretary McAdoo hoped for total subscriptions of \$5,000,000,000. The bonds bear 4 per cent. interest and run to 1942, though they are redeemable by the Government after ten years. They are convertible into any future issues bearing a higher rate of interest, but must be offered for conversion within six months after the date of any such new issue. They are exempt from the normal income tax, but are subject to the super taxes on individuals and to the corporation and excess profits taxes. The country supported Secretary McAdoo's efforts with a will; the selling of the bonds was the chief business of hundreds of thousands of busy citizens during the period of the "drive." There were not wanting opinions that if the war continued long, with many more loans to be made, it would be less wasteful of time and energy to follow England's example in selling her securities continuously and more quietly.

TRAINING THE AMERICAN SOLDIER IN FRANCE

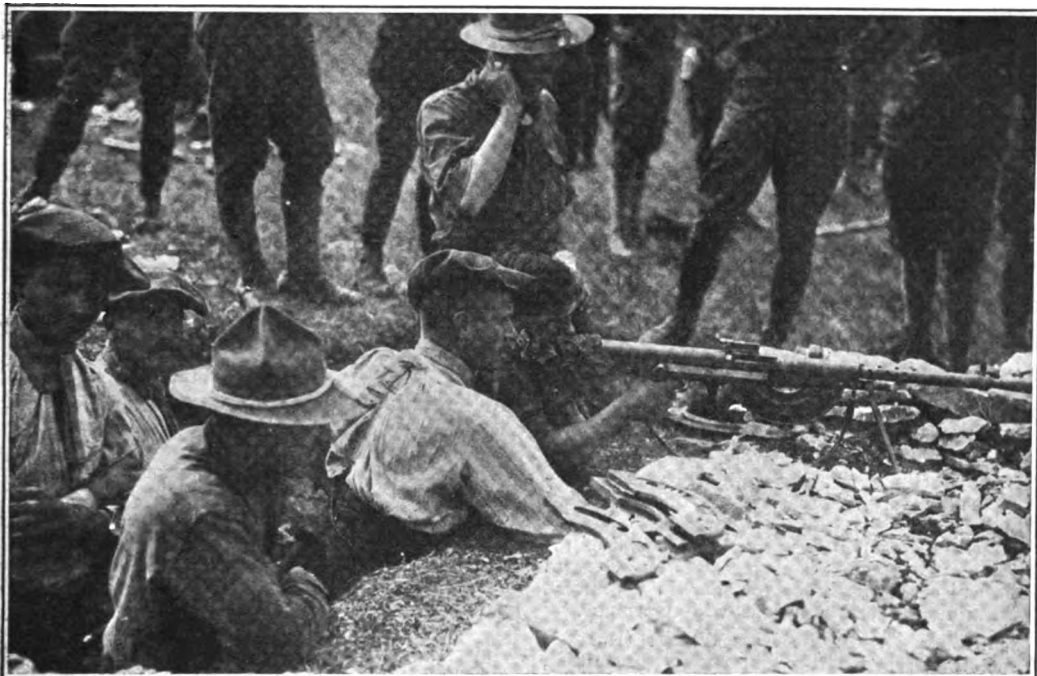


LINED UP FOR INSPECTION IN A DESERTED FRENCH VILLAGE

Americans have been permitted to know that their troop transports are making more or less regular voyages across the Atlantic, and that there are probably a hundred thousand American soldiers now undergoing intensive training in English and French camps. Even the most experienced of these men have been obliged to acquire new kinds of military knowledge.



THE "GAS CHAMBER"—LEARNING HOW TO USE MASKS AND TO MEET THE GERMAN GAS ATTACKS



GETTING INSTRUCTION IN MACHINE-GUN FIRE, FROM THE FAMOUS "BLUE DEVIL" ALPINE CHASSEURS OF FRANCE

The illustrations on this and the preceding page show three phases of land fighting for which (excepting only the extraordinary use of artillery fire) the present war is most noted. Machine guns are now employed tenfold as liberally as peacetime strategists had calculated. Hand grenades and deadly gases are entirely new to American soldiers. This intensive training of our expeditionary force, under French and British instruction, has already covered a period of four months.



PRACTICE IN THROWING HAND GRENADES—THE MOTION IS THAT OF "PUTTING THE SHOT", RATHER THAN THAT OF THROWING A BASEBALL.

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From September 21 to October 21, 1917)

The Last Part of September

September 21.—German and Austrian replies to the Pope are made public; they hope that the peace appeal may meet with success, and the proposal for simultaneous limitation of armaments is endorsed—international differences then to be decided by peaceful methods; both replies ignore the status of Belgium and other occupied territory; the Austrian answer declares for immediate negotiations among belligerents upon the basis of the Pope's proposals.

Secretary Lansing makes public a secret message by Ambassador Fernstorff on January 22, 1917, to Berlin, requesting authority to pay \$50,000, "as on former occasions, to influence Congress."

General Alexieff resigns as chief of staff of the Russian army, and is succeeded by General Tcheremisoff, recently commander in southwest.

Costa Rica severs relations with Germany.

September 22.—In the Riga district (Russia), the Germans break through, occupy Jacobstadt, and advance six miles on a front of twenty-five.

September 23.—The Argentine Minister at Berlin informs his Government that Germany has given "ample and definite satisfaction," condemning the conduct and opinions of its dismissed representative at Buenos Aires.

The French steamer *Medil* is torpedoed in the Mediterranean, with a loss of 250 lives.

Lieutenant Vosse, a leading German aviator, is killed; he had destroyed more than forty enemy machines.

September 24.—Captain Laureati, of the Italian army, flies in an airplane from Turin to London (650 miles), without stop, in 7 hours and 12 minutes.

German aircraft renew their night attacks on England.

September 25.—It is announced that the famous French war aviator, Capt. George Guynemer, lost his life during a flight over Flanders; he had previously "accounted for" 52 enemy aviators.

The Argentine Chamber of Deputies (following action in the Senate on September 19) votes by 53 to 18 to sever diplomatic relations with Germany; President Irigoyen is against such action, and is not obliged to carry out the recommendation.

The Irish Convention holds the first of a series of sessions at Cork.

September 26.—It is reported that Germany has made a supplementary reply to the Pope, in a verbal communication from Foreign Minister Kuehlman; Germany offers to contribute toward compensation to Belgium for war damages, but demands economic rights and a guarantee against any "Belgian menace such as threatened Germany in 1914."

The British attack on a six-mile front in Flanders (Belgium), toward Zonnebeke.

General Soukhomlinov, former Minister of

War in Russia, is found guilty of high treason and sentenced to imprisonment for life.

September 27.—A Democratic Congress meets at Petrograd, Russia, composed of 1,200 delegates from the Social Democratic and Social Revolutionary elements.

September 28.—The British Controller of Shipping makes formal statement that "it is of the utmost importance that the United States should realize that the shortage of shipping is the most vital fact in the present situation."

September 29.—British forces in Mesopotamia (under General Maude), after a battle lasting two days, defeat a Turkish army at Ramadie, on the Euphrates, taking 4,000 prisoners.

Paul Bolo Pacha, a Levantine resident of Paris, is arrested as a German spy, upon information furnished by the United States which implicates him in the handling of vast sums for peace propaganda and sabotage.

The First Week in October

October 1.—In the sixth German air raid on England within eight nights (and the most extensive of the war), four squadrons of German airplanes are observed and the bombardment lasts more than two hours.

It is stated at Paris that typhoid fever has been virtually eradicated from the French army,



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MARSHAL JOFFRE RECEIVING GOLD OAK LEAVES FROM AMERICAN AMBASSADOR, MR. SHARP—A GIFT OF NEW YORK CITY

through the discovery and use of a vaccinating serum.

October 2.—Great Britain prohibits the exportation to Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland of all articles of commerce except printed matter.

The Swedish ministry under Premier Schwartz resigns after a protracted political crisis growing principally out of the disclosure of the connection between German and Swedish diplomacy in neutral countries.

October 3.—The British report of British merchant ships sunk by submarines shows the small-est number—13 vessels—since the renewal of Germany's submarine warfare in February.

October 4.—The British renew their offensive east of Ypres, moving forward approximately one mile, winning positions of importance, and capturing 3,000 Germans.

The British officially claim that since August 1 prisoners totalling 51,435, and 332 guns, have been taken on the western front.

Premier Kerensky forms a coalition cabinet in Russia, ignoring the expressed desire of the Democratic Congress (in session at Petrograd) to participate in reorganization of authority.

The British Admiralty announces that the cruiser *Drake* (14,000 tons) has been torpedoed off the north coast of Ireland, sinking in shallow water.

It is learned that the German raider *Seeadler* ran aground on Mopeha Island (South Pacific) on August 2, and was abandoned by her crew.

It is officially stated that German air raids over London, during the nine months to October 1, caused the death of 191 persons and injury to 749.

October 6.—Peru severs diplomatic relations with Germany, the vote in Congress being 105 to 6; Germany had refused indemnity for the sinking of the bark *Lorton* by a submarine.

October 7.—Uruguay severs diplomatic relations with Germany, the Chamber of Deputies voting after President Viera recommends espousing the cause of justice, democracy, and small nationalities.

The Second Week of October

October 8.—The Government of Ecuador informs the German Minister to Peru and Ecuador (at Lima) that he will not be received officially.

The Navy Department at Washington announces that an American destroyer recently shelled an Italian submarine in error, killing two of the crew.

October 9.—The British again attack German positions northeast of Ypres, this time in co-operation with French troops; an advance of more than a mile is made, on a front of a mile and a half, in what is described as "a sea of mud."

Chancellor Michaelis informs the German Reichstag that peace is impossible as long as Germany's enemies demand territory or seek to drive a wedge between the German people and their Emperor; Foreign Minister von Kuehlman declares that the great question prolonging the war is that of Alsace-Lorraine, and that Germany cannot make concessions with regard to those provinces.

The German Minister of Marine, Vice-Admiral von Capelle, makes public in the Reichstag some details of a mutiny among vessels in the German Baltic fleet several weeks earlier, patterned after the Russian revolution and with the object of forcing peace.

October 10.—The new coalition ministry in Russia, headed by Premier Kerensky, assumes control of affairs.

October 12.—German troops are landed on Oesel and Dago Islands, at the entrance to the Gulf of Riga, and the Russian fear of a march toward Petrograd is revived.

Vice-Admiral von Capelle resigns his post as German Minister of Marine.

The British gain a further half-mile in advancing from Ypres, although retarded by muddy ground.

The cabinet of Premier Borden (Conservative) in Canada is reorganized, the Liberal representation being increased to seven.

The Third Week of October

October 15.—The American army in France is reviewed at its training camp by Marshal Joffre.

October 16.—It is unofficially stated at Washington that more than 100,000 American soldiers have been successfully transported through the German submarine zone.

The first damage to an American war vessel is reported, after five months of active service in European waters; a destroyer is torpedoed by a German submarine but makes port, one of the crew being killed and five wounded.

October 17.—The American transport *Antilles*, homeward bound under convoy, is torpedoed by an unobserved submarine, sinking in five minutes; seventy of those on board are lost.

A naval engagement in the Gulf of Riga results in the withdrawal of the Russian fleet, outnumbered and out-ranged by the Germans; the Russian battleship *Slava* is sunk and the remainder of the fleet is "bottled up" in Moon Sound.

Two German raiders attack a convoy in the North Sea, sinking two British destroyers and nine of the twelve Scandinavian vessels under convoy.

October 18.—Unofficial reports of municipal elections in Russia—based on universal, direct, equal, and secret suffrage—indicate that two-thirds of the members of municipal councils will be Socialists of the constructive type; the "Bolsheviki," or radical element of the Social Democrats, elects a small minority.

October 19.—French aircraft bring down four or more German Zeppelin airships, of a fleet of eight returning from a raid over England.

The Russian Government announces that removal of the capital from Petrograd to Moscow has begun.

October 20.—The Russian Government orders the dissolution of the fourth Duma, in announcing the holding of elections on November 25 for members of the Constituent Assembly.

It is reported that subscriptions to the seventh German war loan (closed October 18) totaled \$3,107,000,000.

October 21.—A censored report of food discussion in the Prussian Diet indicates that, excepting for potatoes, German crops are unsatisfactory.



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THE "RAINBOW" DIVISION IN REVIEW AT CAMP MILLS, LONG ISLAND—MADE UP OF UNITS FROM MORE THAN HALF OF THE STATES



© International Film Service

A LESSON IN FRENCH FOR THE "REGULARS," AT GOVERNOR'S ISLAND, N. Y.



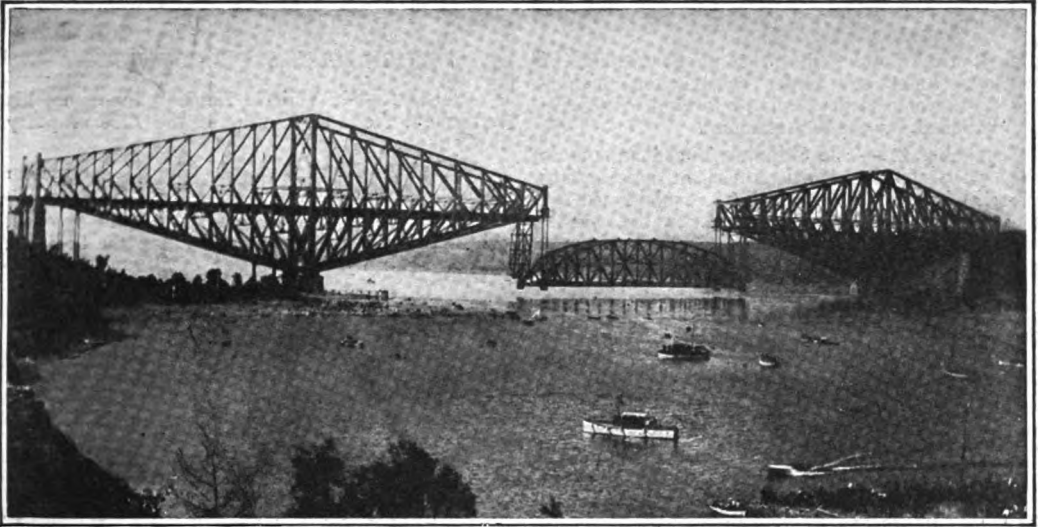
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"DIGGING IN" AT SPARTANBURG, S. C.—THE CAMP OF NEW YORK NATIONAL GUARDSMEN



© Int-

GENERAL PERSHING ADDRESSING 18,000 MEN OF THE NATIONAL ARMY AT CAMP GRANT, ROCKFORD, ILL., ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN SOLDIER IN HOME TRAINING CAMPS



© American Press Association, N. Y.

RAISING THE CENTRAL SPAN OF THE GREAT CANTILEVER BRIDGE OVER THE ST. LAWRENCE AT QUEBEC

(After two attempts which had ended disastrously—in 1907 and 1917—the center span of the Quebec Bridge was successfully placed in position on September 20. It had been constructed on large scows, in shallow water, and towed to place. The lifting operations required four days, for the span was 640 feet long and weighed 5000 tons. With the adjoining sections, the completed span is the longest in the world, 1800 feet. The bridge is primarily a railroad structure, designed to bring back to Quebec some of the vast trade that has been going in recent years to Montreal, 160 miles farther up the river)

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From September 21 to October 21, 1917)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

September 24.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the Trading with the Enemy bill. . . . The House votes (181 to 107) for the creation of a Committee on Woman Suffrage.

September 25.—The House adopts the conference report on the Trading with the Enemy bill; a bill is passed legalizing the Aircraft Production Board (previously passed in the Senate), composed of three members each from Army and Navy and three civilians.

September 28.—The House passes the Administration bill permitting foreign ships to engage in American coastwise trade during the war.

September 29.—The Senate and House conferences reach an agreement on the War Revenue measure, after rewriting most of its provisions; the revised measure is estimated to produce by additional taxation \$2,535,000,000 annually.

October 1.—The House adopts the conference report on the War Revenue measure, without roll call.

October 2.—The Senate unanimously adopts the conference report on the War Revenue bill.

October 3.—The Senate adopts without debate the conference report on the Urgent Deficiency appropriation bill, carrying authorizations of \$7,657,000,000 for war expenditures.

October 4.—The Senate adopts an amendment to the Soldiers and Sailors Insurance bill, reviving the rank of General for the commander of American troops in France and for the Chief of Staff. . . . The House adopts the Urgent Deficiency bill.

October 5.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the Soldiers and Sailors Insurance bill, and passes the measure permitting foreign ships to engage in coastwise trade.

October 6.—In the Senate, Mr. La Follette (Rep., Wis.) defends his criticisms of Administration war policies; a special committee of five members makes plans to investigate charges of disloyalty against Mr. La Follette.

The special session of the Sixty-fifth Congress comes to an end, after six months' work in which war was declared on Germany, a compulsory military service act passed, and appropriations totalling \$21,000,000,000 made for war purposes.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 22.—The Texas Senate sustains charges in the impeachment proceedings brought by the House against Governor James E. Ferguson, involving misuse of State funds; Lieutenant-Governor William P. Hobby becomes Governor.

September 24.—The President announces an agreement between steel producers and the War Industries Board, involving price reductions of from 43 per cent. to 70 per cent. on pig iron and steel bars, shapes, and plates, for the Government, the Allies, and the public.

September 25.—Governor McCall is renominated in the Massachusetts Republican primaries; Frederick W. Mansfield is the Democratic candidate.

September 26.—A statement reviewing American shipbuilding progress is issued by the Ship-

ping Board, showing that 1036 cargo vessels (of 5,924,700 tons) are under construction, including 400 uncompleted vessels of foreign ownership requisitioned by the Government.

September 27.—The Shipping Board announces that on October 15 all American ocean-going vessels of over 2500 tons will be requisitioned for Government service; in most cases the vessels will be turned back to their owners and operated under direction of the Board.

September 28.—A recount of votes in the New York mayoralty primary of September 19 shows that William M. Bennett received the Republican nomination, defeating the Fusion candidate, Mayor Mitchel.

October 3.—The President signs the War Revenue bill, estimated to yield \$2,535,000,000 annually by new taxation.

October 4.—An authorized statement is made that work has been begun on the construction of 20,000 airplanes and 24 flying schools.

The Exports Administration Board decides to withhold American coal from neutral (South American) vessels carrying cargoes to European neutrals which would ultimately benefit the enemy.

October 7.—The Printing Committee of the United States Senate recommends that the Government operate the print pulp and paper industry, declaring that the American press faces serious disaster if relief from excessive prices cannot speedily be had.

October 9.—The voters of Newark, the largest city in New Jersey, adopt the commission form of government.

October 10.—The President issues a proclamation (under the Food Control Act) placing under a license system all large dealers in meats, cereals, dairy products, eggs, fruits, vegetables, sugar, and other specified articles of food.

October 14.—The President issues an order (under the Trading with the Enemy Act) establishing a War Trade Board, succeeding the Exports Administration Board, to supervise exports and imports, and also creates a Censorship Board.

October 15.—The President issues a statement declaring it "imperative that there should be a complete mobilization of the banking reserves," and urging State banks and trust companies to unite with the Federal Reserve System and consolidate gold reserves of the country.

The Shipping Board requisitions all American cargo and passenger ships of 2500 tons or more.

The voters of Iowa reject constitutional amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor; Statewide prohibition by legislative enactment already exists.

October 16.—Dr. Garfield, Fuel Administrator, warns miners and operators in the Southwest that strikes ordered in several coal fields must not take place.

October 20.—The War Department announces drastic changes in the machinery of the selective draft, dividing remaining enrolled men into five classes.

October 21.—The campaign for the Government's second "Liberty Loan" begins its fourth and last week, with subscriptions of approximately \$2,000,000,000; \$5,000,000,000 is desired.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

October 1.—Sir Wilfrid Laurier announces his retirement from leadership of the Liberal party in Canada.

October 7.—Martial law in Spain (declared on June 27) is ended.

October 19.—A ministry is formed in Sweden, with Professor Eden as Premier and the Socialist leader Branting as Minister of Finance.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

October 8.—Official reports from China declare that devastation and suffering from floods in Chili and six other provinces are greater than attendant upon any other inundation in China's history.

October 13.—Fire destroys 800,000 bushels of grain at Brooklyn, N. Y., awaiting shipment to Europe.

October 16.—A large section of the Kansas City stockyards is destroyed by fire, causing a loss of nearly 15,000 cattle and hogs.

October 18.—It is unofficially announced that the value of American farm products in 1917 will be \$21,600,000,000—an increase of \$8,500,000,000 over 1916.

OBITUARY

September 19.—Neal Brown, a prominent Wisconsin lawyer and political leader, 61.

September 20.—Rev. Edward Robie, D.D., for sixty-five years a Congressional pastor at Greenland, N. H., 96.

September 24.—Rev. Charles J. Ryder, D.D., for many years corresponding secretary of the American Missionary Society, 69. . . . Albert Gallatin Wheeler, prominent in public utility enterprises of Chicago, 63.

September 26.—Edward Miner Gallaudet, a noted teacher of the deaf and an authority on international law, 54.

September 27.—Ebenezer J. Hill, Representative in Congress from Connecticut for eleven terms, 72.

September 30.—Isaac N. Seligman, the New York banker, philanthropist and public-spirited citizen, 62. . . . Charles Napier Hemy, the English marine painter, 76.

October 9.—Brig.-Gen. Hiram M. Chittenden, U. S. A., retired, 58. . . . Theodore Starrett, a pioneer constructor of tall buildings in New York, 52. . . . John McBride, the labor leader, active as a federal mediator in the settlement of miners' strikes, 61. . . . Hussein Kemal, Sultan of Egypt since 1914.

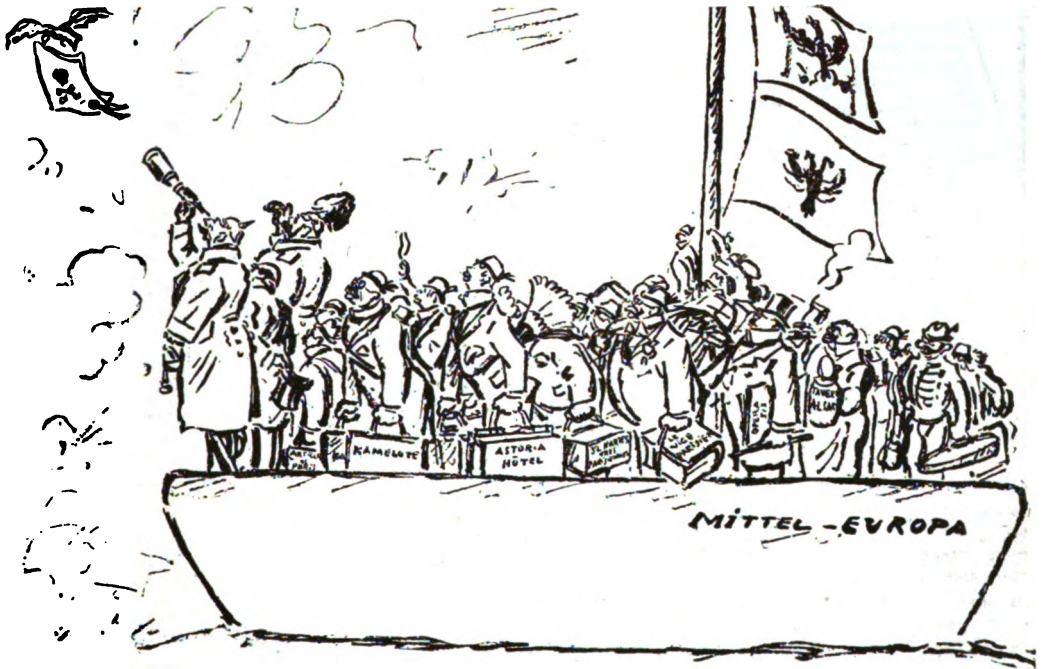
October 10.—John Henry Hardy, Associate Justice of the Massachusetts Superior Court, 70.

October 12.—John Howard Hale, member of the Connecticut Public Utilities Commission and known as the Georgia "peach king," 63. . . . Sir Wallace Graham, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, 69.

October 15.—Don M. Dickinson, Postmaster-General in the cabinet of President Cleveland, 71.

October 21.—Paul O. Husting, United States Senator from Wisconsin, 51.

CURRENT FRENCH SATIRE



AWAITING THE RETURN OF THE DOVE TO THE (GERMAN) ARK

"And all the inhabitants of the grounded Ark awaited with impatience the return of the dove, announcing to them that they might again go forth over all the earth." (Legend of the Flood.)
From *Le Rire* (Paris)

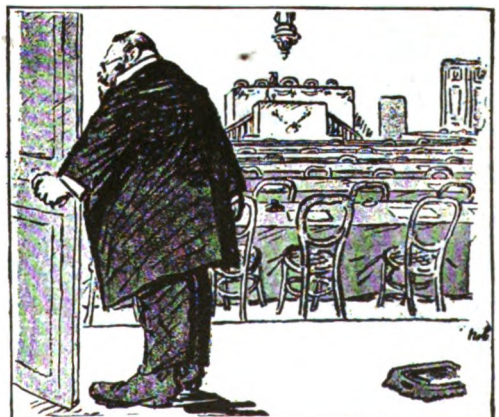


THE WHITE PEACE

THE KAISER (to Von Hindenburg): "Do you think that the Holy Father will heal me more effectively than the Stockholm crowd?"
[Referring to the German attempt to hold an international peace conference at Stockholm, and to the Pope's peace proposal.]

From *Le Cri de Paris*

FOR more than two years the French war cartoonists fought but did not draw. Their pencils are now at work, showing new spirit of hope and great cleverness. Our cartoon department is wholly from French, Italian, English, and Russian sources.



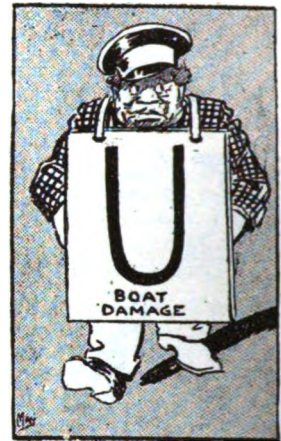
FAILURE OF THE STOCKHOLM PEACE CONFERENCE
"Nobody here?" From *Le Cri de Paris*



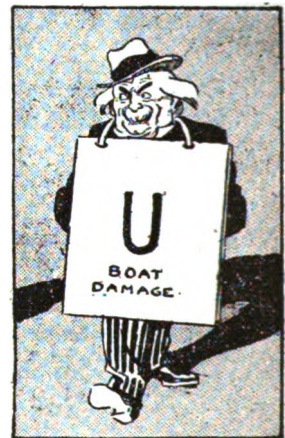
THE COMBATANT'S PEACE—TERMS DEMANDED BY THE MEN
UNDER ARMS

(The restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, the Trentino, Poland; general disarmament, obligatory arbitration of disputes, the democratization of Germany and Austria, and compensation to Belgium, France, and Serbia, are some of the demands.

From *L'Asino* (Rome)

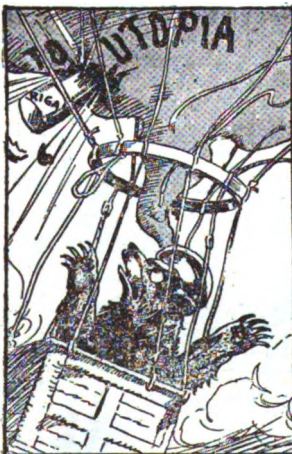


FRITZ: "Dot's how U stand!"



LYDD GEORGE: "That's where U lie!"

MIS—UU—SD ESTIMATES
From the *Dispatch* (Manchester, England)



RETURNING TO EARTH
From the *Sunday Chronicle*
(Manchester)



THE EMBARRASSED GERMAN CHANCELLOR

"I do not say that I know this—I say that which I do not know and—
I do not that which I say."

From *Le Rire* (Paris)



"HOLD FAST! WE'RE COMING!"

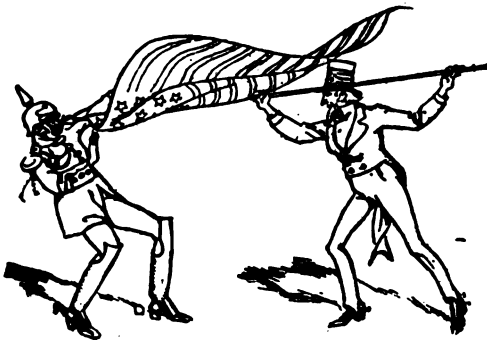
From *La Baïonnette* (Paris)



A FRENCH PERIODICAL'S COVER-DESIGN TRIBUTE TO THE "SAMMIES"

ONE of the French cartoon papers, *La Baïonnette*, devoted an entire number to the "Sammies." Above, at the right, we

reproduce the striking cover design of that issue. At the left appears the sturdy "Sammy" bringing cheer to his French allies in the trenches—a new version of "Hold the fort, for I am coming!"



Comment le drapeau, bandes et étoiles, mané par l'once Sam...



... va apparaître au Boche.

HOW THE STARS AND STRIPES IN THE HANDS OF UNCLE SAM WILL APPEAR TO THE BOCHE

From *Le Pele Mele* (Paris)

Nov.—3



THE TWO EAGLES

From *La Baïonnette* (Paris)

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LIBERTY,—THE NEW VODKA

"You, there! If you abuse your privileges, it will be necessary to take them away altogether."

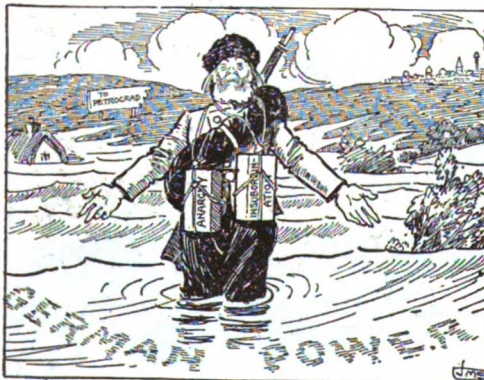
From *Le Rire* (Paris)



KERENSKY

A strong arm is needed to guide the chariot of state across the quagmire, with a team which responds to "haw" and "gee"!

From *Le Rire* (Paris)



A PRAYER FOR DELIVERANCE

IVAN: "How long, O Lord, how long!"

From *News of the World* (London)



FORMERLY: "What! You have been named a minister! Oh, what joy! What honor! What glory!"



Now: "What! You have been made a minister! Have you no thought for your wife and family!"

FORMERLY AND NOW

From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

Some of Russia's perplexities, as viewed from the outside, are illustrated in the cartoons on this page, together with a humorous Russian comment on the fact that at the present time a Russian minister's lot is not regarded as a happy one. Kerensky's difficult rôle is very clearly portrayed in the French drawing at the left. The hopeless position of the Russian soldier is suggested in the two cartoons at the bottom of the page.



ON THE RETREAT

"Why should we die, Brother? The National Congress said: 'Long live Russia, LONG LIVE the army.'"

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich)



THE NEW GOVERNMENT BOOTS

"Good heavens! We can't even have nice boots now. How can I reconcile myself to that, my boots having hitherto been my only beauty."

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)

This page pictures some of the amenities of life in the European countries, where war necessities regulate practically everything in the ordinary man's and woman's existence from clothing to food and fuel.

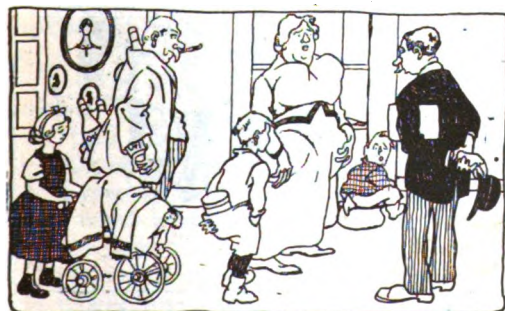


THE BAKERS AT WORK

(Bread must not exceed certain limits in size or weight)
From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



"The Inspector is coming!"



"We have nothing, sir!"

FAT CONTROL

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



"Husband, please give me some money. I must buy coal."

"Why give up money for coal—rather throw the paper money into the fire!"

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich)



THE WELL-KNOWN POET IS THE FIANCEE OF THE GROCER'S SALESGIRL

(After his visit, when food regulations are forgotten, there is nothing left for other customers)

From *La Baionnette* (Paris)



ALSACE, BOUND AND GAGGED, BEFORE THE GERMAN COURT

"Tell me which is your country: Is it France, or Germany?"

From *Le Rire* (Paris)



THE INSEPARABLES

THE KAISER (to his People): Do not listen to those who would sow dissension between us. I will never desert you."

From *Punch* (London)



CORNERED

KAISER (having read Mr. Gerard's German reminiscences): "I never saw a more abominable tissue of deliberate truths."

From *Punch* (London)



PERFECT INNOCENCE

CONSTABLE WOODROW WILSON: "That's a very mischievous thing to do."

SWEDEN: "Please, sir, I didn't know it was loaded."

From *Punch* (London)

ENGLAND'S GREAT HOUR— THE THIRD "WIPERS"

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE ANNIVERSARY

THREE years ago last month (October) a British army came to the now famous Ypres district. It had left the Aisne front, where the deadlock had become absolute, and hurried northward to the last remaining open space between the western end of the trench systems and the sea. When it started north this army dreamed of a push to Brussels, as it had looked forward to a similar destination two months before in the opening days of the war before the Battle of Mons.

But hardly had the first contingents of Sir John French's army reached the old Flemish city of Ypres, one division coming south from Ostend, having covered the Belgian retreat, and one corps and cavalry coming north under Sir Douglas Haig, when a new storm broke, another such storm as had swept the British from the Sambre to the north bank of the Seine two months before, and the British army was first halted, then beaten upon by the full fury of German advance, and finally almost annihilated in the last and most glorious battle of the British professional army.

First "Wipers," as the "Tommy" called it, was in fact a Waterloo of weeks and not hours. As Wellington prayed for night or Bluecher a century before, so Haig, hanging on grimly like the "Iron Duke," awaited the coming of the French supports, which were due days before they arrived and came only when the British army had become a shadow. But thin as was the "red line," it just held and the Kaiser's road to Calais was barred. The gap between the Yser and the Lys was another Thermopylæ and the army which held it, although it died, did not, like the Spartans, lose the gate.

Between La Bassée and the Yser the British fought for nearly a month, slowly constricting their lines as French supports came up. They never had 150,000 men in line and they lost at least 50,000 between Octo-

ber 15 and November 11, when the repulse of the Prussian Guard on the ever-famous Menin Road, now become familiar again in battle despatches, brought the western campaign of 1914 to an end in fog and mud.

Five months later a new assault upon the Ypres gateway again filled the battle news of the world. This time the attack came from the north and not from the east; this time the Germans sought to come south by the Pilkem and Langemarck roads as they had endeavored to come east by the Menin road the year before. This time they used poison gas for the first time, and its fumes destroyed the morale and routed the French Colonial troops standing between Langemarck and the Yser Canal. For two days the road to Ypres was open, despite all the gallantry of the Canadian Corps, which shared with the French black troops the horrors of the gas attack, but, unlike the native troops, held fast.

In the end a line was restored, the British drew back from the Paschendaele and Pilkem ridges; the ground held so gallantly in the first battle was surrendered in the second because of the French failure due to the gas attack and not to any German military superiority. Zonnebeke, Langemarck, the Polygon Woods, all the high ground between the Menin Road and the Roulers railroad was abandoned. Henceforth for more than two years the Germans sat on the hills both east and west of Ypres and shelled the British in the low ground about the town. Ypres was the worst place on the whole western front, and there were long debates as to the wisdom of surrendering it. But, like Verdun, Ypres had a moral value beyond its military importance and the British took their punishment and held on.

First and Second Ypres represent respectively the efforts of the old professional army of Britain and the beginning of the new army with the first Canadian contingent. To the survivors of the old army there were joined in the second struggle the first ele-

ments of the volunteer army. Both were outnumbered, outgunned; both were after a fashion murdered in their lines by German artillery, to which their own had neither the guns nor the high explosives to reply. In both battles the British fought a despairing defensive, in both they lost ground, and in both they barely managed to prevent a colossal German success.

II. BRITAIN COMES BACK

Twenty-six months after the second battle of Ypres the third began. Last June there was a sudden and unexpected announcement that the British First Army, commanded by General Plumer, which had held the salient for two years, had stepped out of the trenches and cleared the whole of the famous "White Sheet Ridge," the southern end of the Paschendaele Ridge east of Ypres at a single blow. The eastern vantage ground from which the Germans looked down on Ypres and shelled the roads leading to the British lines in the salient, the villages of Messines and Wytshaete, lost on November 1, 1914, were taken in the briefest of battles with many guns and 7000 prisoners.

This was the first blow. A little more than a month later the second fell. To the westward the British, aided by the French troops along the Yser Canal, "went over the bags" and took Pilkem, Langemarck, Bixchoote, all the high ground lost by the French and British in the Second Battle of Ypres, together with some guns and 3000 prisoners. This was the end of the Ypres salient; the Allied line now ran straight from the neighborhood of Dixmude to the Lys near Warneton.

These two blows are worth noting, because they were delivered by British armies which had been raised since the earlier struggles; they were delivered by armies which had been created out of a civil population. The guns which took the mastery of the field were the creation of British factories since the coming of the war. At last the Germans were outnumbered, outgunned; British supremacy in the air was absolute; what the old professional army of Britain had to endure two and three years earlier now fell to the lot of the Germans; the whole situation had changed.

And so this opening of the great offensive in the Ypres salient has a value that is worth emphasizing. In the spring of 1915 we were

all waiting eagerly for the push of that mythical army, for that "million" of Kitchener. We believed that an army could be created in months. But not in 1915 or 1916 was a trained British army to strike. The Somme last year was the beginning of an untrained army. In this terrible struggle Britain did train her army; she was at last ready when the real offensive of 1917 opened.

Years ago, Bernhardt wrote that Germany could only win her next war if she disposed of one of her great foes before all could get ready. In a sense Germany has disposed of Russia, but in this time France has held. Britain has come up, and we in the United States are in the war and beginning. Like the British we shall be at least two years in attaining the point from which we can make a real start. Next year we shall be able to employ numbers approximating those of Britain in the first year of the war, but far less well trained. But in 1919, if the war goes to two more campaigns, we can hope to fight our Somme.

And this brings me to the point I wish to make here. From the opening of the war, through the Marne and the Verdun campaigns, France bore the great burden of the war in the West. It was not until the Somme that the British began to be effective on the offensive. But this year, since the end of the French campaign at the Aisne, it has been the British who have borne the burden; they are now doing what the French did at the Marne and Verdun; the western duel between France and Germany has become a duel between Britain and Germany.

In the nature of things this situation will endure next year. Our forces, precious as they will be to the French as a new reserve, will hardly do as much as Sir John French's exiguous forces did in 1915. France will do something, but not anything comparable with her earlier work; her great contribution has been made. Thus 1918, like 1917, will be Britain's year. But 1919 should see us ready to take over a very considerable portion of the burden of attack. British numbers then, like French numbers now, will begin to fail. Alone of all the nations fighting our man-power will be still increasing, still unscratched, and it may fall to us to strike the final blow, if the war remains one of attrition, which I believe will hardly be the case.

But now it is essential to recognize that Britain has arrived. On old fighting ground

her new armies are proving their superiority to the German in all that makes an army powerful. The Kaiser called the first British force "a contemptible little army," and the army adopted the term and called themselves the "Old Contemptibles." Now the British have ten thousand where they had one thousand three years ago; they have taken over from the French the main burden of the war and they are pounding the Germans exactly as Grant pounded Lee in the campaign of 1864 which broke the back of the Confederacy.

A weary Germany, already deprived of its best men by battle losses, compelled to use inferior material, is fighting a Britain whose best manhood is now in line, and behind this British army is gathering the American, which in its turn can and will take over from the British as the British have taken over from the French. For two years Germany fought France and Russia, incurring huge casualties while inflicting even greater losses. Now she has to suffer far greater losses than she inflicts in fighting a new foe, while France rests. In the future she must meet still another fresh foe. This means the progressive exhaustion of Germany's manpower at a far greater rate than that of wastage of any of her foes. If the war goes two more years, Germany at the end will have lost an infinitely greater percentage of her male population than any of her opponents and her recovery after the war will thus be retarded tremendously. This is contemporary attrition.

Germany is now in the position of a man running a race, who has to compete not with one rival but with three, and as one of her rivals tires another takes up the task. She has put Russia out; she has held her own against France, but against Britain she is showing the effect of her previous exertions, and Britain can in her turn give way to the United States. Another year of war will mean that at least half of the men of Germany of military age and physical fitness will have been killed, permanently disabled, or captured, and the latter are relatively few. By comparison France will have lost not more than a third, Britain hardly more than a quarter. Then, in 1919, we shall inflict the great loss upon Germany, having ourselves suffered up to that moment practically no loss.

Thus, even though the victory be long delayed, the very delay will tell against the loser, for Germany is losing the war unmis-

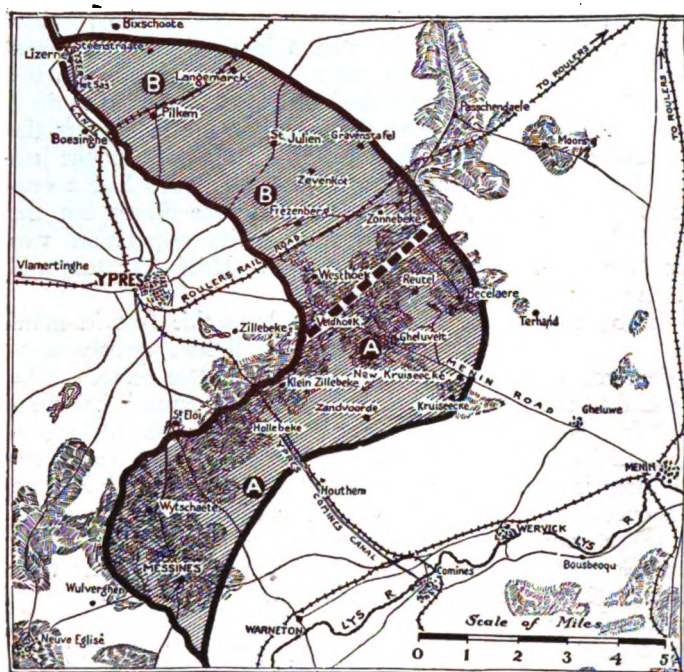
takably. The mere elimination of more than half of the men able to fight in German armies will insure a period of peace to the world, and the blood tax will remain to demonstrate to the Germans for long years the folly of their policy. The South fought just such a war against terrific odds half a century ago, and not only the flower but the mass of Southern white population was swept away in battle. Half a century did not heal the wounds.

It is essential to keep this fact in mind when the progress of British attack seems small measured by the battle maps. The real progress of the Allied cause is being revealed in mortality tables. The male population of Germany is steadily being exterminated, while the cost of the task is being divided between her enemies. Thus she is not only losing the war, but after the war her position will be incomparably worse than that of her opponents.

III. PASCHENDAELE RIDGE

Turning now to the recent British operations, it is necessary first to recall the topography of the Ypres country. It should be remembered at the outset that Ypres, itself, is in the midst of the typical Flanders region, the low country, crossed by innumerable canals and rivulets, which have been canalized for centuries. From Bethune northward this country extends to the lower Scheldt. The hills so frequently mentioned are actually gently sloping elevations. Just as the American who is familiar with the history of the Battle of Waterloo and has read of the height of Mont St. Jean, stands in amazement looking out upon the field itself when he first sees it and recalls not the rugged country of the Appalachian seaboard but the prairies of the West, so he would view the district between the Lys and the Yser, on which was fought in 1914 a battle greater than Waterloo and only less momentous in human history, for had the Germans broken through to Calais they might conceivably have abolished most of the consequences of the French victory between Paris and Verdun.

Bearing in mind, however, this qualification as to the stature of the hills about Ypres, it is still necessary to recognize that they played a decisive part in the various contests and that for the possession of the most considerable of them three battles were fought—the first in October and November, 1914,



THE YPRES SALIENT

(AA shows ground lost in the first battle of Ypres. BB shows ground lost in the second battle of Ypres)

the second in April and May, 1915, and the third and greatest, in the size of the armies engaged, from June, 1917, to the present moment.

To start at the beginning, there is between Bixschoote, at the edge of the marshes along the Yser River, and Warneton, on the Lys, a fifteen-mile stretch of solid ground; that is, ground suitable for the movement of guns, transport, and large bodies of men. West of Bixschoote is the marshy region, which was flooded when the Belgians closed the sluices at Nieuport in the critical days of the first Battle of Yser. South and east of Warneton, that is, on the right bank of the Lys, Allied operations are rendered impossible by the German occupation of Lille, with its forts and defenses, which, despite the fact that they were dismantled by the French, were too great an obstacle for Allied resources either in 1914 or 1915.

Ypres, itself, lies in a little basin, about the tiny Yperlee stream which flows west to the Yser. It is the junction of several important roads and railways and through it passes a canal from the Lys to the Yser. It was a fortress in the eighteenth century, and some of the ramparts of Vauban have survived the artillery of Krupp, but these had no value on the contemporary military

side. Of the roads and railroads the more important from west to east are the Bethune-Bruges railway, which comes up from the south and after leaving Ypres crosses the canal near Boesinghe, passes through Langemarck and continues thence to Thourout; the Ypres-Roulers railway and highway, which parallel each other and run north-eastward to Roulers; and the Menin Road, which runs straight from Ypres southeast to Menin on the Lys. A mile south of this last is the canal connecting the Lys with the Yser and Ypres with Commines.

South, east, and northeast of Ypres, at a distance of rather less than three miles, is the famous Paschendaele Ridge, which is the most important geographical detail in the entire country. This

Ridge runs from southwest to northeast. It is at no point more than two miles wide and at many not more than one. Its highest point is at the south near Messines, where it is 250 feet above the level of the sea; at the other end, near Paschendaele, it is rather less than 200 feet. At no point is it more than a hundred feet above the surrounding country and it rises in gentle slopes, making a far more impressive showing on the map than upon the vision of the tourist.

Along this ridge, from south to north, are a number of small villages, which are forever famous in British battle-history. These are Messines, Wytschaete, Hollebeke, Klein Zillebeke, Zandvoorde, Gheluvelt, Broodseinde and Zonnebeke. North of the last it narrows to a point at Paschendaele. Actually this Ridge is the watershed between the Lys and the Yser. Down its gently sloping western flanks flow a number of brooks which reach the Yser west of the inundated district. Eastward, over a much shorter course, flow other brooks leading to the Lys. Save in rainy weather—unhappily frequent in this weather-cursed corner of Europe—these streams are not obstacles to military operations.

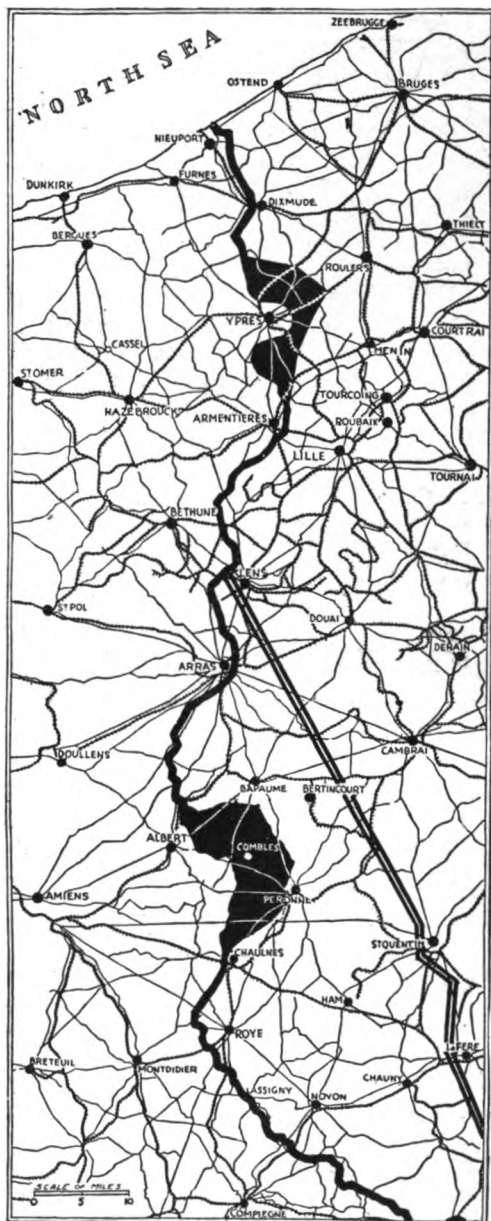
Separating the streams which flow west to the Yser are a number of lower ridges

running at right angles to the main Paschendale Ridge, the only one of importance in the present operations being that north of Zonnebeke, which first borrows the name of Grafenstafel and then of Pilkem. It is the natural extension of the front of an army standing on the main ridge and troops in position on this Pilkem-Grafenstafel elevation would cover the flank of an army on the main Ridge. On the other hand, were both the southern end of the Paschendale Ridge, with the villages of Wytschaete and Messines and the western end of the Pilkem Ridge in the possession of an enemy, the position of an army defending Ypres would be exceedingly dangerous because its rear and communications would be under the fire and observation of its foe. And it is worth recalling that the Messines position was lost in 1914, the Pilkem in 1915, and both were retaken this year.

So much for the general topography of the country. Bear in mind again that an army holding all the Paschendale Ridge from Messines to Zonnebeke would look down on a vast sweep of country to the east and southeast. It would be able to see as far as Lille and to sweep the whole of the upper valley of the Lys as far north as Courtrai. Its heavy artillery in position behind the Ridge would be able to command the Menin-Roulers road five miles to the east and play havoc with German communications, while its operations would remain hidden to the enemy save for the aerial observation and its communications would be beyond reach of effective bombardment. Once, however, the army should be driven over and off the Ridge, it would lose all these advantages and would be huddled in the Ypres basin, in a position which it would cost a steady and terrible wastage to hold and would always be a danger point, and this is what happened to the British as a consequence of First and Second Ypres.

IV. BRITISH STRATEGY

Now what was the underlying purpose of the British when they selected the Ypres sector as the field of their major effort in 1917? Why did they decide to make their great effort on the old fighting ground of two earlier struggles? For the obvious reason that such an attack, if successful, would result in two things—a retreat of German armies out of all French territory west of the Meuse and the surrender by the



THE WESTERN FRONT, SHOWING THE CHANGES MADE BY ALLIED ADVANCES DURING THREE YEARS OF WAR

The double line extending southeast from Lens marks the "farthest east" attained by the Allies on that portion of the front between Arras and Soissons. The ground between this and the old line was mostly won in the first half of 1917. The territory won in the heavy fighting at the Somme and Ypres is indicated by the widened black areas on the map. About one-third of the entire Western Front is here shown. South of the area covered by the map the line swerves sharply to the east, passing through Rheims and Verdun, and thence running southwest to the vicinity of Belfort.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

A GERMAN GUN CAPTURED BY THE FRENCH DURING THE RECENT VERDUN OFFENSIVE

(This piece was taken in the victorious French advance north of Verdun over the ground occupied by the Germans in the offensive of their armies under the Crown Prince in February, 1916)

Germans of the Belgian seacoast with the troublesome submarine base at Zeebrugge. Nowhere else on the British front did the same reward seem to present itself for the same effort.

Recall for a moment the Somme campaign. When that battle opened the German line ran from the Somme near Albert to the Aisne at Soissons in a wide circle. It was a salient, a very large salient, but not larger than the Polish salient from which the Germans drove the Russians in 1915. Just as Hindenburg struck south from East Prussia behind Warsaw and at the lines of communication serving the Russians in the Warsaw salient, the British and French, in 1916, struck along the side of the German salient in France, the Noyon salient as it was called at that time.

They pushed a wedge into the side of this salient between Bapaume and Péronne; they opened a breach in the side walls and by the end of the campaign they had pushed far enough in so that the position of the Germans in the salient had become perilous and with the coming of spring the Germans had to get out, withdrawing to their present

lines. The German retreat from Noyon was wholly similar to the Russian withdrawal from Warsaw; neither was the result of a direct attack, but both came as a consequence of a successful assault upon the side of a salient, an assault which reached for the lines of communication in the salient.

Now the present British offensive, which has small but useful French coöperation, is striking at the side of the much larger salient, which is the whole German front from the hills near Verdun to Lille. Just as Hindenburg struck south through the Bobr-Narew-Niemen barrier, Haig is pushing in on a similar salient. He is approaching Menin and Roulers, as the British and French approached Péronne and Bapaume last year, and after he gets both places the German position in all the salient to the south will be dangerous. A little push beyond Menin, to Courtrai, will almost certainly compel a German retirement to the line of the Scheldt and the Meuse, to the line which starts at Antwerp, passes before Brussels and attains Namur and then runs behind the Meuse to the neighborhood of Verdun.

This is the great purpose. Incidentally as Haig advances, thrusting a wedge down the Lys valley, he will cut all the railroads and highways serving the German armies on the Belgian coast. To avoid isolation, to escape envelopment, these armies will presently have to retire upon Antwerp and Brussels, and when they retire Germany will lose her submarine bases and her sea-coast facing Britain.

This British operation necessarily had three phases. The first consisted in clearing the Germans off the Messines end of the Paschendaele Ridge. The second was the similar clearing operation westward on the Pilkem Ridge. These two operations took place in June and early August, respectively. Once these German vantage-points were taken, the German hold upon the hills east and west of Ypres broken, there was a chance to begin the third phase, the pushing forward of the wedge, the advance toward Roulers and Menin, the advance over the main stretch of the Paschendaele Ridge and down the eastern slope. In September and October we have been seeing this main thrust get under way; we have seen it surmount the Paschendaele Ridge from Paschendaele to the Ypres-Commines Canal, and latterly we have been seeing it thrusting forward in rapid pushes toward Roulers itself. A year ago in the Somme time I advised my readers to watch Péronne and Bapaume. These were the crucial points; their fall would doom the Noyon salient. Now I advise my readers to watch Roulers and Menin. When they fall the fate of the whole German position in France will almost certainly be sealed. In any event a short push beyond them will make the greatest German retirement since the Marne inescapable.

We watch battle fronts and see gains of yards and rods with little comprehension of what is actually happening. But now as last year the gain of these yards and rods carries with it the assurance of the eventual gain of hundreds of square miles, even thousands, for the next German retreat will release more than 5000 square miles of French territory and not less than 3000 of Belgian. Five-sixths of captive France will thus be liberated. And it is for this that Haig is fighting, not for yards or trenches, and not only is he fighting for it, he is winning his fight at a far swifter pace and at infinitely smaller cost than last year at the Somme.

V. BRITON AND GERMAN

So much for the major strategy. It is essential to grasp it because unless the ultimate objective is perceived the battle reports are meaningless. But the value of the struggle that is going forward is not comprehended in a mere examination of the strategy. Grant, in his great campaign from the Rapidan to Petersburg, did not realize any one of his immediate objectives. Lee met him and blocked him, but Lee's army in the contest was worn "to a frazzle." Grant could replace his losses, Lee could not.

More than this, as the contest continued and temporary checks to Grant did not stop him, the Southern army slowly but surely learned the fatal truth that the war was lost. It was an army already beaten which Grant faced the following spring and disposed of in a few days. Now the German army in Flanders is learning the same lesson. It knows its own inferiority in numbers, in material, in guns and in munitions. It has been losing ground steadily for more than four months. It has lost all the high ground it held in June.

The mission of the German army as explained to it by its commanders is to hold until the submarine saves the day. It was asked to hold three months; it has held six and the submarine has not won and is not winning the war. Even Tirpitz, who set a limit as early as May of this year, now asserts that the time cannot be fixed for the submarine triumph. The German soldier knows his disadvantages, he knows that another campaign is inevitable, and he also knows that another campaign will mean a new period of pounding, of defeat, like the Somme and the present Ypres struggle.

Since the year opened the British have taken 60,000 prisoners and lost less than 20,000—something like 16,000 in point of fact. They have taken 332 cannon, many of them heavy pieces, and they have lost not one. They have taken the Vimy Ridge, Hill No. 70, the Paschendaele Ridge; they have advanced wherever they have attacked, and their advances are beginning to have a serious threat to German positions from the Meuse to the Lys. The result is simple; the British army feels itself superior; the German army is conscious not alone of its present inferiority but of its rapidly declining strength.

At the moment German strategy is comprehended in a grim resolve to hold on until

the weather ends this year's campaign; and the end is already in sight. Then will begin the most determined peace offensive of the war. If the Germans should be compelled to make their great retreat to the Antwerp-Brussels-Namur line this year, then the confession of defeat would be so plain that they would find little hearing for a peace proposal. It would be accepted as one more sign of consciousness of defeat. If they are to have a case for peace this winter, peace without large concessions, they must hold their lines for the rest of the campaign.

This they will probably be able to do, because the weather is already getting bad and we may see little more attacking before the close of operations. But, in my judgment, if the Germans fail in their peace maneuvers this winter, they will in the spring be forced to make another retreat like that of this year, but very much more considerable. If they can postpone retirement until spring they will have all winter to perfect their new line, already fortified, and to devastate the country they mean to leave as they did the Noyon salient last winter.

But when the retreat is made the whole course of the war will change. Unless all signs fail the next attack will not be made in Belgium; it will be made from the Lorraine front, where the firing-line is now on the frontier and a short push will carry the Allies into German territory. Once the Germans have been turned out of Northern France, I believe the war will go east to the gap between the Vosges and Verdun. Then the invasion of Germany will begin; and in that invasion American troops will inevitably play a part.

Meantime the British have asserted a moral and material superiority over the German troops which is unmistakable. The hour of Britain has arrived. Britain, Canada, and Australia are fighting forward in Flanders at a more rapid rate than any allied offensive has hitherto progressed. It is the Germans who are fighting a despairing offensive on the road they anciently took toward Calais with proud confidence. All the

conditions of 1914 are being reproduced upon the Ypres front, with only the parts changed.

At Verdun, France and Germany fought to a finish, and when the fight was over the French held all the useful ground they occupied at the beginning. At Ypres the British and Germans are fighting another finish fight and the Germans have already lost all the best positions which they occupied when the present struggle opened. They have lost them, and their ability to retake them is not even asserted by Berlin. The official statements from Berlin are becoming more and more like those of the British three years ago, the records of ground gallantly held but slowly lost.

Ypres is for England, for the greatest England, which is the British Empire, what the Marne and Verdun were for France; and Americans must watch this terrific struggle with the full realization that two years hence we may be called upon to take our turn as France and Britain have taken theirs. But if that time does come, we shall have no need to fear a new German attack upon civilization for half a century at least, for the losses of Germany will reproduce conditions like those following the Thirty Years' War. Four years ago all Germans were toasting "The Day" when Germany should challenge Britain on the ocean. But to-day, it is Britain who is challenging Germany successfully on land—a thing unbelievable to any German in the period when a hungry Teutonic state looked outward upon the sea which alone held it back from a decadent British Empire, its legitimate prey.

Next month I shall hope to review the campaign of 1917 in detail, for it will undoubtedly have closed by that time, but now I desire again to ask my readers to recall the events, the military events of 1864 in our Civil War, for I think the parallel is sound and feel sure that if there is a campaign of 1918 it will settle all the questions as to the winning of the war, even if it does not see the complete collapse of Germany under Anglo-French-American assault.



RUSSIA: A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

BY T. LOTHROP STODDARD

THE Russian Revolution of 1917 is a landmark of capital importance in world history comparable to the French Revolution of 1789. For Russia it ushers in a long period of readjustment and reconstruction which will consume many years or even generations. For the world at large it sets in motion political and social forces whose ultimate consequences may well be felt in the remotest corners of the earth.

The tremendous possibilities inherent in the Russian problem may be grasped by a glance at the bare size of the area and population involved. The Russian Empire as it existed in 1914 covered an area of 8,500,000 square miles (nearly three times the size of the United States), while its population numbered 178,000,000 souls. Stretching uninterruptedly from Central Europe to the Pacific and from the Arctic Ocean to the mountainous backbone of Central Asia, this huge political organism engrossed nearly one-sixth of the total land surface of the globe.

Like all great empires, the beginnings of modern Russia were humble and obscure. Russia's germ-cell was the small principality of Moscow that, towards the close of the Middle Ages, arose in the center of those vast East European plains which are the historical home of the Russian race. The principality of Moscow was only one of several Russian states which lay exposed to the devastations of the Tartars, Asiatic nomads, who from their seats in Southeastern Russia terrorized the whole country with their savage raids. The little principality of Moscow, however, produced a line of able rulers who performed the double task of breaking the Tartar yoke and uniting all the petty Russian states into a single realm—Muscovy—of which they took the title of "Tsars." They also laid the foundations of Greater Russia by encouraging Russian adventurers to cross the Ural Mountains and occupy the uninhabited Siberian plains to the Pacific, just as our pioneers later crossed the Appalachians and won the whole breadth of the North American continent for the United States.

Such was Russia when, at the close of the seventeenth century, the giant figure of Peter the Great ascended the throne. Peter found Russia large in extent of territory, but still half-Orientalized by the long Tartar domination and shut away from Western Europe by the then powerful kingdoms of Sweden and Poland, which systematically prevented Russian intercourse with the civilized West in order to keep Russia backward and weak. But Peter changed all this. He broke the power of Sweden and took from her the Baltic Provinces, thus giving Russia her needed sea outlet to the civilized world. Through this "western window" the light of Western civilization flooded in upon Russia's mediæval darkness, while hosts of Western Europeans, invited by Peter, gave Russia the rudiments of a Western state organization. Peter was a true "empire builder," for he transformed Russia from an inefficient Oriental despotism into a centralized European state with a modern army and a bureaucracy which, whatever its shortcomings, proved capable of holding and administering a multitude of conquered lands and peoples.

Thenceforth Russia's expansion was rapid. During the eighteenth century nearly the whole of Poland was annexed, the last Tartar Khanates of South Russia were conquered, and the Black Sea was changed from a Turkish to a Russian lake. During the nineteenth century the acquisition of Finland from Sweden enlarged Russia's Baltic seaboard, the annexation of Transcaucasia clinched Russia's mastery of the Black and Caspian seas, the conquest of Central Asia brought the Russian frontiers to the crest of the Himalayas overlooking India, while at the very close of the century the occupation of Manchuria opened up visions of a Russian-controlled China shattered only by the Russo-Japanese War. That disastrous conflict did not, however, entirely stop Russian encroachments upon China, for by 1914 the Chinese dependency of Mongolia was a veiled Russian protectorate, while Russian influence was predominant in Chinese Turkestan.

Thus, at the outbreak of the European



RUSSIA'S POLITICO-RACIAL DIVISIONS

War, Russia presented the spectacle of a mighty and ever-expanding empire with a strong, despotic government backed by millions of brave and devoted soldiers.

DIVERSITY OF RACIAL STOCKS

This onward uniformity, however, concealed numerous internal diversities. The Russian Empire was so much a work of armed conquest that its far-flung frontiers contained a multitude of widely varying races, cultures, and creeds. The core of the empire was, of course, the territory occupied by the "Great Russian" race (the true "Muscovites"), which, spreading from its original center in the Central Russian plains, had settled the forest country of North Russia to the Arctic Ocean and occupied the habitable parts of Siberia to the Pacific. In 1914 the Great Russians numbered about sixty millions, but they constituted only one-third of the empire's 178,000,000 souls. The other two-thirds were made up of the most diverse racial elements. There were first of all the kindred "Little" and "White" Russian stocks; the former, numbering some twenty-seven millions, occupied South Russia; the latter, a scant six millions, settled in the

swamp country between the plains of Great Russia and Poland.

The Great Russians considered both these stocks as integral members of the Russian family, though the Little Russians in particular possessed a distinct language and a strong local patriotism. However, in the larger sense, one-half of the empire's population might be counted of "Russian" blood.

About this "Russian" core stretched a varied belt of non-Russian lands and peoples—the fruit of centuries of Russian expansion and conquest. To the northwest lay Finland, a country of lake and forest inhabited by 3,500,000 progressive folk, Swedish in culture, Protestant in religion, and in full communion with Western civilization. South of Finland lay the Baltic Provinces, much like Finland in race, religion, and general civilization, but with a culture derived from Germanic rather than Scandi-

navian sources. South of the Baltic Provinces stretched a long band of territories which had once made up the now defunct Kingdom of Poland. These territories were inhabited by several races: 8,000,000 Poles, 1,500,000 Lithuanians, 500,000 Germans, 5,000,000 Jews, and numerous White and Little Russian units.

South Russia was racially even more complex. Besides the Little Russian majority already noted, there was a considerable Great Russian element, 1,000,000 Rumanians in the border province of Bessarabia, 1,000,000 Tartars along the Black Sea littoral, and a sprinkling of Germans, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, etc., scattered in agricultural colonies or present in the industrial and port towns. In Southeastern Russia were numerous Asiatic elements: 1,000,000 Tartars along the Volga and 2,000,000 Mongol nomads in the vast steppes about the Caspian Sea. Finally, the Russian province of Transcaucasia was a veritable ethnic crazy-quilt, where some millions of Georgians, Circassians, Tartars, Armenians, Persians, and other minor races, reinforced by three million recent Russian immigrants, jostled one another in racial complexity.

As to Asiatic Russia, the ribbon of Russian population, 5,000,000 strong, occupying the Siberian plains and river valleys from the Urals to the Pacific, shaded off northward into uninhabited Arctic wastes and impinged southward upon the native populations of Central Asia, mostly Mohammedan in religion and Turko-Tartar in blood. In Central Asia, as in Transcaucasia, the tide of Russian immigration was setting strong. In 1914, the Russian population of Central Asia numbered 700,000.

Such was the multiplex array of races, cultures, and creeds over which Nicholas II, last autocrat of all the Russias, ruled as the "Great White Czar." Since March, 1917, the Czardom has gone, and with it most of the machinery of despotic authority—bureaucrats, secret police, and all the rest. The question naturally arises whether the new democratic order contemplated by the Revolutionists will suffice to preserve Russia's present frontiers, or whether the huge Russian Empire of 1914 is destined to split up along the lines of race, culture, and religion. The Russian Empire has been largely built up by military conquest and, despite generations or even centuries of Russian rule, some of the conquered populations have retained their national identity, while suppressed longings for independence have been nurtured by harsh governmental efforts at "Russification."

POLAND AND FINLAND

The region of the empire where the separatist spirit is strongest is undoubtedly Poland. Despite the partition of their country between Russia, Austria, and Prussia at the end of the eighteenth century, the Poles have never ceased to dream of a restored Poland, and the Russian Poles proved by two bloody insurrections, in 1831 and 1863, their detestation of the Muscovite yoke. Although both peoples are Slavs, racial kinship is entirely nullified by differences in religion and culture, the Russians being Greek Orthodox in faith and East European in culture, whereas the Poles are Roman Catholic in religion and possess a civilization derived from the Latin West. Poles and Russians are temperamentally so antipathetic that any genuine fusion can never be.

Should the present democratic spirit which now dominates the Russian Revolution prove lasting, however, the Russian people would probably not object to an independent Poland. So long as Russia was a military

empire with an expansive, imperialistic foreign policy, Poland was obviously valuable both as a strategic threat to Russia's Central European neighbors, Germany and Austria, and as an important step towards that Russian dominance of the entire Slav world which was the cardinal tenet of the "Panslavist" school of Russian imperialism. But if Russia becomes what the revolutionary leaders desire—a democratic member of a peaceful fraternity of European democracies—the retention of a recalcitrant Poland could form no true part of a new Russia based upon the people's will.

The same reasoning applies to Finland. The Finns can never by any possibility merge themselves in the general current of Russian national life. The great value of Finland to Russia in the past has been its strategic importance, assuring as it does Russian supremacy in the eastern Baltic, covering Russia's capital, Petrograd, and making possible imperialistic dreams of Scandinavian conquests and Russian naval bases on the open Atlantic along the Norwegian coasts. But all that would be irrelevant if the aspirations of Russian democrats regarding a peaceful, de-militarized Europe should come true.

"LITTLE RUSSIA"—THE UKRAINE

The thorniest of Russia's racial problems is undoubtedly that of "Little Russia," or the "Ukraine." The Little Russians (who prefer to be called "Ukrainians") differ from the Great Russians in language and culture fully as much as the Dutch do from the Germans. Had the Russian Government granted them local autonomy and respected their language and customs, there seems little doubt that the Ukrainians would to-day be loyal citizens of the Russian state, especially when it is remembered that the great divider of East European peoples—religious schism—is here absent, both Great and Little Russians being Greek Orthodox in faith.

As a matter of fact, however, the old Czarist government tried for centuries to make the Ukrainians into Great Russians, while the middle-class "Liberals" who controlled the Dumas after the inauguration of Russian parliamentary life in 1905, showed themselves as imperialistic and intolerant towards the Ukrainians as the Czarist bureaucrats had ever been. All this has embittered the Ukrainians and makes them doubt the possibility of safeguarding their racial identity within the boundaries of the Russian state. On the other hand, the

Ukraine's geographical position, lying as it does between North Russia and the Black Sea, would render it impossible for even the most democratic Russia to view with equanimity the severance of the Ukraine from the Russian political body. The effect of such a severance upon the Great Russians would be much the same as the effect which the success of the Southern Confederacy would have had upon the Northern States of the American Union. We here have one of those "hard cases" which "make shipwreck of the law."

A FEDERATED, DEMOCRATIC RUSSIA

Poland, Finland, and the Ukraine are the three separatist centers which actively threaten the integrity of the Russian frontiers as these stood in 1914. They are all serious problems which will demand constructive statemanship and mutual forbearance if they are to be successfully solved. As things now look, it would appear that Poland and Finland stand a good chance of gaining from a democratic Russia full local autonomy, if not complete independence. At the same time, such a solution as independence may not turn out to be even desirable.

The Russians, like all genuinely great peoples, have a strong, attractive force which insensibly draws subject alien minorities and tends to keep such minorities voluntarily in the common political association, however violent may have been their repugnance to that political association when it was first imposed. Such cases have been often observed in the history of the British Empire. Now the Russians, as a people, seem to possess this attractive force to an unusual degree. The trouble has been that the old Czarist government has persistently nullified its working by brutal persecutions and "Russifications" of non-Muscovite minorities, attempting to turn all the inhabitants of the Empire into standardized "Great Russians" according to the famous Pan-slavist formula: "One Faith, One Speech, One Law."

That sort of thing has naturally outraged the deepest aspirations of the non-Russian minorities and has made them skeptical of ever obtaining safety for their racial and cultural existence inside the frontiers of the Russian state. But if the present Revolution really lives up to its principles; if it develops, not, like the French Revolution, into intolerant popular imperialism culminating in Caesarism, but into a genuine democracy

tolerant of minorities and respectful of individual differences of race, culture, and creed, it is very possible that the present separatist elements may no longer wish to sever all political ties with the Russian state. Assured of local autonomy and free cultured life, they might prefer partnership in the mighty federation of democratic New Russia to a narrower existence as small, separate nations.

THE RUSSIAN LACKS IN POLITICAL EFFICIENCY

The possibility of such a transformation of the Russian Empire into a federalized state in which all its diverse races may find a secure and contented place is enhanced by certain qualities of the Russian character. The average Great Russian displays a personal kindness, tolerance, and charity towards his fellow-men shown by few other peoples. He also possesses to a marked degree the sense of democracy and the spirit of coöperation. Of course, there is another side to the shield. The mystical strain in the Russian makes him prone to a blind devotion to cherished ideals which frequently degenerates into wild fanaticism, while his primitive emotional nature betrays him into bursts of savage cruelty in striking contrast to his usually mild and good-tempered behavior. The dense ignorance of the Russian masses (only a small minority of whom are literate) makes Russia a fertile breeding-ground for fantastic and utopian doctrines involving possibly disastrous consequences. Most serious of all, the Russian has never displayed that political efficiency which is so prominent a characteristic of Anglo-Saxon peoples. In small local associations which rest upon personal contacts, like village councils or workingmen's societies, the Russian does remarkably well, but in larger groupings such as political parties or parliamentary bodies he shows an inability for consistent team-play or common-sense compromise, and betrays a tendency to anarchy. This lack of political efficiency seems, indeed, to have been common to all Slav peoples throughout history, and has been the cause of many of their worst misfortunes. It is a serious defect, which must constantly be kept in mind when weighing the problem of Russia's future.

We should also remember that that future is dependent upon external as well as internal factors. Unfortunately for Russia her hour of domestic reconstruction finds her at death-grips with an able and ruthless foe. The

outcome of the European War must necessarily affect profoundly the outcome of the Russian Revolution. If the war should end with a German triumph or even with German control of Poland and the Baltic Provinces, Russia would be left in such a precarious position that democratic programs would have to be shelved in favor of strong government and re-militarization. All this shows the folly of dogmatic prophecy in times like these, when the world is in flux and destiny hovers hesitant over the battlefield. Under such circumstances the only wise course is to state facts, gauge tendencies, and sketch out alternative possibilities.

RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC STRENGTH

It is, therefore, with a certain relief that we pass from the realms of war and policy to the economic domain. Here we are upon surer ground. Howsoever the war may end, men will eat, drink and clothe themselves, sow and reap, buy, sell, and exchange. Whether Russia evolve into a pacific, federal democracy, or pass, like Revolutionary France, from Jacobin anarchy to Caesarism, the ore will still lie in Russian mines, the mouzhik still turn his furrow, while even the shell-blasted forests will grow again.

And such matters are by no means devoid of practical interest to ourselves. The close of the present war will leave all the combatants (ourselves included) so debt-ridden and impoverished that there will be a universal race for foreign markets in order to stimulate home production and hasten industrial recuperation. And to a manufacturing nation like ourselves, Russia offers one of the greatest openings for foreign trade. A brief survey of her economic condition will therefore be of practical value.

ENORMOUS FARM ACREAGE

Russia's economic resources are of a richness and variety fully commensurate to her extent. In fact, Russia is a land of great latent opportunities, for lack of capital, bad political and social conditions, and insufficient means of transportation have hitherto notably retarded her economic progress. How far Russia's actual production lags behind its potentiality is strikingly illustrated by the state of Russian agriculture. Russia is preëminently an agricultural country. Seven-eighths of the population of European Russia are engaged in agricultural pursuits of one kind or another, 81 per cent. of the people being officially listed as "peasants."

The area devoted to cereal crops and stock-raising is enormous. In 1913 the area under cultivation for these purposes alone totalled 368,000,000 acres, divided as follows: cereal crops, 257,000,000 acres; potatoes, 11,000,000 acres; flax and hemp, 5,500,000 acres; meadows, 96,000,000 acres. The output of this acreage yields imposing totals. In 1913, reckoned in poods (1 pood = 36 pounds) they were: cereals, 5,636,000,000 poods; potatoes, 2,191,000,000 poods; sugar, 106,000,000 poods; hay, 3,246,000,000 poods. Besides these major crops, Americans would do well to note that Russia is also a large-scale producer of cotton and tobacco. In 1914 the cotton acreage in Central Asia and the Caucasus was 1,800,000 acres, yielding 1,250,000 500-pound bales, while in 1913 the tobacco acreage was 154,000, yielding 6,500,000 poods. As might be inferred from the size of the hay crop and the extensive stock-ranges in the steppe-lands of the Empire, Russia is also a great producer of live-stock and dairy products. In 1914, Russia possessed 35,000,000 horses, 52,000,000 horned cattle, 72,000,000 sheep and goats, and 15,000,000 pigs.

Now at first blush these figures would seem to indicate great agricultural prosperity, especially when we remember that the great "black earth" belt of South-Central Russia is akin to our best prairie soil, while vast areas in Siberia are the counterparts of the wheat lands of the Canadian Northwest. Certainly, even as things stand, Russia is one of the leading agricultural producers of the world. And yet, when we come to examine social conditions, we find such ignorance of modern scientific farming, antiquated methods, lack of capital, and general inefficiency that the Russian peasant is usually poor, debt-ridden and threatened with chronic starvation. That Russia, under these handicaps, can still produce so much, shows what Russian agriculture might accomplish under methods similar to those prevailing in America.

MINERAL RESOURCES

Russia's mineral resources are proportionately as great as her agricultural, and here conditions are slightly better, foreign capital and direction having done much of recent years to rectify the wasteful and antiquated methods formerly employed. The two mineral products of greatest world-significance are, of course, iron and coal, and with both of these Russia is abundantly

endowed. The Empire's principal iron deposits lie in the Donetz region of South-Central Russia, the Urals, and Russian Poland. The main coal-fields lie in the Donetz region and Russian Poland, with important subsidiary fields in the Urals and Russia-in-Asia. The total outputs in 1912 were: coal, 1,800,000,000 poods; pig-iron, 256,000,000 poods; worked iron and steel, 227,000,000 poods. Russia also possesses fair amounts of the precious metals, especially platinum and gold, while the oil-fields of Baku, Transcaucasia, are among the richest in the world.

Abundance of iron, coal, and oil gives Russia the physical prerequisites of modern industrial life, and Russia has, in fact, already done something to make herself a manufacturing country as well as a producer of raw products. About twenty years ago, under the leadership of the late Count Witte, the Russian Government began an intensive development of Russian industry. A high tariff-wall was erected, foreign capital was sedulously invited, and the upshot was rapid industrial development in certain favored districts like the Donetz basin and the Lodz region of Russian Poland. But these results, though noteworthy, did not fully come up to expectations. Russian industry was, and still is, a hothouse growth, dependent upon high protection and unable to stand foreign competition in most lines on anything like equal terms. Russia has not yet reached the stage of economic and social development where industrialism occurs spontaneously. She will long remain primarily a producer of raw materials, and she will, therefore, long offer a rich market for the manufactures of industrial nations.

FOREIGN TRADE—CHIEFLY GERMAN

This fact is strikingly revealed by the statistics of Russian foreign commerce. In 1913, Russia's foreign trade, reckoned in roubles (1 rouble = 51 cents), was: exports, 1,520,000,000 roubles; imports, 1,374,000,000 roubles. But of Russia's exports, 807,000,000 roubles were food stuffs and 550,000,000 roubles were raw materials or half-manufactured products, while only 30,000,000 roubles were manufactured goods; whereas, of Russia's imports, 163,000,000 roubles were foodstuffs, 622,000,000 roubles raw materials or half-manufactured articles, and 431,000,000 roubles manufactured goods. Russia was, therefore, im-

porting more than fourteen times the value of the manufactured goods she exported abroad.

The question here naturally arising is, who was selling Russia the chief share of this enormous mass of manufactured or half-finished articles? The answer is: Germany. The four leading nations in the category of Russia's imports for 1913 stood as follows: Germany, 643,000,000 roubles; England, 170,000,000 roubles; the United States, 74,000,000 roubles; France, 56,000,000 roubles. Germany was thus getting nearly half of Russia's total import trade and far and away the lion's share of the manufactured imports, since the chief items in these German imports to Russia were machinery, textiles, and kindred articles. As to the United States, although standing third on Russia's import list, it was selling Russia comparatively few manufactured goods, the chief item in American imports to Russia being raw cotton.

AMERICAN OPPORTUNITIES IN THE RUSSIAN MARKET

Since 1914, matters have radically altered. Germany being at war with Russia, her imports have fallen practically to zero, and it is extremely unlikely that the ratio of 1913 will ever be restored, since Germany owed much of her ascendancy in the Russian market to an extremely one-sided commercial treaty which Germany forced upon Russia during the dark days of the Russo-Japanese War. For American business here is a golden opportunity which, if properly grasped, should open up valuable outlets for American goods in a market capable of almost unlimited expansion.

American trade opportunities in Russia, like many other things, are, of course, bound up with the developments of the Russian Revolution and the outcome of the European War. Should the Revolution remain true to its ideals and the war end in a constructive settlement promising the beginning of a better and more stable world-order, Russia will unquestionably grow into a great and useful member of a new fraternity of free peoples. On the other hand, should the war end unsatisfactorily and should Russia sink through anarchy into a fresh cycle of militaristic despotism, she may become once more a source of anxiety to the world—a liability rather than an asset to the progress of mankind.

WHAT AMERICAN FARMERS HAVE DONE THIS YEAR

BY CARL VROOMAN
(Assistant Secretary of Agriculture)

THERE is enough food in sight to win the war—enough food in sight to feed the world. The biggest crop of food products ever grown in the United States, which means the biggest one ever grown by any country in the world, is the result of our harvest. While our army for the trenches has not yet gone into action, the army in the furrows has already drawn blood, has won its first battle.

Harvest figures secured by the Department of Agriculture show that we have produced 3,248,000,000 bushels of corn, which is half a billion bushels in excess of the average crop. According to the same figures, we have 462,000,000 bushels of white potatoes, which is a hundred million bushels in excess of the average crop. To practically all other food crops the same rate of increase applies.

All of this is the result of emergency war work of American farmers in response to the appeal of the President and the Department of Agriculture. And it has been no make-believe, but real war for them—all but the physical danger. The army in the furrows has known hard toil, suffering, inconvenience, the upsetting of the normal manner of life, and the risk of financial disaster.

Without any kind of delay, on the very day that war was declared, an army of 6,000,000 farmers was mobilized. These men were actuated by patriotism of the same quality as the patriotism that moves men to the battle front. They were just as willing to make sacrifices, just as certain that sacrifice and suffering must be their portion.

In the fight to increase food products, a million American farmers risked bankruptcy. Thousands of them actually incurred bankruptcy and tens of thousands incurred impaired fortunes. Wherever weather or other conditions chanced to be sufficiently unfavorable, wherever unforeseen and insuperable difficulties arose, the farmer who had risked all he had to increase his production of foods fell in financial ruin. As a result there has

been a casualty list, a fatality list, of America's mighty army in the furrows!

These soldiers of the commissary who took a chance for the good of the country and lost, are not asking for sympathy. They invited the soldier's fate, and they will bear it like heroes—glad that it has been their privilege to suffer for their country's good. But they are entitled to recognition, entitled to be known and honored as veterans, along with the soldiers who later will come home with empty sleeves.

However, these financial casualties have been comparatively few. It has been a remarkably successful campaign, and the great majority of the army of food producers, at the moment of victory, are lusty and prosperous.

HOW THE FOOD ARMY WAS ENLISTED

There was never another fight like it in the world. In the spring of 1917, the vulture of famine hovered low on the skyline of every nation in Europe, ready to swoop down into the streets of the capitals, threatening with the slow death of starvation more people than had died swiftly in battle since the war began. It looked as though the time was not far away when even the armies in the field could no longer be kept at a high pitch of fighting efficiency, as though civilization, already wounded and worn, must die of starvation.

Early in April of this year, the clock of destiny struck the greatest hour in history. Into the war of the world, the life and death struggle of liberty against absolutism, came America—ready to throw into the scales on the side of right the full might of its one hundred million people, the full might of a wealth greater than that of all continental Europe, the full might of a spiritual strength based in the practices of free government and buttressed by the consciousness of an unselfish service.

America rampant—but America unready!

The way was long. A year must elapse before an adequate army for the trenches could be trained and transported. Meanwhile, there was barely enough food in existence to keep the world scantily fed until harvest. Unless something heroic could be done, the armies of the Allies could not be sustained through another winter and the possibility loomed that, by the spring of 1918, America would wage the war alone.

Then there moved to the conflict, quietly and without the beating of drums, steadfastly and with the will to win, America's matchless army of patriot planters.

Two days before war was actually declared, an official of the Federal Department of Agriculture held a conference in Boston with the Committees of Public Safety of all the New England States. Two days after war was actually declared an official of the Department was in conference in Atlanta with the Southeastern Food Producers' Association, representing Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Florida.

The Atlanta meeting marked the actual entry into the war of the first division of the army of the furrows. Even before that time it had been standing under arms. Foreseeing, for several weeks before war was declared, that it was highly probable, and realizing that the food shortage was the first and most powerful enemy to be overcome, appeals were sent out to urban dwellers for the planting of an extra million of vegetable gardens, and to the farmers of the country to allow no acre to lie idle this year. With the assistance given by progressive newspapers and other agencies, this appeal went home to the gardeners and farmers of the entire country.

THE SOUTH COMES INTO THE FIGHT

During the fortnight following the Atlanta meeting an official of the Department made a swing through the Gulf and Lower Mississippi Valley States, speaking at the principal cities and arranging methods of coöperation with various organizations. Before the end of that fortnight the South was in the food fight to stay until the war should be won; cotton planters proceeded to cut down their acreage of cotton to bare necessity and to devote the remainder of their acres to corn, potatoes, beans, anything that would help to meet the world's food deficit. Owners of great timber tracts went to work to put their cut-over lands in cultivation. Big mill concerns, in some instances, put their entire

equipment of men and teams to work planting "corn in the cut-over," leaving the mills idle until the crops should be made. Others operated their mills half-time, using the men and teams for the remainder of the time in corn and potato production. All of them encouraged their men to employ their spare time making crops for themselves in the cut-over lands.

By the time this Southern tour was completed, the South was working out a determination not only to feed itself, a thing that it had never done before, but to produce a surplus of food for the nation's needs.

A movement was set on foot to form organizations in each State to coöperate with the State agricultural colleges on the one hand and with the United States Department of Agriculture on the other. Committees of public safety were organized in practically every community, and two million members of the Federation of Women's Clubs were at work to stamp out waste of food in kitchens. The South united—farmers, farmers' wives, business men, business men's wives—was at work to feed itself and have a surplus. The effort has been crowned with unqualified success. The corn crop in the South is from 25 to 35 per cent. larger than it ever was before. The crop of potatoes, both Irish and sweet, shows a greater relative increase. The soy bean, cow pea, and velvet bean crops have been enormously increased. The three-quarters of a billion dollars' worth of food that has ordinarily gone from the North to the South every winter will not be needed there this time, and will be available for export to the United States forces in the field and to the forces of the Allies.

THE WHOLE NATION AROUSED

On April 9, Secretary Houston held a conference in St. Louis with representatives of agricultural colleges and State departments of agriculture of thirty-two States. Plans were carefully worked out for speeding up food production and promoting food conservation. As a result of that conference, both the enthusiasm and the systematic work already in progress in the South and in New England was extended to the whole of the United States. At the request of Secretary Houston, on April 13, a similar conference, under the leadership of President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, of the University of California, was held for the coast country, and the plans formulated by the St. Louis conference were unanimously endorsed.

Secretary Houston, meanwhile, had held a conference with representatives of the agricultural press of the country and every farm paper became a crusader for bigger crops.

By the middle of April, two weeks after war was declared, the Department of Agriculture had organized the farming forces of the entire country for a concerted drive toward greater food production. On April 18, Secretary Houston submitted the plan in a formal report to the Senate, and the committees on agriculture of both branches of Congress set to work to draft legislation putting the Department of Agriculture on a war basis and clothing the President with full powers to take such further steps as should be found necessary to produce the largest possible food crops, to market them efficiently and economically, to distribute them to the consumer without extortion, and to conserve them scrupulously, in order to insure an ample supply of food for the armies of the United States, for the armies of the Allies, for the neutral nations, and even, after the war, for the Central Powers.

The degree of success that has attended the effort at increased production is beyond all expectations. Success has been almost universal. Production of nearly all food crops has been increased in every section of the country. Of all of them, however, the half-billion bushels increase in corn is the most impressive.

The United States is flinging into the balance of world strife the greatest corn crop ever harvested by human hands which may prove to be the mightiest single force ever exerted in human warfare. It is not difficult to form some conception of the profound military significance of these billions of bushels. Rest assured they realize it in Wilhelmstrasse.

Readers of fiction may remember the fate of the vulture-hearted railroad magnate of Frank Norris' great novel, "The Octopus," who slipped into the hold of one of his grain ships and was buried alive in an avalanche of roaring wheat. May we not see some such fate for Prussianism? All the power of blood and iron of which the Prussian has made his boast, all his great ordnance and the forges of Essen, all his forty years' work of plotting and planning how to take the world unawares and subjugate it by skilled and ruthless initiative—all these shall be overwhelmed and made as naught by the golden flood of maize from the peaceful valleys of our matchless land.

BUMPER CORN AND POTATO CROPS

To me, our growing corn crop is the most grandiose of the powers that are to be loosed in the prosecution of this war. Its very remoteness from the battlefronts of Europe, and the serenity and peacefulness that brood over it serve to heighten its impressiveness. Not our own splendid navy, not the great army we are building up, nor yet the millions of men that our allies have poured into the trenches, nor even the grand fleet of Britain keeping watch and ward in its nameless coastal fastnesses—not one, nor all, of these is as thrilling to me as has been our illimitable sea of whispering corn. And I hope that the American farmer has an inspiring sense of the significance of his crop. It would be a matter for regret if he were to miss the exaltation of spirit that is his due for his patriotic response to the appeal of his country.

I am a corn-belt farmer, and the poetry of the corn is in my heart just as the economic importance of it is in my mind. But the stupendous potato crop is hardly less significant than the corn crop. So efficiently did the farmers of the nation turn to the production of potatoes that, after all home needs are fully met, there will remain a surplus of approximately a hundred million bushels to be sent, in dried form, to the armies of democracy in Europe, or to take the place of other foods that can be sent there.

THE VACANT-LOT GARDENS

The increase in other food crops is not far behind. The backyard and vacant-lot garden movement, the first skirmish of this campaign, was started in March and was taken up by State Councils of National Defense, State Agricultural Colleges, the National Garden Commission, hundreds of daily papers, and other agencies throughout the country, with the result that millions of families who had formerly bought all of their vegetables produced, this year, a large part of what went on their tables, thus leaving in the channels of trade millions of dollars' worth of foodstuffs to meet the nation's needs.

The success of this emergency effort traces back to many sources, and not the least of them is the fact that the Department of Agriculture has been in better position than ever before to reach directly to the farmers of the whole country. The publicity machinery of the department was completely reorganized, and Mr. Clarence Ousley, one

of the new assistant secretaries, has devoted his time exclusively to keeping the newspapers posted as to the activities of the department, seeing that timely bulletins were issued and properly distributed, and directing generally the multifarious news channels of the department so that its information reached the public effectively and promptly.

THE CAMPAIGN FOR 1918 ALREADY BEGUN

Everybody connected with the department is satisfied with the showing that has been made for this year, but everybody realizes, too, that the effort must be continued through other crop seasons. Operations must be so arranged that there will be a certainty of ample production every season as long as the war may possibly last.

The campaign for larger wheat production for next harvest is already well under way. Dr. R. A. Pearson, one of the new assistant secretaries of the department, recently completed a tour of the country, having for its object the largest production of wheat that is possible without upsetting good agricultural practise. Conferences were held in Washington, Atlanta, Indianapolis, Kansas City, and Spokane, with invited representatives from all the States. Certain definite requirements were presented to each State, and assurances were given that all of these requirements would be met. Dr. Pearson, after summing up and digesting the results of all the conferences, says that, with average wheat weather for the next nine months, the United States will harvest a billion-bushel wheat crop.

The wheat yield this year was below the average. But that does not mean that corn alone will have to make up that shortage. Potatoes also will be used largely for that purpose, and more important still, the average American home is so well supplied with fruits and vegetables for winter use that the bread demands will be much lighter than usual.

CANNING AND HOME DRYING

The food conservation campaign began almost simultaneously with the food crops increase campaign, and it received, if possible, more enthusiastic support. In practically every neighborhood, both rural and urban, in the United States canning operations were pushed to the limit, and millions of bushels of fruits and vegetables that would ordinarily have gone to waste have been made available for winter food. It is esti-

mated by the department that the supply of canned vegetables and fruits is from five to six times as large as ever before. And even this hardly begins to tell the tale. Before the canning season was fairly begun it became apparent that the supply of cans and jars would not be sufficient to meet the demand, that with plenty of fruits and vegetables and the women of the country eager to save them, great quantities would be lost for lack of cans.

With this condition in view, before war was actually declared a committee was appointed to launch a home-drying campaign. Various agencies, including the farm demonstration and home demonstration agents in the various counties throughout the country, coöperated heartily. The result was other millions of bushels of food were saved that would otherwise have been lost, and a practise of the greatest importance in the domestic economy of the nation was revived. If the quantity of home-canned stuff in the country is five times as large as usual, the quantity of home-dried stuff must be ten times as large as it has been before for a quarter of a century. The actual quantity will not be known until the Bureau of Markets completes its food census.

A food supply sufficient to feed the world and win the war is on hand in the United States. The only question remaining is how to conserve it and make it go its full length toward meeting the world's needs. A great deal, too, has already been accomplished along that line. It was estimated last spring that the kitchen waste of the country totaled \$700,000,000 a year. Our Department, in coöperation with various agencies, and heavily reinforced by the superb activities of the Federal Food Administration under Mr. Hoover, has plugged so persistently and so effectively at reduction of this waste, has disseminated so much information on how to use materials that are ordinarily wasted, that the waste will be scaled down this winter by many millions of dollars.

Within the past few weeks we have endeavored, in coöperation with the Food Administration, to start another movement of great importance—the establishment of "war restaurants" and "war food" supply stores throughout the country. With the meager supply of meats at excessively high prices the people must have access to such cheap substitutes for meat as whole wheat, whole grain corn meal, brown rice, soy beans and cow peas. Under present conditions these articles, which are intrinsically cheap, unfortu-

nately are not commercially cheap, and as a matter of fact in most communities are very difficult to obtain at all. This situation is due largely to the fact that in the past the demand for these articles has been so small that dealers have felt impelled to charge approximately a drug-store profit on them.

Our effort will be to induce grocers to handle these commodities on a reasonable margin of profit, but if in certain communities such arrangements cannot be made the establishment of community stores will be urged, either by municipal authority or citizens' organizations.

In the list of war foods will come dried fruits and dried vegetables, and even the home pack of canned fruits and vegetables, the supply of which cannot yet be estimated accurately. It is certainly immensely greater than ever before, however. In the girls' club work alone the number of registered workers this year is 284,000 against 111,000 last year. Reports from 20,009 canners selected at random last year indicated an average pack of 281 quarts. That would indicate about 80,000,000 quarts of fruits and vegetables canned this year by the members of the girls' clubs alone, but that probably does not measure the increase, as war pressure has doubtless increased the average quantity of stuff canned by each worker in the same proportion that it has increased the number of workers, and at least twice as many housewives as usual doubtless have canned fruit and vegetables for winter use.

SPEEDING UP ALL FARM PRODUCTION

The Department of Agriculture is looking carefully ahead, taking every precaution so that the high-pressure farming necessary to increase production may not be allowed to become a serious drain on fertility and thus deplete future crops. An especial effort is being made to increase the interest of farmers in livestock growing, both by way of maintaining the fertility of farms and by way of increasing the meat supply of the world. Secretary Houston, acting jointly with Food Administrator Hoover, called a conference of leading livestock men of the country, which was held in Washington September 5, 6 and 7, for the consideration of the best means of increasing the production of livestock. A permanent organization was formed, under the name of the United States Livestock Industry Committee, with subcommittees on the various lines of the livestock industry, to cooperate directly with the

Department. The work of this committee will have the immediate effect of preventing the selling at war prices of animals needed for breeding purposes, and, in a few years, will result in greatly increasing the number of animals on farms.

Perhaps the most effective thing that is being done to insure a constantly increasing yield is the placing of a farm demonstration agent in every county in the United States. For this purpose Congress placed at the disposal of the Department \$4,384,000. More than 500 agents have been appointed and placed at work during the past month.

Probably no other class of our citizens has made a more effective showing for the first six months of war than did our army of food producers and food conservers. These soldiers of the commissary have added a half-billion bushels to the corn yield and a hundred million bushels to the potato yield. They have increased the bean production in the neighborhood of a thousand per cent. One State, Michigan, will produce nearly as many beans this year as the entire country produced last year. They have increased the total production of New England, the South, the Rocky Mountain region and the Pacific coast by from 25 to 35 per cent. and that of the Middle West by from 10 to 15 per cent. They have increased the store of fruits and vegetables in dried and canned form by at least 100 per cent. They have inculcated the lesson of no waste. And they have safeguarded the country against the probability of short crops in the future.

All of this may very properly be called a voluntary effort. The Department of Agriculture was not placed on a war basis until past the middle of the summer, when crops were planted and some of them had been harvested. What the Department of Agriculture has accomplished is due almost wholly to the ready, even eager, patriotism of the American farmer. He was not guaranteed a minimum price for his product until all his crops had been sown. He was not given a guarantee of anything, nor did he wait to quibble about a guarantee. He was asked to plant for the country's sake, and he planted to the limit.

No one connected with the Department of Agriculture feels that all has been done that is needed, but all of us who have had a hand in directing its activities have a feeling of thankfulness that, over difficulties many and great, the war activities of the department have been so largely successful.



LINING UP THE MEMBERS OF A SUNDAY-SCHOOL CLASS OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, RALEIGH, N. C., FOR INITIAL FARM WORK

FOOD CONSERVATION IN NORTH CAROLINA

BY S. R. WINTERS

THE county health officer who wrote the North Carolina Food Conservation Commission that the diversification campaign and war-production drive had lessened the death rate of both adults and children is at

least credited with voicing the ardor of a production and conservation program that added \$75,000,000 in food-crop wealth to the State. He was emphasizing the tonic qualities of a varied diet of fresh vegetables, while conservation agencies in the same county were checking Northern labor migration by placing 1000 laborers on farms through an employment bureau.



JOHN PAUL LUCAS
(Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Food Conservation Commission)

The incidents alike suggest the scope and effectiveness of the four months' campaign of the North Carolina Food Conservation Commission in reshaping a State wedded to cotton and tobacco. It was a stroke to square a deficit of \$80,000,000 annually spent for food and foodstuffs from the Middle West. The task was one of gigantic caliber, and

happily the Governor of the State threw the weight of his personality and office into the "feed-yourself" campaign. Even before the declaration of war, Governor T. W. Bickett had issued a war-garden proclamation. This came in March. But tallying to the classification of an "Agricultural Governor," he quickly grasped the economic law that production is but a simple operation when compared with the intricacies of Southern marketing problems.

The centralized conservation agency was duly organized, and bearing the charter-seal of the State, empowered to act on April 17. The Governor headed the commission. John Paul Lucas, ex-newspaper man, farmer-real-estate-dealer, and president of the North Carolina Farmers' Convention, was designated full-time executive secretary. Other members of the commission were: State Commissioner of Agriculture, president of North Carolina Agricultural and Engineering College, director of the State Experiment Stations, president of State Farmers' Union, and State Demonstration Agent.

Crops had begun to sprout when the executive secretary assumed active direction and initiated plans to switch farmers from an all-cotton crop; insure a liberal use of commercial fertilizers, and guarantee a well-tilled soil and an increased acreage adaptable to food crops.

Trained in the art of publicity as newspaper reporter, the whole-time secretary instantly sought the cooperation of the State



CONSERVING CABBAGE IN NORTH CAROLINA

(More than 1,000 pounds of cabbage were put up by these women in three ways—kraut in light salt; kraut in heavy salt, and cabbage in brine, or pickled cabbage)

press. Three days after perfecting the organization a letter was dispatched to sixty daily and weekly newspapers and a syndicated service supplied readable copy to as many more. Plans and purposes were outlined with the admonition, "Grow your own food and feed crops or go hungry!"

Coöperative efforts of 7000 school districts, 85 boards of trade, 3000 bankers, mayors, ministers, county agents, and organized farmers were importuned to establish fair and adequate markets. These trade arteries were to invite an equitable distribution of \$12,000,000 war-garden expansion. To establish adequate markets in trading centers of 100 counties was the ultimate aim of the commission, as expressed by Secretary Lucas to various food commissions.

Director B. W. Kilgore, of the Agricultural Extension Service, addressed personal appeals to 3000 bankers and merchants, stressing the significance of adequate markets. He analyzed the big essentials thus:

(1) A disposition to give the farmer a square deal, to give him preference over the farmers of the Central West; (2) warehouse space and equipment for shelling corn, grading and cleaning corn, wheat, oats, beans, peas, and other products. He urged the merchants to provide shellers and graders. Merchants had heretofore excused themselves from developing a market by blaming the farmer for not shelling his corn or prop-

erly grading his product. The farmer, however, with only a surplus of probably from 200 to 300 bushels could not afford to purchase shellers or graders.

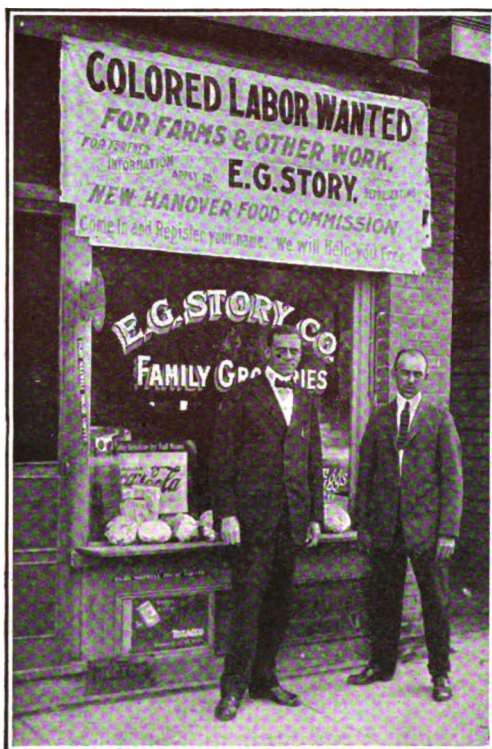
The North Carolina Food Conservation Commission uncovered 11,000 idle acres on farms of county homes (poor-houses). Here, as elsewhere, the marketing problem was found to be local, with the production end lagging in this instance. Boards of county commissioners were written spirited appeals: "Certainly no county home should ask the taxpayers to buy corn, meal, sweet or Irish potatoes, beans or other crops, that are adaptable to their section of the State." Consequently, road-convict forces were trans-

ferred to these hitherto unproductive acres. The response was generous, and at least one county home was reported self-sustaining.

Christianity essentially incorporates the qualities of patriot and fine citizen. So ministers were enlisted for the war-production drive, and the pastor was cautioned, "The bread and meat that your wealthy parishioner wastes now may cause your less fortunate parishioner to want a few months hence." The preacher was requested to exhort from the pulpit the propaganda—reduction of cotton acreage; increased acreage to food and foodstuffs, and a maximum production per acre by careful tillage and generous fertilization.

Labor and work-stock—their sparsity—were conditions partially blamed for an \$80,000,000 deficit in food and feed crops. Mayors in every town were urged to enforce vagrancy laws, thus routing idle labor to agricultural regions. Work-stock engaged in municipal enterprises were temporarily withdrawn and put to productive uses in cultivating waste lands.

What are the definite achievements of the commission in transforming an \$80,000,000 food deficit into an economic reserve for other export channels? To what extent has North Carolina ceased to draw upon the surplus food products now available for European markets, possibly? The commission briefly compiles this answer: 



LABOR BUREAU OF NEW HANOVER COUNTY, N. C.
(During the month of July this bureau, conducted by the Colored Food Commission, found employment for 879 colored persons)

Whereas, 25,000,000 bushels of corn were imported in 1916, little, if any, will be shipped into the State this season. There will be 100,000,000 pounds of pork available for other export channels because of the stimulus to swine production. The hitherto enormous importation of canned goods will be less than 20 per cent. the quantity of previous years. Wheat and other products were conserved to a corresponding degree.

Responding to an editorial in the foremost State newspaper, challenging the Governor,

"What Is Being Done?", the food commission replied:

The conservation through canning, drying and brining of every pound of surplus from gardens and truck patches; the substitution of vegetables and other products not suitable for export for wheat, pork and beef products; and the establishment in every trading center of the State adequate and fair markets for staple food and feed crops.

The canning and drying of practically all the surplus from the increased number of garden and truck patches, and the conservation through brining of thousands of pounds of cabbage and greens. Three million cans were used for canning vegetables and fruits. This takes no count of hundreds of thousands of cans filled by housewives outside the influence of the Home Demonstration Service.

The plan of organization embraced a sub-commission in each county of the State. The personnel included the chairman of the board of county commissioners, superintendent of education, farm and home demonstration agents, representative of the Farmers' Union, and two or three business men. The work of the county unit continues.

Conservation workers of New Hanover county visited every home; located 1000 laborers on farms, and packed in barrels and kegs thousands of pounds of cabbage.

The magnitude of the efforts of the North Carolina commission is suggested in these figures: Mailed from central office 21,000 pieces of literature on food conservation; 168 newspapers were supplied letters, periodically; 7000 school districts felt the quickening pulse of the vital propaganda; and 12,000 conferences and meetings held. Untried agencies sprung up in the wake of the educational and publicity campaign—tobacco barns as community evaporators; home evaporators built; school children planted hundreds of gardens, and vegetable and fruit preservation was enhanced 100 per cent. over the preceding season.



VANGUARD OF THE RALEIGH SUNDAY-SCHOOL BREAKING GROUND

THE GOVERNMENT'S OWN PUBLICITY WORK

BY DONALD WILHELM

IT was marvelous that one lone man could be blamed for so much as George Creel was blamed for, in the early days of the Committee on Public Information. Whole waves of criticism charged straight at him—or if they charged at anyone else somehow managed to land on him, situated as he was. "Shrapnel, not to say barrage," I exclaimed one night, "is gentle compared to this!"

"Interesting!" he smiled. "I like it!"

"War!" I thought.

It was war—with newspapers bursting to right of him, charging like the Six Hundred, magazines bursting to left of him, and the Common Enemy everywhere in front of him.

But the marvelous thing is that in the midst of "war" Censor Creel, with his associates, was able to perform one of the most meritorious achievements thus far accomplished in wartime Washington.

By this it is meant that the Committee on Public Information has been able, by dint of the passion of its personnel for decentralization of functions, to accomplish one of the most vital, most influential tasks so far performed in the national Capital. And this, too, with the least possible expenditure of public funds and the greatest possible call upon public coöperation. Indeed, in its field it has done quite as much as Mr. Hoover and his associates have done in theirs.

The departments of the Government most directly concerned in dealing with the enemy locally and abroad, are the War, Navy, State Departments, and the White House—hard by which, in two adjoining old red-brick dwellings on Jackson Park, the committee has its headquarters. Early in the progress of the war they realized that they, the Department of Justice, and the governmental agencies that report to them, the Council of National Defense, notably, all more or less vitally concerned, as they were, in military and naval secrets, could hardly give, twice daily, the news to the thousand newspaper men now existent in Washington.

It was plainly and imperatively necessary,



CHAIRMAN GEORGE CREEL OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

too, that the utmost care be exercised in the giving out of news and that there be some central agency, with all its personnel sworn to allegiance and trust, functioning between the Government and its wartime secrets on one hand and the reporters and the other members of the Fourth Estate on the other. The committee was, therefore, established by the President's order and "a man of proven courage" having been chosen as its chairman, *its* first duty lay at once in serving, actually, two masters—Government and reporters; and *his* in being not what he called when head of the news staff of the Wilson campaign, a "Rhinoceros Bird," or warder-off of all attacks on the heads of an organization, but the coördinator of a trained force of news gatherers accredited to and trusted by both the Government and the newspaper men.

Just here it is worth pausing a little to point out that there have been interesting changes, in character and number, in the Washington newspaper men—the "most in-

We Must Finance Our Men Who Are Fighting in France
A Liberty Bond Holder Exemplifies the Spirit and the Ideals to Which Our Nation Remains Committed.



Official Bulletin



PUBLISHED DAILY UNDER ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT BY THE COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC INFORMATION
 GEORGE CHASE, CHIEF CLERK

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PRESIDENT URGES ALL BANKS TO JOIN RESERVE SYSTEM IN MOBILIZING NATION'S FINANCES

Maximum of Banking Power Required, He Says, to Successfully Prosecute the War—Burden and Privilege Must Be Shared by Every Institution, National, State, or Private, in the Country—Eight or Nine Thousand Are Eligible Under the Law to Join in Patriotic Service.

The following statement by President Wilson has been issued:

It is manifestly imperative that there should be a complete mobilization of the banking reserves of the United States. All who are familiar with financial operations must appreciate the importance of developing to the maximum our banking power and of providing financial machinery adequate for meeting the very great financial requirements imposed upon our country by reason of the war. A vigorous prosecution and satisfactory termination of the war will depend in a small degree upon the ability of the Government not only to finance—

are among the fundamental principles of the act.

The State banking institutions for some reason have until recently seemed loath to hold aloof. Congress a few months ago prescribed very generous terms for the inclusion of the State banks into the Federal Reserve System which have removed the objections heretofore raised by State banks when considering membership. At the law now stands it leaves member State banks

AMPLE COAL SUPPLY ASSURED TO MEET THE MIDDLE WEST'S IMMEDIATE REQUIREMENTS

**DR. GARFIELD REVIEWS SITUATION
Arrangements Made to Provide Fuel Through State Administrators,
Where Appointed, or
Other Officials.**

The Fuel Administration authorizes the following:

An ample supply of coal to meet the immediate requirements of the Middle West is assured, Dr. A. Garfield, United States Fuel Administrator, states. "I have just returned from a trip to Ohio, where I took up with the re-

FRONT PAGE OF A SPECIMEN COPY OF THE "OFFICIAL BULLETIN,"
 THE DAILY PAPER PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT
 (A newspaper 10 by 12 inches in size. This reproduction is reduced about one-third)

fluent body of men," Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard, once said, "in America." There have never been so many of them in the Capital—a thousand altogether, counting those who do also other than newspaper work. They have never been so varied in points of view and policies. And it is worth pointing out, too, that there is no city in America where a new correspondent is at greater disadvantage; where an old one, distant from his paper, and always able to rely on the unfailing service of the press associations, so surely is bound to "go stale." It is worth adding, now, that new and old were, and of necessity are and ought to be, jealous of their privileges and their sources of news, and apprehensive lest the manifest tendency, since Gifford Pinchot's days, to have one man in each department give out all the news for it, be consummated in one man centralizing all the news of all the departments!

Accordingly, there was misunderstanding and war on Creel! Accordingly, there were difficulties right and left, and not a few at the front, particularly unavoidable when most of the correspondents had long been arrayed against Secretary Daniels, one of the three secretaries who make up, with Mr. Creel, the committee. Accordingly, and illustratively, not a little later a press association correspondent cabled back from France that there had been

no encounter between American transports and German submarines, though the committee had given out Secretary Daniels' account of that attack, derived in detail from Admiral Gleaves' cabled report.

These difficulties, made worse by the old enmities of magazine-writer Creel, were at last diminished steadily and conclusively by the increasing realization among the correspondents that in the first place Mr. Creel and his vice-chairman, Edgar Sisson, and the personnel of the committee, were so thoroughly real newspaper men and Americans, and so addicted to democracy and decentralization of power, that apprehensions were truly unfounded. In fact, this "man of proven courage" at last, to use his words, which he



THE WASHINGTON QUARTERS OF THE COMMITTEE
 ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

bites off conclusively and contentiously, said openly that he was determined "to let the public see every blade of grass growing in wartime Washington."

The outcome of all this was that there were adjustments, psychological and otherwise, in the correspondents and, little by little, as time went by, in the men and methods of the committee itself.

At present the news staff under J. W. McConaughy, formerly of the staff of the *New York Mail*, gathers the news in the committee's jurisdiction, edits it and has it approved. It is then mimeographed and simultaneously released to all the press associations and newspaper correspondents, or, if it is not telegraphic news or is "Sunday feature stuff" or if the fullest possible direct circulation is wanted, is mailed, with the date for its publication indicated, to virtually all the papers of America.

To supplement this service, Mr. Creel early established a valuable and important innovation that has, past any question, demonstrated its worth. This is the *Official Bulletin*, a daily paper with accurate and full official information, for free distribution to newspapers and magazines, officials of the Government, post-offices, and governmental institutions equipped, as libraries are, for the dissemination of news, and sent to individuals at the cost of five dollars a year. This paper, an important leavening force making for fuller and more concerted coöperation everywhere, has been of such real assistance to editorial writers, editors, officials and historians, that likely it will never be discontinued, but instead greatly extended. It is edited by E. S. Rochester, a Washing-



EDGAR SISSON
(Associate Chairman of
the Committee)



J. W. MCCONAUGHY
(Director, Division of
News)

ton newspaper man, formerly on the executive staff of the *Washington Post*, and one assistant; is printed by the Government Printing Office and has a circulation of 80,000 copies.

Further to coöperate with the newspapers there is another typical Committee-on-Public-Information Department—*i. e.*, one with a director and a stenographer and all its functions decentralized and borne by volunteers—a newspaper syndicate department with L. Ames Browne, a newspaper correspondent and magazine writer, in charge. This department has, by dint of calling for volunteers among the established writers of the country, been able to supply free to newspaper syndicates a long series of special articles essential to full understanding of the Government's efforts, aims and policies.

To support these attempts at what may be called Americanization and further to make the entire country completely conversant with the spirit of the United States at war, Mr. Creel bethought himself of the national art—the movies! A Department of Pictures so well coöperated with the entire motion picture and photograph industry that now, in charge of L. E. Rubel, a volunteer earning one dollar a month, it is protecting all the War and Navy ships, fortifications, encampments and other components from enemy photographers by serving as an intermediary between photographers and Government. It also has charge of all the war films of the Government taken by the Signal Corps, the use of which will accrue solely to the financial advantage of the Red Cross, which will distribute them.

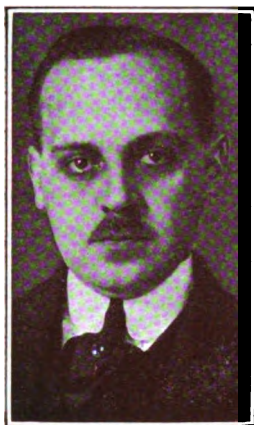
Utilizing the national art still further a



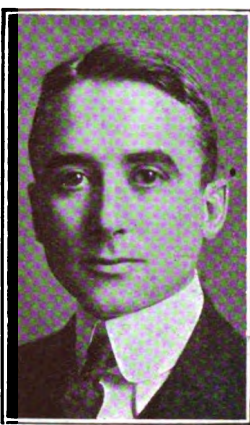
L. E. RUBEL
(Director of Division
of Pictures)



L. AMES BROWNE
(Director of Syndicate
Features)



LOUIS W. MACK
(Director, Division of
Films)



WILLIAM M. BLAIR
(Director of Four Min-
ute Men)

Division of Patriotic Films was established, with Louis W. Mack, for the period of the war on leave of absence from the Chicago law firm of Scott, Bancroft, Martin & Stephens, director. This division is already producing film for the use of the State Councils of Defense and patriotic organizations in general. The first film, probably to be called "The Immigrant," carries an immigrant from Castle Garden through to prosperity and happiness in America. Some of the most popular "movie" stars, volunteers, have rôles.

But not content with these means of reaching the millions who attend the motion pictures, the Four Minute Men, initially established in Chicago by William McCormick Blair, a young business man, were made a department of the Committee. Mr. Blair, Director, a volunteer, with two assistants and a few stenographers, has extended the four Minute Men well into nearly every State of the Union. There are more than ten thousand speakers in this army of volunteer enthusiasts speaking, for four minutes, in the intermissions of motion-picture theaters. All have been carefully selected and are subject to inspection and change, all work in concert, one week receiving, from the Committee clearing-house material prepared by the Treasury Department for use in stimulating interest in the Liberty Loans, another week receiving from the Food Commission material for conservation campaigning, another week receiving facts useful, in such cities as Madison, notably, in making clear to all Americans the nature of the Common Enemy.

To supply "special speakers" Arthur E.

Bestor, president of the Chautauqua, has enlisted his services with the Committee, as director of the Speakers' Division. Soon, therefore, such special services as the Committee has performed in sending out speakers of the order of Wesley Frost, consul at Queenstown, whose records and reports constitute much of the Government's knowledge of the submarine massacres, and Deputy Commissioner Edourd de Billy and his confrères of the French Mission, will be extended. Nearly all the major speaking organizations of the country have been coordinated through Mr. Bestor's division.

To supplement and sustain still further all this comprehensive and far-sighted educational work the Committee established such a publishing house as has no duplicate in all the annals of the world. It is situate in one room—one room and a half, to be exact. It is one director, one assistant, one stenographer, two desks—and the best historical talent in America. It pays no royalties. It has circulated in six months more literature, in more languages, among more people, possibly, than all the publishing houses of America. In other words, under Professor Guy Stanton Ford, of the University of Wisconsin, Director, this one-and-one-half-room department has, by dint of the voluntary and excellent coöperation of the historians of America, published "How the War Came to America," which "has gone to two or three millions," is being distributed at the rate of about 100,000 a day, and has nowhere nearly yet caught up with the demand; "The War Message and the Facts Behind It," a brochure that has attained hundreds of thousands in circulation; "The Great War, from Spectator to Participant," by Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago; many others, with a score of vitally significant books and booklets still to follow, all printed at the Government Printing Office save where, here and there, individuals have asked privilege to reprint them in large numbers at their own expense, for their own distribution.

In the story of this "publishing house" there is stuff for an article. In the perfectly well-defined results that have been attained by the Committee as a whole there are several articles.

The Committee on Public Information, it may be judged from all that has been written here, with its small but adequate force is accomplishing miracles.

But this is by no means all.

The Committee is to be credited, for instance, with the von Igel disclosure. It is about to launch a community plan to utilize the community centers and the country schoolhouses for speaking and for the circulation of committee publications, by dint of the excellent coöperation of teachers and country superintendents. It has an active Division of Foreign Language Newspapers—for reasons easily anticipated. It has a Division of Circulation, with James P. Needham as director, and a Division of Business Management, with Clayton D. Lee, president of the United Press until a year ago, when he sold his stock and retired, as di-



ARTHUR E. BESTOR
(Director, Division of
Speaking)



GUY STANTON FORD
(Director, Civic and Edu-
cational Coöperation)



CLAYTON D. LEE
(Director, Division of
Business Management)



MAURICE F. LYONS
(Secretary of the Com-
mittee)

rector, working under Edgar Sisson, associate chairman—formerly managing editor of *Collier's Weekly*, recently editor of the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, from which he got indefinite leave to help Chairman Creel. He is, executive, in charge of the committee work.

Altogether No. 8 and 10 Jackson Place is a twenty-room university publishing house with ten regiments of Four Minute Men, the Fourth Estate, the national art and about every conceivable agency coöperating constructively with it. There is nothing negative about it except its participation in the cable and the foreign letter censorship.



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OUR SOLDIERS LEARNING AT THE FRONT IN FRANCE HOW TO THROW GRENADES

(The publication of this and all other photographs of our troops at home and abroad is subject to the control of the Committee on Public Information, which includes the heads of the War, Navy, and State Departments, and thus supervises all censorship)

OUR CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

THEIR PROGRESS SINCE THE OUTBREAK OF THE EUROPEAN WAR

BY CHARLES BASKERVILLE, PH.D., F.C.S.

(Professor of Chemistry and Director of Laboratories, College of the City of New York)

ORGANIZED mechanical manipulative skill for a long time has been regarded as the basis of industrial success in the United States. There can be no question of its preëminent importance in some industries, but where the production even of raw material, which is subsequently to be fashioned mechanically, is concerned, the chemistry involved is vital. In many instances in the past, empirical procedures handed down through industrial generations had ignored the need of chemical counsel which might better control or improve quality or increase production.

Initiative on the part of individuals and a progressive policy of some corporations did not fail to place the United States in the lead in several chemical industries. America had provided the genius to produce aluminum, cheap enough for commercial purposes; to refine copper electrolytically, making it purer and better fit for some purposes, while concentrating values of other metals which contaminated the copper; it provided synthetic graphite and carborundum of manifold uses; it decomposed salts to make bleaching agents and caustic on an enormous scale; it lighted houses and thoroughfares with the incandescent electric light, later making it far more efficient by using tungsten filaments surrounding them with an inert gas instead of causing them to glow in a vacuum—these illustrations may be greatly extended, but the public in general did not recognize fully, and in numerous instances not at all, what had been accomplished by the American chemist.

IMPORTANCE OF RESEARCH LABORATORIES

The Imperial German Government learned one great lesson from Napoleon, namely, the importance of trained scientific men in a well-defined military policy. The German universities and technological schools were developed accordingly. New industries grew out of the researches carried on

in the university laboratories. The success of such industries depended upon constant association with the investigators, so the industries established their own research laboratories, where the commercial and technical features of pure science discoveries might be developed. Great progress was the result, and it was also inevitable that such a policy would result in the development of specialties. When the war broke out, in 1914, Germany was the specialist among nations making and supplying others with coal-tar dyes, synthetic drugs, high-grade chemicals, chemical glassware and porcelain, special alloys, etc.

The importance of research laboratories was recognized by some large corporations in this country. The General Electric, General Chemical, Du Pont, Eastman Kodak and a few other large companies reaped the benefit of such appreciation of research laboratories, but their existence was not so extensively advertised as those in Germany. Since the war began many other research laboratories have been established and those existing formerly have been greatly extended. One company alone has 200 chemists in the research department and employs over 1000 chemists.

CHEMICAL CENSUS WORK

The American Chemical Society has been the dynamic center of a movement to enlist capital to support the development of chemical industries in the United States. Since the war began the membership in that society has grown from 7000 to over 10,000. In coöperation with the United States Bureau of Mines the society has made a census of the chemists of the country and now has card-catalogued in Washington some 15,000 chemists, with data as to their particular qualifications and specialties. This has proven of great value to the Government and been extensively utilized both by the Army and Navy. The society has a dozen or more

committees, each composed of experts in a particular field, which are devoting nearly all their time to problems concerned not alone with defense during a period of war, but as well to the development of our abundant resources and to the utilization of our numerous and extravagant wastes. Among these are the culm heaps around the coal mines, sawdust and wood wastes in lumbering, and numerous other by-products. The supply of industrial alcohol is now augmented by that made from sawdust. The sulphite liquors obtained in making paper are by the use of double evaporators converted into a valuable product, while formerly they served as a nuisance when run into streams.

To develop a comprehensive chemical industry with all its diversifications, doing it intelligently, it was necessary to have detailed information as to kind and amounts of chemical importations. By coöperation with some of the chemical industries and the Chemical Society the Government has undertaken this and most valuable data will soon be available in consequence.

In the words of President Stieglitz of the American Chemical Society, it has been a "splendid achievement in having solved in three years of warfare such tremendous problems brought to us as were involved in speeding up of the production of thousands of tons of fundamental chemical products needed by our allies and now for our purposes; steel and iron alloys of every variety of toughness, hardness, and elasticity; purified copper by the millions of pounds, aluminum for airships and motor cars and abrasives on which the trueness of every great and every small gun depends."

GLASS AND PORCELAIN

Previous to 1914 we had already developed a strong bottle, window, and plate-glass industry, but relied upon German, Austrian, and French sources for optical glass and chemical glassware which were manufactured under secret formulas. The eyes of all fighting elements in these days are dependent upon good optical glass for range-finders, binoculars, cameras, etc. Researches in the Geophysical Laboratory in Washington solved the secrets and superior optical glass is now provided by our own factories. Chemical glassware equal to the best ever produced in Germany and Austria is now manufactured at home. Chemical porcelain as good as ever could be had else-

where is now made here. It is interesting to note that one of these porcelain factories is a converted brewery. In that connection it may be mentioned that not a few breweries have been converted into other kinds of chemical factories. Since January 1, 1915, the total investments in new drug, chemical, and dye companies have amounted to \$273,-670,000.

THE DYESTUFF INDUSTRY

The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce has secured data from nearly all the manufacturers of dyestuffs in the country. The monthly production for the current year gives us the following round figures:

	Pounds
Crudes (benzol, toluol, phenol (crude and synthetic), naphthalene, anthracene, etc.)	6,200,000
Intermediates	10,500,000
Artificial colors	5,000,000
Vegetable dyestuffs and extracts.....	8,200,000

These figures are incomplete and they do not include anticipated production from other plants in the course of construction. The capitalization of the companies now operating is approximately \$160,000,000. Colors suitable for leather, textiles, straw, paper, ink, stains, pigments, varnishes, feathers, furs, and many other purposes are now regularly obtainable from domestic sources. From some of the intermediates important medicines, as salicylic acid and its derivations, photographic developers, synthetic perfumes, etc., are also made to supply not only domestic but foreign demands. As illustration of the marvelous growth it may be mentioned that the exports of dyes and dyestuffs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, amounted to over \$11,700,000, as against \$5,100,000 for a similar period ending June 30, 1916.

ADVANCES IN OTHER LINES

In all this remarkable development it has been necessary to overcome numerous obstacles. Insidious diseases may develop from handling chemicals. Intensive study of occupational diseases in the chemical trades has resulted in discovering some sad instances; but numerous life-saving devices have been worked out to the welfare of employee and employer.

The information gained has been of value in solving the problems, offensive and defensive, in connection with the iniquitous gas

warfare inaugurated by the Germans. We must wait until the end of the war before making public what has been done in this direction, but it will not be long before the results will speak and in no small voice.

The nitrogen fixation problem has received an American touch and soon we shall be a self-contained nation as far as compounds of nitrogen for fertilizer and explosive purposes are concerned.

A GREAT EXHIBITION OF CHEMISTRY

Annual chemical expositions have been held during the last three years. "American chemical industry at high pressure" epitomized the Third National Exposition of Chemical Industries held in New York during the last week of September. The Grand Central Palace, where it was held, was jammed with exhibits, overcrowded with visitors from all parts of the country, and the exposition afforded with moving pictures of metallurgical and chemical industry along with the technical sessions of the several chemical societies unsurpassed educational opportunities. Chemistry is a mystic science to the uninitiated, but the lay visitor must have been struck by visible evidences of recent accomplishments, and other things

awaiting fulfilment. Pandora's box of soft coal was opened to show treasures presented in the products obtained by the chemist in distilling bituminous coal, among them dye-stuffs and valuable medicines. Railroads through their research organizations showed how communities, counties, and States opened up their treasures by coöperation of the technical chemist and the men with money to invest. Remarkable exhibits of alloys, in quality and quantity—in cases of enormous commercial size—to meet our industrial demands were to be seen. Thousands of business men were visitors.

One of the striking features of the recent progress of chemistry in the United States has been the new attitude of mind assumed by the banker in his thoughts of the chemist. This is excellently expressed in the words of A. D. Little, who, during the recent Chemical Exposition, said: "Although the chemist is still often made to feel that he is speaking a foreign language when talking to a banker, the events of the last three years have stimulated a rapidly growing appreciation in the minds of men of affairs and financiers of the fundamental importance of chemistry as a factor in national development and the basis of prosperity."

LATIN AMERICA AND THE WAR

[Recent developments in Argentina and several of the smaller republics have drawn attention again to South and Central America, and their relation to the world war—particularly to the various attitudes these countries have assumed toward the German Government. For the convenience of the reader the following summary has been prepared.—THE EDITOR.]

Argentina

Germany had on August 28 agreed to indemnify Argentina for a vessel sunk by a submarine, and had declared that no similar incident would occur. This *Toro* case had been so long under discussion that the Argentine Government had ended negotiations with an ultimatum and forced the concession. The submarine controversy was immediately reopened, however, by Mr. Lansing's publication of intercepted dispatches—which disclosed a recommendation from the German Chargé that, if Argentine vessels must be sunk, they should be destroyed "without a trace being left." The German official was immediately requested to leave Argentina, and both branches of the Congress (on September 19 and 25) voted to sever diplomatic relations altogether. Presi-

dent Irigoyen, however, held that the German Government's repudiation of its envoy's recommendations was sufficient, and he refused to carry out the wishes of Congress. Argentina had recently become a center for German propaganda; and an embargo on wheat exports, justified by local conditions, had endangered the British food supply. President Irigoyen has shown a desire to maintain neutrality. But the country has sympathized with the Allied cause, particularly since the entrance of the United States. Recent submarine incidents and disclosures have produced widespread anti-German demonstrations among the Argentine people.

Brazil

The renewal of Germany's submarine war (in February, 1917) was promptly

characterized by Brazil as creating a situation which could not be permitted. But diplomatic relations were maintained until April, when the *Parana* was torpedoed and shelled with loss of life. Even when the United States entered the war the Brazilian Government was at pains to declare strict neutrality. Then came the sinking of the *Tijuca*, followed by a formal revocation of the decree of neutrality (on June 28), endorsed by both branches of Congress. This was equivalent to a declaration of war, and was accompanied by the seizure of forty-six German vessels and by the assumption of responsibility for patrolling the Atlantic off the Brazilian coast. Brazil will not, however, make other than a defensive war against Germany. Statesmanship and ideals of a high order have been evident in the Government's notes and proclamations.

Uruguay and Paraguay

The small republic of Uruguay has not hesitated to take bold steps. President Viera formally announced on June 18 that no American country which, in defense of its rights, had entered the war would be treated as a belligerent; and when a United States fleet was in the South Atlantic in July it was royally entertained at Montevideo. The climax came on October 7, when passports were sent to the German Minister. President Viera had advised the Chamber of Deputies that, although no direct offense had been given by Germany, it was necessary to espouse the cause of the defenders of justice, democracy, and small nationalities. The Deputies carried out his recommendations.

Paraguay has maintained diplomatic relations with Germany, but her Minister at Washington is on record as declaring, in a statement on September 11, that Paraguay "has given evidence of her sincere adhesion to the cause which the United States and the other powers of the Entente defend."

Chile

The great republic on the Pacific coast of South America has found it easier to remain at peace with Germany than have its neighbors on the Atlantic side. President Sanfuentes and the Chilean Government have sought to maintain neutrality, but have asserted that rights would be defended. Domestic affairs have been uppermost, and four or five cabinets have been overthrown in Chile within a year. On October 13 Eduardo Suarez Mujica, recently Ambassador to

the United States, became Minister of Foreign Affairs. It has been estimated that 70 per cent. of Chileans are in sympathy with the Allied cause, although two whole provinces are pro-German.

Peru

Chile's neighbor to the north—with whom she is at odds over boundary—severed diplomatic relations with Germany on October 7. The Peruvian bark *Lorton* had been sunk in Spanish waters last February. Reparation was demanded, a prize-court decision was offered, and negotiations were ended with an ultimatum. Germany did not, however, make the effort to maintain relations with Peru that it had made in the case of Argentina; and the break came. President Pardo had been prompt to commend President Wilson's action in entering the war for the cause of democracy, six months earlier.

Bolivia

Without coastline and foreign commerce, and therefore without special grievance against Germany, Bolivia nevertheless severed diplomatic relations just a week after the United States entered the war, last April. A month later the Minister of War, José Nestor Gutierrez, was elected President to succeed General Israel Montes.

Ecuador

The German Minister to Peru also represents his government in Ecuador. He mailed his credentials to Quito last spring, and they were returned. He then sent an agent, to act as Chargé and the agent was not received. On October 8 this German Minister was informed that he himself would not be received officially in case he attempted to go to Ecuador. This action has been interpreted as equivalent to a breaking-off of diplomatic relations, for Ecuador is understood to act in harmony with neighboring governments.

Colombia, Panama, and Venezuela

Of the three northern republics of South America, Panama alone has taken action against Germany. On the day following the entrance of the United States, the President of Panama formally committed his government to coöperation, particularly in the defense of the Canal against hostile acts.

Central America

Guatemala took the lead among the five Central American republics, breaking off re-

lations with Germany on April 28 because of "plots against the safety and independence not only of Guatemala but the whole of Central America." Costa Rica severed relations on September 21, when President Tinoco discovered that German residents were conspiring with natives to overthrow his government. Honduras and Nicaragua also are unfriendly to Berlin. In April there were reports of German plots in all the Central American republics. President Bertrand and the Honduran Government have led in a movement to effect a closer union among the five republics, with President Melendez, of Salvador, in hearty coöperation. Such a union would, it is expected, establish a common basis of action by Central America in world affairs.

Mexico and the Caribbean

Domestic reconstruction has occupied the attention of the Carranza government. Rumors of a German plot-center at Mexico City have been borne out by the exposure of Herr Zimmerman's offer of Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, and by the German Minister's secret recommendation that the Swedish diplomatic representative be decorated by the Kaiser for special—and improper—services. But Mexican officials were in no way involved.

Cuba was prompt to act, on the day after the United States entered the war. On President Menocal's recommendation, and as a "duty toward the United States," both branches of Congress unanimously declared that a state of war existed with Germany. The Cuban Government later seized and gave to the United States four seized German ships.

Haiti severed relations with Germany on June 18, having demanded and failed to receive a guarantee that Haitian citizens would not be subject to German torpedoes. Eight Haitians had previously been killed in the sinking of a French steamer. Haiti remembered occasions when German pressure was severe upon slight pretexts; but her own demands were "in the name of humanity."

Summary

Thus we find that more than half the republics of Latin America—although vastly less concerned than the United States and European neutrals—have severed friendly relations with the German Government. Brazil, Panama, and Cuba are recognized as in the war. Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Uruguay, Guatemala, and Costa Rica have refused to retain German diplomatic officials. Not one of the remaining countries is anti-American, anti-Ally, or even pro-German. Chile, for example (the greatest of the Latin American countries maintaining friendly relations with Germany), formally congratulated both Peru and Uruguay last month upon their rupture of diplomatic relations with the government at Berlin.

All Latin American governments would undoubtedly subscribe to the assertion of President Cabrera of Guatemala, that the United States is fighting "for democracy and the preservation of international law." All recognize, too, that the Monroe Doctrine has saved South America from European empire-builders, and that German covetousness in particular had grown, rather than diminished, as the years went by.

This present feeling against Germany is in spite of the fact that German *Weltpolitik* and commercial enterprise had penetrated to the farthest corners of these countries, small and large, and had furnished most of the capital for railroad systems and other public utilities. During the past three years public sentiment in South and Central America has drifted away from Germany, particularly since the United States entered the war.

President Menocal's greeting to the Southern Commercial Congress (assembled at New York, on October 16) well expresses this Pan-American feeling. He declared that Cubans entered the war not only because of its righteousness and what it represents for the freedom of all nations, but "as a fitting manner in which to show, also, their friendship for and solidarity with the great and noble people of the United States."



NEW ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

BY LYMAN P. POWELL

(President of Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.)

THE predictions made in my article two months ago¹ were not far from right. Men's colleges have this autumn fewer students. The registration in our women's colleges is in many places record-breaking.

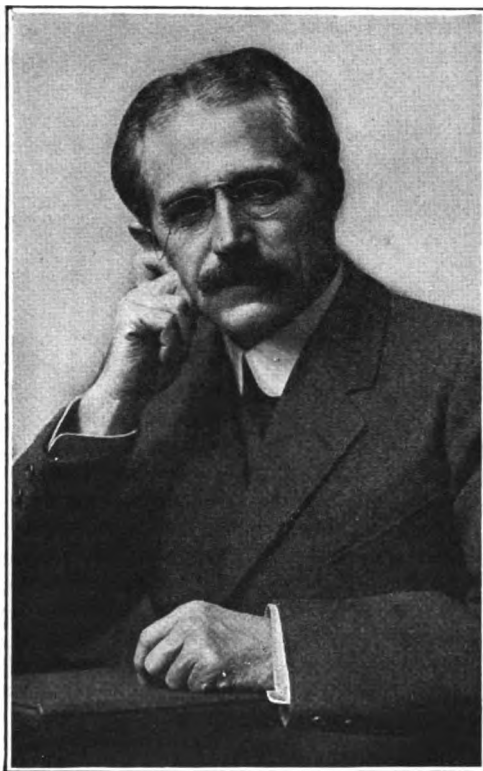
The transfer to the European zone of my observations has been justified. Unusual opportunities opened both in England and in France for me to see exact conditions. The deeper purpose dating from last spring and haunting me into the summer ceased to be a secret. No journey through mine and submarine, which soldiers fear more than they fear the front, was needed to report the havoc war has played with education. My concern was to find out what special experiments have been developed in the stress of war, what contributions education is making for the winning or alleviation of the war, what reconstruction plans are stirring in the minds of European leaders, what share is organ-

ized education to have in putting culture, racial and humanistic, in the place of Kultur, national and militaristic, what drive—if any

—can be made toward such an educational reciprocity with our Allies as will blend the best of all in a lasting solidarity for the good of the whole world.

Cecil Rhodes long since blazed the way. James Hazen Hyde has in more recent years made an important contribution. The Rockefeller Foundation has touched many a point of need throughout the world. Barrett Wendell, Henry van Dyke, John H. Wigmore, and John Finley have interpreted France to us and us to France.

The idea which drove me over seas was, therefore, nothing but the next and obvious step to take toward a comprehensiveness in education which, when war is done, will conserve for the world the democracy which war alone can establish on sure and lasting foundations. With the sanction of the Association of American Colleges and the United



DR. LYMAN P. POWELL

Two months ago, in presenting an article by the president of Hobart College on the outlook for America's higher institutions in the approaching academic year, we announced Dr. Powell's departure to survey educational conditions in England and France. His mission was in the interest of the American Association of Colleges and with the endorsement of the Bureau of Education. He returned last month, and at once prepared the present article, pointing out the greatness of the opportunity for coöperation and reciprocal effort.—THE EDITOR.

¹ See "The Colleges in War Time," REVIEW OF REVIEWS, September, 1917.

States Bureau of Education, and with the approval of the Educational Representative of the Council of National Defense and a proper letter from our State Department doors swung magically open, and in two months I was able to see and do more than would else have been possible in a much longer time.

ENGLISH CORDIALITY TOWARDS AMERICA

The welcome given me in England was the heartier because, without assumption on my part, I was hailed by some as the first American to cross the sea with such a vision of educational reciprocity. The moment was felicitous. Our first troops had been marching London streets to visualize the meaning of our entrance into war. The pictures of "Uncle Sham" talking too much and writing too many letters had given way to the preception of an "Uncle Sam" talking with a purpose, writing letters to create that public opinion which alone could send America into the war in circumstances free from all suspicion of unworthy motive. So popular at last is "Uncle Sam" that our boys in khaki over seas may have more to fear from kindness than from gas or shrapnel, and more than once men of affairs expressed the hope that all the governments at war with Germany will let our President be their spokesman and their writer. "No ruler in all history has produced papers to match those coming from your White House," said a well-known Englishman, "and the world should give the pen to him."

ABLE AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

My welcome was cordial for yet another reason. America's official representatives are in high favor for their own intrinsic worth. Said an English officer to me at the opening in London of the "Eagle Hut"; "No country has had such able representatives in London as America. Lowell, Bayard, Hay, Choate, Reid and now Mr. Page, second in discretion and good sense to none." When I was at the seat of Belgian Government I heard words of the same kind concerning Mr. Brand Whitlock, and after a day with him I could subscribe to all of them. Mr. Sharp is serving us in Paris with the same sane and forethoughtful efficiency and when a little group were with him and Joffre one morning for a half-hour a Frenchman said to me, "the two are much alike"; which was the highest praise a Frenchman could bestow.

RE-EDUCATION OF THE WOUNDED

My first interest in England and in France was to see what education can do for those disabled in the war. Of course, I visited the representative hospitals where the re-educational experiments are in progress. I realized that a new chapter in the education of the race has opened. Few disabilities will ever in the future kill men's self-respect. Pensions will continue to be granted, but without the consequences which too often marked their granting in the days that followed 1865. The disabled are never again to be entirely at the mercy of that ruthless economic law which sweeps in when sentiment begins to pale and romance fades away with peace. Re-education is already training men to add something to their pension; in some cases much. I recall the pride with which a blind soldier said to me: "Adding to my pension what I am learning here to earn, I can take as good care of my family as before I lost my sight at Ypres".

In England and in France re-education is about the same. Whether you visit the Regent Street Polytechnic or the Grand Palais, the same bewildering variety of successful experiments chiefly with the orthopedic victims opens out before you. Men with no legs, men with one arm, men with faces torn in part away and skilfully rebuilt, and others with hurts unknown before this war are learning to make baskets, bind books, cobble shoes, work in wood and iron and tin, make as well as mend a suit of clothes, manage an auto or till a garden, or do other things as unexpected. Even the paralyzed are saved from utter helplessness, as I discovered on my visit to the "Star and Garter" while I was in London.

CHEER FOR THE SIGHTLESS

For sheer human interest the blind appeal. St. Dunstan's in Regent Park claims to be "the happiest place in London." Our own Mr. Otto Kahn loaned buildings and the grounds, and Sir Arthur Pearson, blind since he turned forty, is the inspiring genius there. He makes St. Dunstan's go. Within the walls he spreads the gospel of good cheer, and outside opens pocketbooks to carry on the project. Like all men who do important things, he has a philosophy and talks about it freely. It can be summed up in three brief sentences:

1. "Don't express sympathy for the blind.
2. "Use blind teachers when you can.

3. "Never overwork the blind."

The loss of sight in certain cases seems to bring some compensation. Not even those who see are said to be as expert as the blind in the practice of massage. Braille, shorthand, typewriting, telephoning, joinery, poultry-farming and net-making are a few of the many crafts they quickly learn. Their industry is amazing. One man working overtime at mats said smilingly: "I like to keep my fingers busy; it is like knitting socks for soldiers. Never call it work." They row, they swim, they play push-ball, they dance with such enjoyment that when a couple almost giddy with hilarity bumped into the nurse who was telling me about the life she laughingly remarked before they had a chance to offer their apologies: "I beg your pardon." Several gathered round me, talking all at once like school girls, and when I told them about Clarence Hawkes, they made me promise to send to them his "Hitting the Dark Trail," the most remarkable book ever written by one blind.

THE CALL TO AMERICAN INITIATIVE

Our casualty lists will soon be coming in. We ought to be prepared to profit by the experiments the Europeans now are making in re-education. As real Americans we ought as usual to improve on what has been already done. Another year of war and we must have re-education centers, general and special. Our technical schools may have to open new departments for the war-disabled who yet can live at home and be day students. Many a hospital will have to add to its equipment a work shop. The Church Army's experiment with its farm for the crippled "out Hempstead way," will deserve study. We must anticipate, we must forestall the very possibility of pauperism. Re-education will make many a disabled man immune. We must not let ourselves be taken unawares. In this at least there must be—and that soon—preparedness.

ENGLISH SCHOOLS AFFECTED BY THE WAR

Never could a visit have been more in season for an educator. An old world is dying. A new is not yet born. Men teachers are in the trenches or in governmental offices. War occupants are competing with the school room to its serious embarrassment. Many council schools in England are going on apparently as usual; but as I learned in Liverpool rooms are often overcrowded and the teachers are too often men

beyond the age of high efficiency. Even the great public schools (which we should in our country call great private schools) like Eaton, Rugby, Harrow, have felt the frosty touch of war.

DEMOCRATIZING BRITISH EDUCATION

England has a new Education Bill. Never in her history has any education bill gone quite so far in the right course or been so democratic. Long England's education has been good in spots. There is no higher type of man in all the world than the Eton-Oxford or the Harrow-Cambridge man. No man at the front has stood the strain of war with less wear and tear. But he represents the wealth and leisure which the average does not possess. At last the workingman is growing well aware of this. He means to have, as in this country, all that education has to give. Mr. MacTavish says the time has come for labor to have satisfaction of all its needs. Workingmen must know the social and the economic forces which now mould their lives. History, art, literature and science must be open to their study as though they, too, were born to privilege and wealth. This is their right, and when the war is done they must have satisfaction of it if the nation is to live.

Democratic in government, England is not democratic in her education. Back of all special provisions Mr. Fisher's Education Bill proposes to make education democratic. It provides for national oversight, national direction, compulsory attendance—no matter how employers may temporarily suffer—from five to fourteen years of age with continuation schools till eighteen on part time, medical inspection, physical training and more than thirty other incidental helps to democratic education.

Mr. Fisher is an Oxford man. He knows the history of social progress. No one needs to tell him that in spite of all the vision of her seers England has never realized for the average the same spiritual, mental and physical training France and our own country have. He knows how borough and council jealousies have prevented essential centralization. Now, after the Napoleonic wars, frightful toll was claimed by mine and factory from children who should always be in school. He understands that even after a half-century of struggle more than half the children were still out of school. Without disparagement of the Forster Bill of 1870, which had its

good points, he evidently knows that neither in attendance nor support has England had compulsion in education. The care he exercised in the preparation of his bill to steer between the Church Established and the Non-conformists indicates that he has never been unmindful of the stumbling block of 1902 which Mr. Balfour found across his path.

THE FISHER EDUCATION BILL

With the help of experts all the way from Oxford to Blackpool Mr. Fisher has proposed a bill which in essentials seems scarcely likely to meet serious opposition and of which the only criticism I heard offered on either side the Channel was that the bill does not go far enough. As to its provision for collective oversight I have good reason to believe that in the interest of national solidarity even the great public schools will welcome superintendence. Only forty members of the House of Commons heard Mr. Fisher's speech in explanation of the bill. Those who were not there perhaps by this time have begun to realize that they missed the most impressive and convincing speech—if my informants can be trusted—ever made on education in a House which had heard on the same subject, Brougham, Peel, Russell, Disraeli, Gladstone and Balfour.

TUTORING ENGLISH WORKINGMEN

The interest in the bill at Oxford was unique. All Oxford is quietly aware that the author of the bill is of their type. Of course, Mr. Fisher would take counsel with his friends at Oxford in the formulation of the bill. In addition the Oxford Summer Classes for the workingmen were in session when I was in Oxford and I received substantial evidence of the satisfaction workingmen are taking in the bill. Labor now is having its turn. University Extension furnished a good opening. It accomplished much. But in England as in our own land there were disappointments all of us experienced in our efforts to enlist the interest of labor. In 1903 the Workingmen's Educational Association was organized to bring to labor the tutorial system President Wilson about that time imported to this country. In increasing numbers the English universities have coöperated with the Association in establishing all over England small groups of workingmen not to listen to lectures but to study under tutors as at Oxford and at Cambridge. In spite of the war there are

now more than 150 of these workingmen's classes, and 3000 students receiving the precise training they would get in residence, where ten years ago the possibility was scarcely more than a mere dream. The truly academic character of the work I verified for myself. In fact, I walked and talked with tutor and with student and thus saw the plan in action.

It is very simple. Both at Oxford and in the London office of the Workingmen's Educational Association it was explained to me in all detail. The tutor goes out once a week to every class. He is not allowed to manage more than five classes in a single year. The quality of work is never jeopardized by much traveling or any other kind of strain upon the teacher. For each class the Oxford tutors are paid \$400 a year; the Cambridge tutors, \$360; the tutors from the other universities about \$300. The financial burden is distributed. As low an individual fee as 50 cents for the whole year prevails where there is economic need. The Board of Education sometimes contributes \$150 to a class. Help is received also from local educational authorities, from the Gilchrist Trust, and from individual colleges at Oxford and at Cambridge. The local organization of the Workingmen's Association usually assumes responsibility for half of the expense. A joint committee provides the other half. The income fluctuates, but no hurt is allowed to come to any class in consequence.

THE OXFORD SUMMER CLASSES

Many of the choice students spend a part of the vacation time in residence at Oxford studying in the summer classes. The maid at Balliol Lodge when I knocked on the Master's door said: "There he is, across the lawn." Passing the tree which dates from Elizabethan days, across a lawn well kept before Miles Standish sent John Alden in his interest to Priscilla, I found the genial Master in earnest conversation with a Summer Class student under a shade tree. "Mark Hopkins" was at "one end of the log," the student at the other, to quote Garfield's dictum on true education. In a few moments Dr. Smith was talking crisply, cordially about the good work which the workingmen are doing in the summer classes, and with scintillating wit and genial disdain he punctured in advance the hackneyed comment I was about to make concerning the advantages of studying in such an atmos-

phere by his story of the Oxford boy who in his first days there expressed himself as wishing to get something of the Oxford atmosphere and in consequence was ever after known as "Mr. Atmosphere."

But I was not entirely defeated. I bided my time. When I got that bright young working student to himself I learned that from his stay at Oxford, where he insisted properly on the intrinsic value of the teaching, he believed that he was getting quite as much advantage through membership in a society where the intellectual, social and physical all go to the making of the finished product. No matter how keen my interest in the specific plan, I saw beyond the new alliance of the older seats of learning with the workmen giving promise of a time when the present truce between capital and labor will turn into enduring peace and when the shade of William Morris will come back to assure us that at last:

"All is better than well."

THE UNIVERSITIES DEPLETED

To find exactly how hard the war has hit the universities was not difficult. Everybody knew. Dr. Lyttleton, of Eton fame, came up to London to talk over things with me and to prepare me for the worst. At the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London I learned that technical schools have suffered only somewhat less than the great universities. Teachers and students went off without delay when war broke out. The Imperial College had 1000 students in 1913-1914 and last year had but 250, of whom many were post-graduates detailed for laboratory service on war problems.

The women's colleges have in some cases actually gained. When I was at Newnham, with aeroplanes hurrying with deafening noise above us up to London, registration for this year was already equal to last year, weeks before the college opened.

The University of London kept no secrets from me. The work there limps along. The present records seem scarcely worth the keeping. In fact, the main interest of the staff appeared to be in tracing out the 500 teachers and 6000 students who had gone to service, many never to return alive. They hope when the war is over more Americans will come to them to study, and more English students—when a new crop is grown up—will study in America. Words like these may well receive consideration: "The young people of England and America must bind

us all together to prevent another war, and education is the only way to do it."

My days in Cambridge and in Oxford fell in that moonlight week two months ago when London suffered at the midnight hour its worst air raid, when the sky was all ablaze with shifting searchlights, when the whizzing drone of German Gothas was punctuated by the staccato of the anti-aircraft guns, and in the words of Jonathan Edwards, the feet of those of us in the hotel or on the street seemed to "stand in slippery places." The interest in the air raids was keener than the interest in education for the time.

But at Cambridge and at Oxford I had no difficulty in discovering in college after college that barely one-tenth of the students in attendance when the war began are now in evidence, and some of them are—to quote a lodge keeper—"those dark gentlemen," who I found are Hindus. Cadets were everywhere, and though Mr. A. C. Benson chanced to be away, I found that his college Emmanuel at Cambridge, typical of the others, had last year but nine students as compared with 120 when the war broke out.

INTERCHANGE OF STUDENTS BETWEEN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

The maintenance of the morale, the functioning when war is done of educational machinery, the closer compact in the training of the young among the Allies was in the thoughts of all. While Dr. Shipley, who kindly sought for me in London and put himself on record, was not home when I called on him, Archdeacon Cunningham and Mr. Lawrence talked with frankness to me of the possibilities and difficulties in the way of interchange of students between Cambridge and our country.

They emphasized—as was entirely right—the quality of the Cambridge work and the indifference to degrees of the true scholar. But they realized the need of reciprocity among the Allies in the colleges and universities, if the world is to be educated and in consequence made immune against all foolish and unrighteous war. I must not venture to quote them, but I believe they and others all agreed with me that by mutual consideration and proper conference every barrier which now seems in the way can be removed. Canon Robinson, of Westminster, stated the case in an impressive paragraph written me after I had gone from England. I am sure

he will allow me to disclose it to the reader:

I sympathize most strongly with the proposal to facilitate the coming of Americans as students to our English universities, and greatly hope that it may be carried out on a large scale. I feel sure that it would do much to promote mutual understanding.

In Cambridge and in Oxford I lost no chance to make it clear that some of our own college boys invalided at the front and yet not mentally disabled may wish to study while they have the chance in Europe; that if a proper reciprocity is agreed upon more graduate students will attend the English and the French institutions than in the past; that it may one day seem worth while to Europeans to take advantage of our technical and professional training, especially in medicine; and that the next step in the process of rapprochement is naturally a conference of experts from either side of the Atlantic to discuss a number of details, among which will be the place the Ph.D. degree must have in reciprocity. Oxford had already taken tentative action, and Cambridge is thinking. The first letter which I found awaiting me on my return had come in my absence from President Burton, of the University of Minnesota, in which occurs the striking paragraph:

It is of the utmost importance to the solidification of Anglo-Saxon education that the English universities should recognize the practical necessity for American students of the Doctor's degree. I believe that the degree could be adopted by the English universities with no lowering of standards, but by a frank recognition of a practical situation which exists in the world to-day.

AN "EDUCATIONAL PILGRIMAGE" PROPOSED

Our Ambassador in London emphasized the immediate necessity of a conference on European soil such as I described to him. He said: "Get the best educators America can offer over here as soon as possible. Now is the specific moment. A year's delay may hurt the case." When I spoke about "a dozen," he quickly said, "Make it a hundred; the more the better. Nobody can understand the great importance of this matter until, like you, he comes across the ocean and sees things for himself." When I spoke about the difficulties of college presidents being absent from their work so long, his answer quickly was: "Any college which will not let its president engage in such an enterprise involving the educational future of the whole world deserves to be shut up."

With the attendance in the average Amer-

ican college decreased and sometimes halved this year, the machinery of college life can go on whether presidents be at home or not. What America needs now is a Mosely to finance the greatest educational pilgrimage of which the world has ever dreamed. Will he be forthcoming? With college incomes much reduced this year, and more money needed than the usual salary, some of the best college heads in the whole country may hesitate to go on such a pilgrimage, however keen their interests. If England when there was no war could find its Mosely, surely America, now that war is on, will see the point and act upon it.

COLONEL LASCELLES, EXPONENT OF COLONIAL RECIPROCITY

Day after day a man was seeking me in London, and I was seeking him. For England and her colonies he was dreaming dreams which I was dreaming for our Allies all. At last we met at luncheon. He was worth the meeting. We understood each other from the start. A native of New Zealand, Colonel E. W. Lascelles had seen service in the Boer War. Australia had made him a lieutenant-colonel of cavalry, and later given him responsibility for its military education. He was among the first to come into this war, and was torpedoed and wounded in the Dardanelles. With leg and ankle broken, after a short stay at Malta he emerged from the campaign, and recently, through the good offices of Lord Milner and Lord Selborne, he was set to work at the promotion of the educational reciprocity between England and her colonies.

He is the best type of the colonial—vigorous, buoyant, enthusiastic, practical, a rapid-fire talker, more concerned to get his thoughts into your mind than to talk for publication, and withal extremely likable. We were having—those great weeks in London—an identical experience. No one challenged the idea which we brought to town. It won its way wherever it was mentioned. He wants to see colonial graduates and undergraduates on leave of absence or invalided study in England. He would have the plans supported by wealthy Englishmen and by Colonial Governments. Before I sailed for home two Australians were settled at Oxford on scholarships of \$1000 a year and almost thirty scholarships besides of the same sum were pledged. Representatives of Colonial Governments were already recommending permanent provision in co-

lonial budgets for this more patriotic and intensive application of the Cecil Rhodes idea. Success to Colonel Lascelles! May he come some day to our own shores to cheer us on our way to reciprocity in education with our friends across the sea! I ventured to invite him, and I think that he will come when he can help us most.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE WRONGLY EDUCATED

Nothing happened in my days in England more illuminating than my visit to the Master of Balliol. In the very room where we talked, Woodrow Wilson used to spend day after day as president of Princeton, talking over the tutorial system which now is reaching out to workingmen. I had the fortune to find there as fellow-guest the one man possibly in all the world to furnish me the background for my pet idea. Baron Von Hügel had a German father, Scotch mother, English wife, and has friendships everywhere. He is the most intelligent anti-Prussian I have ever met. He saw the storm clouds gathering long before they broke. He perceived the course that Germany was taking even before Agadir. He understood the psychology of the Prussian long ago, and warned his German friends against it. He saw that Germany was becoming obsessed with what he calls a wrong *weltanschauung*, an over-emphasis of theory and system, a growing purpose to compel all other nations to adopt it, and the insane conviction that Prussianized Germany—as the Kaiser often says—has been called of God to compel the world to take her point of view.

Dominated by this false philosophy, as Germany has grown more steady she has grown more obstinate; as she has grown more virile she has turned more brutal; until the mailed fist, the submarine, the poisonous gas, the devastation of her foeman's land, the outrage of women and children, even the crucifixion of those who fight against her—for I know that she has come to that—appeared to have their justification in her Pan-Germanic theory. Germany must be beaten. That is our first business. Any talk of pacifism or of peace at any price encourages her in the continuation or resumption of the war, and cruelly as well as thoughtlessly multiplies the number of our own young men who will have to die that we may live.

But the war, as our President insists, is not against a people mis-educated, but against a government responsible for mis-education.

The ultimate solution of this cosmic problem when the war is done will, therefore, fall upon the educator. First, among the foes of Germany there must come as fast as possible such an interchange of the best that they have learned and thought that the peace for which we hope and pray may be soundly builded on the spiritual humanitarianism of France, the moral justice of England, and the practical goodness of America.

This fusion of the best of all will usher in the reign of universal culture in the light of which the localized Kultur of Germany will shrivel up and disappear. My thanks to Baron von Hügel, the cosmopolitan gentleman of Holy Roman Empire pedigree, who helped me to find my way to the solid rock of actuality for that educational reciprocity which is to save and keep the world from harm when war is done.

II.

If the stay in England bore fruits beyond my hopes, my days in France were—if that be possible—even more significant. I crossed the channel with more confidence than I had brought across the sea. England not merely had responded with an enthusiasm America cannot outreach, but I had in addition seen, on the Australian side, actuality succeeding to mere theory. Our Ambassador and Mr. Hyde were prompt to see the point, and helped me to present it to the men in France to whom it would make appeal. Courtesies crowded every day. Even the mention of those who helped would use up too much space in any article. But I must name Mr. A. H. Frazier, of the American Embassy, Mr. Ridgely Carter, of Morgan-Harjes & Co., the Rev. Dr. S. N. Watson and MM. Joseph Reinach, and Firmin Roz. The torch was passed along to MM. Bergson, Boutroux, Levisse, Hovlaque, Steeg, Petit du Tailles, and even Painlevé, who was about that time promoted to the premiership.

THE DESOLATION OF FRANCE

It took but a day or two to find that the situation in general in France is not unlike that in England. Primary schools have suffered. Though the French spirit flames out in all its purity and persistence, even where two or three little ones can be brought together, there can, of course, be scarcely anything worth calling education along a battle front of several hundred miles. How could a devastated region which covers almost the whole heart of France have children left to

go to school? Chauny alone in less than six months has seen its young people of both sexes deported to "somewhere beyond the Rhine," and out of a population of 10,000 I found a broken and an aged remnant of but 200 thinking only of the ways and means of getting through another bitter winter amid conditions almost as serious as in that region of our Civil War in which it was remarked a crow would have to carry his own rations even to fly across.

THE "AMERICAN UNIVERSITY UNION" AT PARIS

France was the readier to accept another educational visitor from her new ally because among the recent visitors have been Dean Wigmore and President Finley, who but a few weeks earlier had carried greetings and encouragement to France when need was greatest. M. Joseph Reinach was at that very time writing with appreciation of America in *Le Figaro*, and not merely took to the idea, but added the suggestion of a Franco-American journal to promote the plans. But perhaps best of all, the American University Union was getting under way. An executive committee consisting of Professor Nettleton, of Yale; Mr. Lansing, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Professor Paul Van Dyke, of Princeton; Mr. James Hazen Hyde, of Harvard, and Professor Chas. B. Vibbert, of the University of Michigan, were already in residence, and the very day I spent with them a new club house was leased to provide for American college men and their friends passing through Paris or on furlough a home at moderate cost, a club convenient and comfortable, and a clearing-house for those most intimate social relationships hitherto denied to foreign students resident in Paris.

The Union has the backing of over forty representative colleges and universities of this country, and the number steadily increases. President Lowell is advising on this side the water, and the final authority is vested in a board of trustees in America, in which the Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes is chairman, and the actual oversight in Paris is in the hands of a local governing board. It would be difficult to overestimate the present and potential value of the Union. It seems destined to grow beyond all prophecy, and to establish branches in other European cities. No American institution with students at the front ought to withhold the utmost support, financial and moral.

INFLUENCE OF GERMAN SCHOLARS

In France, as elsewhere, there are difficulties in the way of educational reciprocity. But, in France as elsewhere, these can easily be removed by joint committee action such as I have mentioned. The enemy has endeavored to confuse the issue. You have to go to Paris to realize the wideness and the intricacy of German "bother" to the world. The manifestoes of German scholars, scientists and theologians have had some weight. Some Americans who have studied in years past in Germany may be found among the pacifists who still retard the settlement necessary before there can be world-wide peace. What they got from Germany is not what Germany is now trying to compel the world to make its own.

Culture is not culture if it be compulsory. When Germany took to the sword she broke with what Americans have found worth while in German universities. The roots of Kultur may be found in Fichte, but from Fichte to the ruthless Nietzsche, the brutal Bernhardt, and the tribal Treitschke is a long, long way. Kant, who died in 1807; Beethoven, whose death took place in 1827, and Goethe, who died in 1832, never learned to sing "Deutschland Ueber Alles" or to cry "Gott Strafe" anybody. The hands are Esau's, but the voice is Jacob's, even though to hear it may be difficult among the booming of big guns. The German people have been fooled. No matter if the siren voices of the aged Eucken and the seductive Harnack whisper in our ear, we must not be fooled. Americans must stand together; and now that we are in the war help fight it to a sensible and conclusive finish as soon as possible.

POSSIBILITIES OF WHOLESOME LIVING IN FRANCE

Again, France is said to be by some immoral. Paris has its faults, but so have London and New York. This one thing is evident in the Paris of to-day, that such safeguards are now provided as no other city knows. Read Laurence Jerrold or Charles Dawbarn. Those responsible for France and those responsible for our own boys now there are acting with efficiency. In fact, it is more difficult for a stranger to go wrong in Paris now than in Chicago or St. Louis. The French family, the crowning glory of her many noble institutions, is opening its doors to students from abroad. The Amer-

ican University Union understands the problem and is working at it.

Conditions more favorable to wholesome living than Germany has ever known will soon be furnished to the satisfaction of the most conventional. It means much, especially to those who have been recently in Paris, that no less an organ than *La Revue* has re-enforced the efforts of M. Reinach in his campaign against the alcoholic evil, and covers the whole ground in a recent editorial:

At the present moment France is attracting the eyes of the world more than ever before. It is not enough to show our enthusiasm regarding the English, American, Italians, Portuguese or Russians who are dwelling amongst us. We must likewise watch over their moral security.

France is planning to do that.

YOUNG FRENCH WOMEN ENTERING PROFESSIONS

The God of War has claimed very many of the best young men in France. This gives a new importance to young women. They know that to most of them the making of a home and the perpetuation of a family are now denied. They are, therefore, making ready in all modesty for an individual career. Many of them wish to teach. They are crowding into universities all over France. There are twice as many women students now enrolled as there were before the war.

Many of them would be glad to study in America. On the steamer which brought me home again there were five well-trained young women, two from the Sorbonne, and three from the University of Bordeaux, coming to Bryn Mawr on scholarships, made possible at the most appropriate moment. Every worthy women's college in the land can have French students if it wishes, but they must have help.

INVITE FRENCH GIRLS TO AMERICAN COLLEGES

France asks nothing from the world. Her self-respect and cheerfulness are a marvel to each visitor, but facts are facts. Under the same roof in Paris there was a French noblewoman in our company whose pedigree goes back beyond the settlement of Jamestown, and whose income, at least \$10,000 before the war began, is now at most \$500. Almost every home has felt the pinch. Young French women who come to us to pursue their studies need our scholarships. Tui-

tion, board and room, of course, should be provided. Traveling expenses and pocket money, too, ought to be furnished. No French woman asks for anything. They are ready to work for themselves. The suggestion is entirely my own, and no American will doubt who knows the need.

But this is merely the beginning of the services our women's colleges can render. With the Bryn Mawr delegation I had many a talk on shipboard, and I am getting letters since we landed. They are pilgrims quite as truly as the little band who came across in the Mayflower. They are here to find out for themselves if it is worth while to study in our land and if we want them. They are not critical. They are not even sensitive, but they will report back their impressions with that invariable veracity and intellectual honesty which mark French scholarship. As I write this paragraph a letter comes from one of them to tell me that she likes her college life and asking my advice concerning something practical.

In the light of what I learned in France and on shipboard I venture the suggestion that women's colleges the country over at once make ready for this problem which is theirs to solve. Alumnae and faculty committees should be organized. There should be outside committees of representative women in every city striving both to secure financial aid for our new kin who come to study with us, and to assure to them the cultivated social life to which French women are accustomed.

There may be homesick days—for none love their country like the French. The best homes should be open them. They must find out without delay to whom to turn for ordinary counsel, for guidance in dilemmas, for mothering in emergencies. We must in addition find the way to promise such of them as never go back home a career with us—in our colleges the promotion which they may deserve as teachers, in business advancement worthy of their gifts and training. If there were no other reasons the eager preparations French families are making to be kind to our boys, wounded or disabled at the front, must make immediate appeal to the right-minded and the patriotic.

RECIPROCITY WITH THE FRENCH UNIVERSITIES

Nothing I have written is idle speculation. Paris is ready to reciprocate, but so, too, are provincial universities some of which are

equal to our best. With a representative of Dijon I talked for a whole day, and no conversion there is needed. At Bordeaux I spent a week. President, deans, and professors are already making plans in the promotion of an international relationship. In the very room where M. Ribot was installed as Minister of Finance when the French Government hastened from Paris to Bordeaux in September, 1914, I talked out—pencil in hand—with the Dean of Medicine, who sat at Ribot's desk, the details of reciprocity.

Together we went over the provisions which the university is making for the care and comfort of Americans in Bordeaux. Three hundred of the best families there will furnish home and food and social life. The Mayor and the Chamber of Commerce are acting in conjunction with the universities. Even the "Country Club" will confer the privileges of tennis and of golf on every American student, and if any parent is still haunted by the fear of moral danger let me say that this has been considered from every point of view and such provision has been made to guard against it as exists in no college town in our own country. I know in all detail the exact measures taken, and I doubt that any city in America would dare to go so far in prophylactic measures in the interest of morality. Even to touch the liquor question here seems perilous. One

never knows what estimable citizen may have a vested interest.

By good luck on the long trip over I had the daily comradeship of the new Exchange Professor at Harvard, Professor Cestre, of Bordeaux. If there is any aspect of the question which he did not cover in his brilliant and informing daily talk I cannot recall or imagine it. He even foresaw the importance for us to maintain the balance of interest and effort between France and Great Britain, and is publishing a book to show how much the two countries actually have in common.

A CONFERENCE REQUIRED

The privilege and duty are before us. The committee to go to England and to France for conference should be properly and promptly designated. The moment now before us has surely never come before, and may never come again. Anything we do now will count as it could never possibly have counted in the past, as it may never count again. I am but a voice crying in the wilderness. I follow the gleam of the pioneer. Will the educators of America read the signs of the time? Will they follow after? Will some Cecil Rhodes emerge to realize without delay that not even the first Cecil Rhodes foresaw such a chance as this to make the world safe for generations yet unborn?



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FRANCO-AMERICAN COMITY EXEMPLIFIED AT THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION OF 1917

(The assembly is standing and singing the "Star Spangled Banner." M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre are at the left, President Nicholas Murray Butler in the center, and Mayor Mitchel at the right)

WAR LESSONS FOR AMERICAN EDUCATION

BY CHARLES F. THWING

(President of Western Reserve University)

THE first lesson taught by the war relates to the education of all our people. The American public school system has long been the subject of intense encomium; but the school, though public and free, is a school for only a small share of American children. According to statistics compiled for no less than 386 American cities, only 56 out of every 1000 pupils who begin the first grade of the elementary school complete the four years of the high school. The history of American youth, in passing through the "teens," like that of a defeated army in retreat, is marked by the values it throws away.

The lesson for us is the very lesson which England herself is learning with terror, that the uneducated masses are a danger to the state and to its future. America should see to it that all her children are educated in a way worthy of a democratic, responsible citizenship.

Futility of Merely Intellectual Education

A mighty reënforcement should be given to the intellectual parts of our system. That system is indeed weak, uninspiring, unrelated, disjointed, wasteful, ineffective. It should be made vigorous, quickening, compact, economical. It should not be content with being merely intellectual. It should be made also ethical, social, moral, touching the conscience, moving the will, inspiring the heart, as well as giving discipline to the intellect. It should inculcate the importance of the principles of justice, honesty, moderation, self-respect, and temperance. It should, indeed, seek to give "understanding of mysteries," to inspire to proper sacrifice, and to give "power unto the removal of mountains"; but it should also know that love is mightier than all.

Humanism is the historic movement for culture, representing the best which man

has thought, felt, spoken, aspired after, or achieved. Humaneness, the sympathy with humanity in its more sad and dismal relations, is of course important. But humanity itself is still more comprehensive and important.

Relative Importance of Humanism, Humaneness, and Humanity

Education is to be concerned with humanity, and not with humanism or humaneness only. Germany began with a noble humanism and achieved through its forces her intellectual potency. Her regard for logical relationships, her allegiance to the pure reason, represent tremendous conquests. But she has not entered equally well into the humane field, and she has failed to approach by a still longer distance to the field of humanity itself. She has the defects of her excellencies: the intellect, the reason, the logical premise and conclusion have prevented her from seeing into the soul of humanity itself.

As to Executive Training

American education has been directed to the education of the mind, narrowly interpreted. It has made as slight attempt to train the will, the executive faculty, the organizing capacity, as it has made to enrich the imagination or to refine the taste. The success of the German armies has arisen in part at least from the capacity for executive management, for the organization, inspiration, and direction of the mass.

Executive education should be one of the next fields in our whole educational domain to be cultivated. The need is great, the call of the times insistent. Perhaps the most effective methods so far adopted are found, first, in the combination of scholastic work with apprentice work in shop or factory; second, in the training of boys through athletic sports; and third, in the self-governing stu-

dents' associations of school and college. The first method is found effectively illustrated in certain public schools of Massachusetts and in some engineering colleges. The second method belongs to every school and college. The third is established in not a few institutions in which the officers are willing to demit certain semi-official duties to undergraduates.

Military Training in Schools and Colleges

That military tactics and training help to transmute good youth into good soldiers is a truism; but the majority of American youth leave school before the age of such training is reached. Any doctrine of preparedness, therefore, so far as it touches American school and college youth, applies more to general physical efficiency and fitness than to military drill.

Every boy should be obliged, either at home or at school, so to educate his body that it shall be made the prompt servant and effective tool of a well-trained mind and vigilant will, strong to do heavy work, able to endure fatigue, active and vigorous in forth-putting endeavor. Such a body helps the boy to be a good soldier in any battle for civilization. The need of such physical training, even though not devoted at all to martial tactics, is made manifest by the war. To

the filling of this need most evident in America, American education should address itself as to a serious and inspiring duty.

Values of Nationalism and Internationalism

The schools and colleges should inculcate patriotism, failing neither in under-training nor over-training; for the one produces indifference, and the other Chauvinism, or national arrogance. Proper training in patriotism should always be joined with education in inter-patriotism. The spirit of nationalism should be united with the spirit of internationalism. German education has neglected to train students in a love for all men in its strong emphasis placed upon love for Fatherland. The English training has, for certain classes at least, neglected to nourish the love for England in an enthusiasm for humanity. The two forces, patriotic and inter-patriotic, should co-exist, each nourishing the other.

American education should, in any reorganization, seek to educate its youth to love and to be willing to die for "My Country." But the reorganized education should teach the youth that the world is more than the United States of America, that a federation of the world is more precious than the American commonwealth, dear and great as the American commonwealth is.

GERMANY AT FIRST HAND

MR. JAMES W. GERARD concludes a very remarkable book¹ on his experiences as Ambassador at Berlin with a picture of the "misery these Prussian military autocrats had brought upon the world" and asks the question, "Why must all these horrors come upon a fair green earth, where we had believed that love and help and friendship, genius and science and commerce, religion and civilization once ruled?" He proceeds to answer the question in the following sentence:

It is because in the dark, cold northern plains of Germany there exists an autocracy, deceiving a great people, poisoning their minds from one generation to another and preaching the virtue and necessity of war; and until that autocracy is

either wiped out or made powerless, there can be no peace on earth.

There may have been a question in the minds of some people who had seen the sensational headlines under which Mr. Gerard's chapters had been appearing in the daily newspapers, whether the American Ambassador was rendering a useful public service in disclosing diplomatic confidences and printing his reminiscences so soon after the end of a term of four years, during which he had enjoyed exceptional courtesies and advantages at the court to which he was accredited. Now that the chapters have appeared in book form, however, all such doubts are cleared away. The volume carries with it its own justification. It is reasonable that the American people should wish to know

¹ *My Four Years in Germany.* By James W. Gerard. New York: George H. Doran Co. 448 pp. Ill. \$2.

what he can tell them of Germany's motives and methods in launching and carrying on this world war; and Mr. Gerard is not only justified in making a report to us here at home, but he would have come short of an opportunity to render immediate service to America if he had not written and published at this time the book which he entitles "My Four Years in Germany."

Mr. Gerard went to Germany with the alert mind of a New York lawyer trained in the school of American politics, with the easy manners of a cosmopolitan, the sturdiness of a sportsman, and the poise of a "man of the world." The outbreak of the war, in the year after his appearance at Berlin, changed the pleasant social life of the embassy into a serious and difficult business. The Ambassador and his staff rose to the occasion with diligence, intelligence, and pluck. Great work was done in looking after the interests of Americans in Germany, and securing fair treatment for English subjects and prisoners of war, as well as for those of other nations whose interests had been committed to the United States.

Mr. Gerard's chapters tell us, in simple and readable language, of all these things. Most important, however, is the light that he throws, by reason of his close contact with the German Government, upon the meaning of the great war. He is fully convinced that Germany deliberately precipitated the conflict, intending to secure the permanent and undisputed leadership in Europe and ultimately, if not at once, to organize the world under German domination.

The account he gives us of diplomatic negotiations that were conducted by our Government, through him, carries strong conviction as to the submarine policy. Just as the Germans precipitated the war when they thought England could not act, in 1914, so in the early weeks of 1917 they renewed unrestricted submarine warfare because they believed that President Wilson—having been reelected as an opponent of the Rooseveltian war party in America, upon the express ground of keeping out of the war—neither could nor would take extreme measures against Germany. The surprise in Germany, therefore, at Wilson's breaking-off of diplomatic relations was almost as great as German surprise over the action of England in entering the war.



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HON. JAMES W. GERARD, FORMERLY AMERICAN
AMBASSADOR TO GERMANY

Mr. Gerard describes the political system of Germany, and holds that safe and permanent peace must come by way of the growth of liberalism and the subjection of the military autocracy to a modern democratic control. There is a straightforward sincerity about this book that must impress all readers. While it condemns Germany, it does not appeal to the spirit of hatred. One of Mr. Gerard's most interesting chapters, indeed, is entitled "Hate"; and it shows how the spirit of hatred has been deliberately aroused among the Germans, first towards the people of one country, then towards the people of another. We are told that the historian, Ferrero, had remarked that there is much more hatred in European countries than in America. It is possible to hate cruelty, oppression, and the evil system of German military aggression, without hating the misguided and unfortunate German people. They have been falsely educated and shamefully imposed upon by a military and aristocratic caste that must be destroyed by war from without and by reform from within before Europe and the world can find a permanent basis of peace.

A. S.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

PATRIOTISM AND FOOD

IN connection with the article by Assistant Secretary Vrooman, of the Department of Agriculture, telling what American farmers have done in 1917, readers of this magazine will find many interesting suggestions in Mr. Vernon Kellogg's graphic and eloquent presentation of this subject in the *Atlantic Monthly* for November.

Mr. Kellogg refers to the prophecy made over seven years ago by M. Bloch, the great Russian banker, who wrote: "That is the future of war—not fighting, but famine; not the slaying of men, but the bankruptcy of nations, and the breaking of their whole social organization." While the losses of human life in the present war have never been equaled in history, Mr. Kellogg finds that, on the whole, that part of M. Bloch's prophecy referring to the predominant influence of the food problem in modern war is thoroughly borne out by the facts, and to America falls the greater part of the burden of solving this great problem of food for the allied nations. The food supplies of the Western Allies must be maintained as an essential to the prosecution of the war.

The present-day food problem of our nation has, as its most conspicuous phase, an international character. We have joined ourselves, in effect, if not in signed compact, with the Allies in a tremendous war task. The men of most of these Allies—the men of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Italy, and Belgium—are fighting; they are not on the farms. But even in peace-time these nations looked to us for help in making up the regular annual difference between their food-production and their food-needs; normally these six countries, taken together, produce but 60 per cent. of the grains necessary for their bread. We have always been their greatest and most reliable granary, food-store, and meat-shop. And now, with their production notably lessened, we are almost their only one.

In his analysis of the Allied food situation Mr. Kellogg gives first consideration to the cereals, then to the production of meat, animal fats, dairy products, and sugar. In all these elements he finds that the Western Eu-

ropean countries are this year very far behind their average annual yield. In France, for example, the wheat production this year is hardly one-half the normal. The cereal crops of the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, and Italy will fall short of the average for the three years preceding the war by half a billion bushels.

These Allied nations must obtain from the United States, if possible, about 460,000,000 bushels of wheat and 554,000,000 of other cereals. With ordinary consumption in this country we should be able to supply the Allies with about 80,000,000 bushels of wheat and 1,000,000,000 bushels of the other cereals. The difficulty in meeting the wheat situation is thus a very serious one, and at first glance seems insuperable. But as to the other grains, the problem is by no means insoluble.

The question of sugar supply is also acute. Mr. Kellogg estimates that we and the Allies need to draw about 6,000,000 tons of that commodity from sources producing about 5,500,000 tons!

As to our domestic problems of food administration and conservation, Mr. Kellogg's testimony is important, since he had opportunity during the two years from May, 1915, to May, 1917, of seeing Germany's system of food control at short range. He has also witnessed the efforts that have been made in England and France to stimulate production and to control consumption. Of the results of these policies he says:

Americans who are asked to limit their consumption of bread, meat, and sugar for the sake of supplying our Allies with food will want to know what the Allies themselves are doing in the way of food-economy. That each of them has a governmental food-administration has already been said. On the heels of this it may be added at once that these administrations are vigorous ones, and their actions drastic. They undertake something that will not be undertaken here. They practically put the people of their countries on ration. They prescribe just how much, or rather how little, meat and bread and sugar may be

served at any meal in a public eating-place. They proscribe cakes and sweets and other unnecessary luxuries.

England's use of bread has been reduced 25 per cent., according to an August estimate of the Food Controller; in some cities—York, for example—it is greater. France has reduced (August) her use of meat 17 per cent. since March of this year. Marked additions to the acreage of grain and potatoes have been made. England estimates an addition of half a million acres of wheat and potatoes for this year. The increased acreage of garden and small cultivation is even more notable. Flower gardens have become vegetable gardens; waste places are blossoming like the rose—but with potato blossoms. Over one hundred thousand women are now in regular agricultural employment in localities where before the war no women at all were employed. The government has placed several thousand motor tractors at the service of the farmers.

In a word, our Allies are not asking us for food without making the most strenuous efforts to help themselves. And all the time, they are fighting and making munitions, and doing all the thou-

sand urgent and serious things necessary for the efficiency of their millions of fighters in the field—and for their comfort when they come back to "Blighly."

In Mr. Kellogg's view the association of food with patriotism is in no sense a sordid one.

It can be as fine as the spirit of democracy and as ennobling as the struggle for democracy. For in these days it is, in truth, an essential part of each. If we cannot organize our effort in this world-crisis by the individual initiative spirit, and consent of the people, then democracy is a faith on which we cannot stand. For autocracy has shown that it can organize its effort; it does it by imposing organization by force from the top. We must do it from the bottom and voluntarily. The administration of food is a test of what our form of government is worth. If success in it did no more than insure its immediate aim—providing our Allies with food—it would be wholly worth while. But it will do much more than that: it will prove our faith in ourselves.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH THE GERMAN COLONIES?

ARGUMENTS for and against the retention by Great Britain of the German colonies taken during the war are presented in the September number of the *Contemporary Review* by Sir Harry Johnston and Mr. W. H. Dawson. The only colonies, however, whose surrender is regarded by Sir Harry Johnston as at all debatable are German East Africa, Togoland, and the Kameruns. This writer severely criticizes Britain's conduct of the war and, on the assumption that Germany cannot be sufficiently humbled to be forced into a surrender of her overseas possessions, he proposes this:

*If—if—*Providence once more intervened and gave us Nelsons and Wellingtons, Pitts, St. Vincents, Cannings; *if* we succeeded in forcing the Germans to leave France and Belgium, and to sue for terms of peace; then, indeed, I think, from the consideration of the backward peoples' welfare and of our own safety, of France's safety, Italy's, America's, Japan's, we ought to leave Germany with no territory, beyond the limits of Central Europe, over which she might exercise a sway that tended once again towards the mania of world-domination. But supposing we cannot go so far as this: that we make Germany very desirous of peace, but yet not ready to conclude it on a basis of bankruptcy, and consequently willing to fight on in the hope of exhausting the Alliance first . . . ? How would such a plan of negotiation as this present itself to the High Finance of the Allies? To fix a certain fair monetary value for the redemption of the German colonies and (if it be not then in French occupation) of Alsace-Lorraine, or of such portions of

Alsace and Lorraine as France wanted back? To offer—it may be—to relieve Germany of the duty of indemnifying an evacuated Belgium, to buy Austria out of the Trentino and Trieste?

Mr. Dawson, on the other hand, argues that, with the exception of German Southwest Africa, all the colonies should be surrendered. His reasoning is fairly summed up in the following paragraph:

Let me repeat that it is to the interest of the British Empire in particular that Germany should be given all reasonable scope for colonial expansion, both now and in the future, since by endeavoring to limit her needlessly we should increase the difficulties of our own position abroad. The law of territorial constriction is one with that of physical constriction in general, and it was once formulated by Count Beust, the Austrian foreign minister, *apropos* of the attempt to bind Russia by the Pontus clauses of the Treaty of Paris of 1856, in the words: "*Tout compression excessive a pour effet de provoquer l'expansion dans une autre direction.*" Let us try to confine Germany to Europe as we did thirty years ago, to our lasting harm, and we should increase Germany's pressure upon her neighbors, keep alive and accentuate her old restlessness, and justify again the accusation of selfishness made by Bismarck in 1885 against Great Britain as a country which was not satisfied with owning so large a part of the earth's surface, but grudged other nations a share in her leavings. Conversely, by assisting Germany to realize all rightful imperialistic aspirations we should by so much relieve pressure at home, and so promote the harmony and tranquillity of Europe in the new order of things to be created.

ENGLAND'S OLDEST ALLY

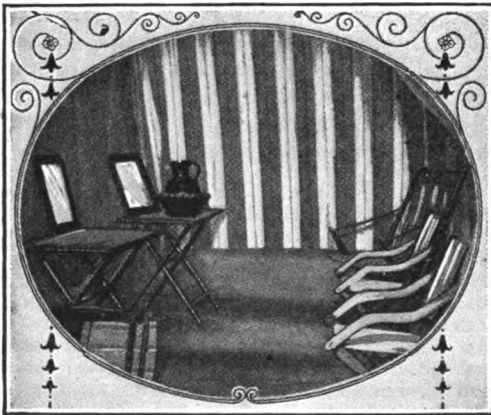
THE war caught Portugal in transition, with an empty treasury, a divided people, a great but slightly protected colonial empire. Her successful revolution was only four years old, and already there had been serious rifts within the Republican party which only threats or fears of a Royalist attack were potent to heal. Yet when the war broke out the only difference of opinion between the two wings of the Republicans was as to how far they should go in the cause of the Allies.

For Portugal to have remained neutral would have been, as Mr. A. G. Loraine points out in *The New Europe* for August 2, to betray her oldest and only ally, Great Britain, and to cut her own throat, which is the Atlantic. But there was another reason, hardly less strong—Portugal's sincere and profound love for and admiration of France. Accordingly she came into

the war by the common consent of the whole nation, including the Royalists, to whom King Manoel has twice given very definite instructions, which have been loyally obeyed, to set the interests of the nation above those of party; and although the deeds of Portugal have perhaps been overshadowed by the scale and scope of the world contest now raging, she has done yeoman service in the cause of the Allies:

The less that is heard of Portugal now the more may it be taken for granted that she is loyally co-operating with the Allies. At the beginning of the war Portugal gave to the Allies arms and ammunition, besides taking her part in the fighting in Southwest and East Africa. Later she handed over a large number of her confiscated German ships, thus supplying Great Britain with many thousands of tons of much-needed transports; now she has sent troops, well equipped and carefully disciplined. The Portuguese Army in France will be further increased, and it will be kept up to strength.

A THEATER ON THE FRENCH FRONT



DRESSING ROOM OF THE CAMP THEATER

IN October, 1914, Georges Scott, the military painter, was asked by the staff officers stationed at Saint-Amarin in Alsace, to decorate a casino for the regiment. M. Scott entered with enthusiasm into the project and in the design included a small theater for amateur performances. The idea was so successful that it was taken up by other regiments and finally by Emile Fabre, the administrator of the Comédie-Française, who arranged regular circuits for the artists

of the Opéra-Comique and the Théâtre Français. Claude d'Axel in *Je Sais Tout* (Paris) writes of the ingenious improvement made by Scott on the circuit plan, which had been too expensive. From the caravan theaters of the old strolling players, M. Scott has developed a stage of average size, mounted on scaffolding, with a tent roof of heavy canvas supported by a light framework. The theater can be put up or taken down in three hours. The front is decorated in military themes by Scott and his collaborators, Vergniolet, L'homme and Daspres. On either side of the stage are dressing-rooms for the actresses, and there are two sets of scenery which fold up in screen form like the front. The entire theater can be loaded on three military trucks.

Madame Sarah Bernhardt went to play in this improvised outpost of Gallic art immediately after her operation, and here Madame Nelly Martyl, of the Opéra-Comique, Lucienne Bréval, and the veteran actors, Silvain and de Ferrandy, are cheering the "poilus." The "Théâtre au Front" is the official title of the caravan, and it is sent from one camp to another at the order of the General Staff officers detailed for the service.

HELPING THE BUSINESS MAN TO "DO HIS BIT"

SINCE the United States entered the world fight for the rights of liberty many business men from many parts of the country, fired by patriotic zeal to a burning desire to do their bit, have journeyed to Washington to offer service that would be of real value to the Government—only to find it next to impossible to reach responsible administrative officers endowed with sufficient breadth of vision to comprehend and high enough in authority to make use of the service offered. A typical experience of the kind, or rather a sort of synthetic presentment of what has happened in a great many instances, is graphically set forth in an imaginatively vivacious, but nonetheless essentially veracious narrative, in *Leslie's Weekly* for October 6, under the title, "When Quinby Visits Washington."

The writer, John Oliver La Gorce, has drawn a vivid picture of conditions that are in urgent need of remedying, not as a reflection on the Administration, which everybody concedes has been laboring under enormous difficulties in organizing on an unprecedented scale for the nation's entrance into the greatest of all wars, but for the purpose of presenting a concrete and constructive suggestion for a better coördination of industrial patriotism.

His imaginary business man, Josiah H. Quinby, owner of the biggest manufacturing plant in his community, employer of 1500 men, and a public-spirited leader in his city, goes to the capital to offer his services and his plant to his country. For four days he goes from one Government office to another seeking some responsible outlet for his offer. He had nothing to sell or to graft, either. He simply wished to state what he could do, make himself known, offer his practical coöperation, and depart. "But the nearest he got to seeing anybody who had a tablespoonful of interest or a teaspoonful of brains was a \$10-a-week clerk in the office of the 32nd assistant to the chief clerk of a Government bureau, and even that gentleman fingered the papers on his desk and looked out of the window while Quinby was talking." Of course Quinby returns home in disgust, and the report of his visit to Washington does not inspire or stimulate other business men.

Writing with a knowledge of the conditions

and of the atmosphere of the Government offices, and a realization of the necessity of protecting the overworked department heads, gained by a residence of twenty years in Washington, Mr. La Gorce proffers the suggestion that there be established in Washington a Bureau of Federal Industrial Information. He would have at the head of this bureau some big, broad-gauged business man used to handling affairs, who possesses tact and personality which go hand-in-hand with good business sense, and give him half a dozen or a dozen assistants chosen for the same abilities, and then let the public know that the bureau is open to visitors.

When Josiah H. Quinby descends upon Washington with his proposition to make his plant and resources available to the Federal Government for manufacturing wing-bolts, which it may be sadly in need of some day, or a thousand-and-one things which wing-bolts typify, he would go direct to this bureau and make an appointment to see either the director or one of his assistants at such and such an hour. He would then be given a card stating that the interview had been properly scheduled and would be for a period of ten minutes; that if he were not there on the instant, unfortunately, he would lose his chance that day, since a Quinby from another part of the country had the ten minutes following.

Quinby at the appointed time would lay his proposition before an intelligent man who could grasp the facts, take his name and hotel address, tell him to look out for a communication the next day, consult with one or two of his associates if necessary, and then send him a card of identification with the name of exactly the person in the proper department of the Government that he should see, with the time of the appointment marked thereon for the next day or the day following, as the case may be.

In this way the Quinbys will only have to tell their story twice. Their names and their business will then be carded and catalogued by the proper man and the proper bureau, so that they can be available to every branch of the service. For instance—if the purchasing agent of the bureau of construction (navy) found that only a third of the emergency quantity of wing-bolts were available within the necessary limit of time, Quinby's plant could be taken then in hand on forty-eight hours' notice and this small problem would be solved. Further, if a certain kind of wing-bolts were needed by the Quartermaster of the Army, the Quartermaster's Department would not have to hunt all over the country, but could send over to the Bureau of Federal Industrial Information and say that they were in need of a million wing-bolts and ask where they could best get a bid on them. The index could be consulted, and the Quartermaster could get in touch with Quinby instantly by summoning him to Washington or writing. . . .

DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY THE KEY- NOTE OF ARGENTINE LITERATURE

A PRACTICAL example of the astute policy pursued by France in furthering the "Latin Entente" is the invitation extended to an eminent South American man of letters, Mr. José P. Otero, to give a course of lectures, free to the public, at the Sorbonne this year upon "Argentine Civilization." Mr. Otero is the founder and editor of the important literary review, *El Plata Serafico*, published at Buenos Aires, and for some years has held the chair of Argentine History in the National School Mariano Moreno, of that city.

With its usual enterprise, *La Revue* (Paris) has secured from the pen of this able writer a series of articles upon Argentine men of letters. In the first of these, devoted chiefly to the works of Echeverria, there are certain passages peculiarly pregnant with interest at the present moment when the world awaits eagerly the outcome of Argentina's apparent hesitation between the powers that represent autocracy and those that stand for democracy. In the course of his introductory remarks, Mr. Otero says:

The dawn of Argentine literature occurred at the precise moment when our political liberty made its appearance. . . . But it is not my purpose here to analyze this period, which we may call the period of democratic creation. . . . I shall confine myself to exhibiting those Argentine personages who, with the object of organizing the country, placed a literature endowed with genius at the service of democracy. Echeverria, Sarmiento, Alberdi, Mitre, Lopez, Avellaneda—these, among others, are men of letters whom the Argentine cannot forget, and whom Europe itself, and France in particular, will honor as apostles of her civilization. . . . The Argentine literature is marked by this peculiarity, that its tendency is eminently social. It is sentimental without being romantic; its growth and evolution are remote from abstract metaphysics, and its formula may be reduced to these terms: liberty and democracy.

This prologue is supported by the account given below of the life-work and activities of Argentina's first great writer, José Esteban Antonio Echeverria, born at Buenos Aires in 1823, but educated largely in France. Returning to Argentina, he perceived that the people must be prepared for freedom and self-government by the spread of liberal ideas. Mr. Otero says of him in this connection:

Echeverria is, among the Argentinians previous to Caseros (the battle fought in 1852, which marks the beginning of the national Argentine organization), the first who had prepared the democratic forces for a moral revolution. On the 23rd of June, 1837, thirty-five young men, presided over by Echeverria, assembled and bound themselves by a solemn oath (with the object of ending the civil war and overthrowing tyranny) to spread democratic beliefs and the cult of liberty by gradual but continuous propaganda.

From this *cénacle*, inflamed by the fire of youth and known in the political and literary history of Argentina under the name of the "Association of May," sprang the *Dogma Socialista*, the principal work of Echeverria.

In spite of its title, this book has nothing in common with the socialist theories of Fourier, Lassalle, or Karl Marx; the struggle between capital and labor, between employer and workman, did not agitate at that epoch the social life of Argentina.

The fundamental ideas of Echeverria as exposed in this remarkable volume are of intense interest at the present moment. Among them are the following, which might well be recommended to the Russian people now groping for an unaccustomed freedom:

The predominance of individuality has been our ruin; the remedy exists solely in the spirit of association. The most perfect social organization will be that which offers the best guarantees for the development of equality and liberty. The only hierarchy which should exist in a democratic society is that which derives its origin from nature and is as necessary and invariable as that.

The principle of liberty of conscience can never accord with the dogma of a state religion. No religion should be declared preponderant nor be patronized by the state. All should be respected and protected, provided their morals be pure and their cult involves no attainer of the social order.

Democracy is not a form of government, but the very essence of all republican governments. It is the régime of liberty founded on the equality of classes. Sovereignty resides solely in the collective reason of the people; universal suffrage is absurd; our motto is not that of the ultra-democrats of France: "Everything for the people and by the people," but the following: "Everything for the people and by the reason of the people."

Personally, Echeverria was not only a deist but a Christian, and thought Christianity the fitting religion of democracies, but considered an alliance between the tribune and the altar unholy.

After the Revolution of the South, in 1839, Echeverria left Buenos Aires and went to Montevideo, where he died in 1851.

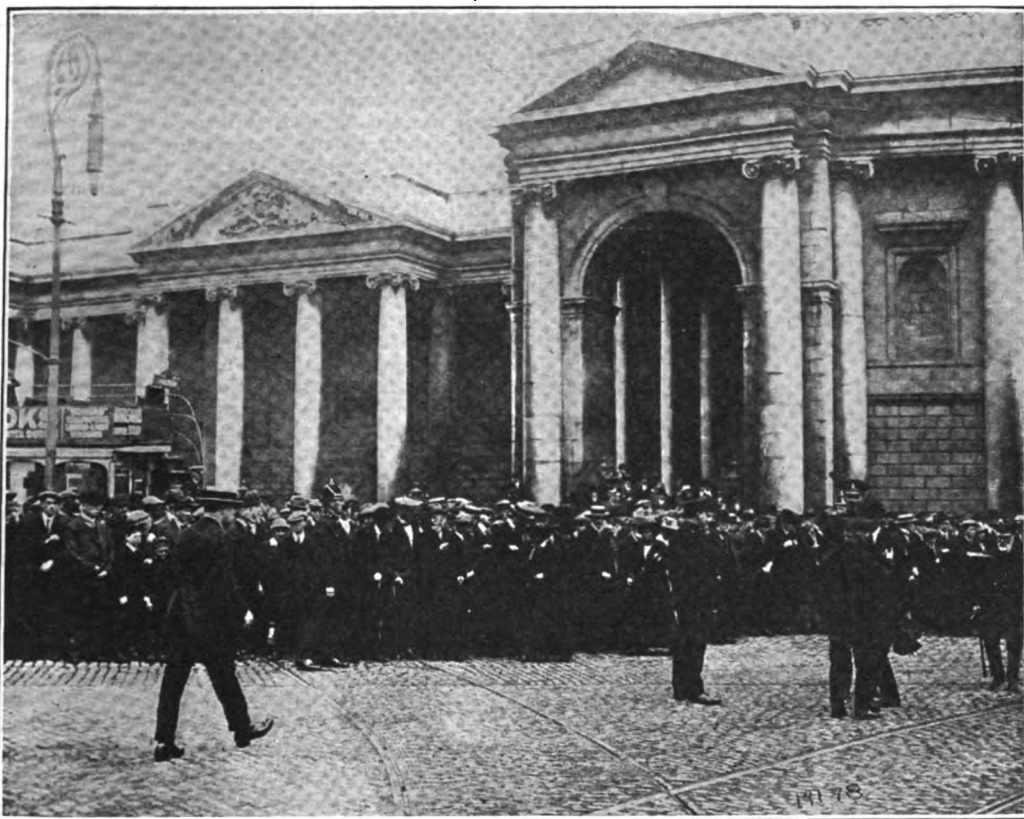


Photo by Central News Photo Service

CROWDS OUTSIDE TRINITY COLLEGE BUILDINGS, DUBLIN, WHEN THE IRISH CONVENTION MET, ON JULY 25

PROSPECTS OF THE IRISH CONVENTION

UNDER the above title, Herbert L. Stewart, "who loves the country of his birth, and loves British citizenship no less," contributes to the *Nation* (New York) for October 11 a sane and sensible and enlightening discussion of what is really the larger subject of the chief hope of Irish settlement.

Five years ago, when the writer lived in Belfast, Sinn Fein, he says, counted for next to nothing. "A constituency could no more have been carried on the Sinn Fein platform than on the platform of vegetarianism or of anti-vaccination." Hence his astonishment at the sweeping victory of this so-called "republican" party in the last few months. While pointing out that nobody can now tell what proportion of the Irish people are in sympathy with this, Mr. Stewart sees in it a great disillusionment.

In the election of de Valera, the widespread rejoicing and noisy celebration of the Sinn Fein victory, the fact that the bishops'

inhibition against the political activity of priests was disregarded, and that what is beginning to call itself "Young Ireland" has erected the banner of red revolution with the younger clergy leading the van, he reads the sure indication that "a great area of the Irish nation, the more menacing because it is so far incalculable, has openly declared that it places no further hope in Parliamentary methods, but relies upon violence alone." He continues:

Carsonite "Ulster," as we know, has been proclaiming this for five or six years. The south has followed suit. Until a different temper can be instilled, all the reports of all the conventions that can be held will be waste paper. By some means the awful lesson in the expediency of armed revolt which the Ulster "Covenanters" were the first to teach so well must be untaught and unlearned. And it seems too probable that it will prove harder to lay the devil than it was to raise him. For, unless writers everywhere have conspired to caricature the Irish, there is in that people some special element of passion, of

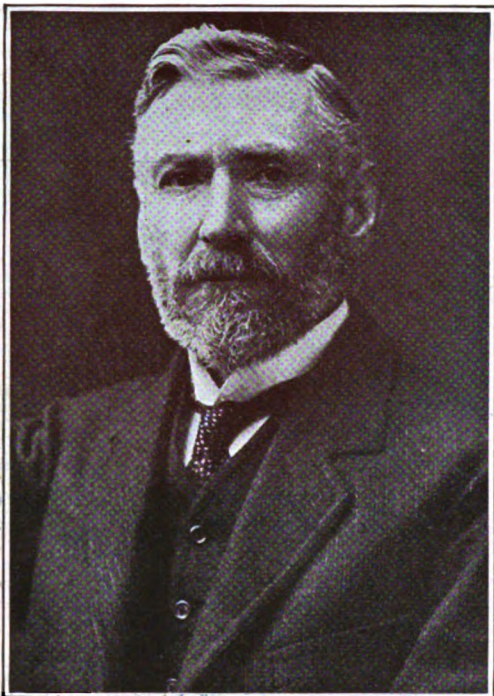


Photo by International Film Service

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT, CHAIRMAN OF THE IRISH CONVENTION

turbulence, of eagerness to cut Gordian knots with the sword.

This writer believes whole-heartedly in a self-governing Ireland within the empire, but finds it "a nice question for the casuist to apportion blame between him who sets and him who develops a precedent." The men who with pietistic words upon their lips incited the rank and file in Ulster to hypothetical treason should have the common decency to cast no stones at a Sinn Fein fanatic. He is sure that the Asquith Cabinet meant well; none has meant better by Ireland for a hundred years. But in believing that by ignoring seditious language it would avert seditious acts, it forgot ulterior consequences, "and perhaps for a time lost its nerve." Its mistake seems now to have been one which a child could have detected. "What is the moral of all this for the present convention?" he asks; and then answers:

The moral is surely this: that all the scheming and planning for terms of agreement is mere detail compared with the fundamental task of recreating an atmosphere without which no agreement can have the slightest chance. One heard much about the immense issues that turn on the choice of a judicious chairman for the convention; about the need for a spirit of give

and take among the delegates; about finesse and tactics, and checks and balances; about making sure that you get really representative men on the work of drafting the constitution; about giving a due voice to every shade of opinion! The real problem is none of these. It is a problem that would remain intractable though each of these were settled to-morrow in the most triumphantly diplomatic fashion. It is this: how shall we put out of the minds of the Irish race that criminal nonsense which Ulster clergymen, and business leaders, and lawyers, and "statesmen" have instilled on the one side, which Sinn Fein *littérateurs*, and ultramontane priests, and Dublin syndicalists have preached on the other, namely, that Acts of Parliament constitutionally passed may be "resisted unto blood" by anyone who pretends a conscientious objection to them? It is to this *impasse* that Ireland has been brought by the machinations of those who six years ago began the demoralizing of her civic life. And this under the ægis of the Mother of Parliaments!

Ireland's National Spirit

A noteworthy article on "The Irish Convention—and After" is contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly* for November by the widow of John Richard Greene, the historian of the English people. Mrs. Green, who is herself an historical scholar and writer of insight and discrimination, writes as a native of Ireland, familiar for a lifetime with Irish "problems," and sympathetic with every effort to bring about self-government.

In her hospitable attitude toward the Sinn Feiners, Mrs. Green is outspoken and unsparing in her criticism of the past course of the British Government. She says:

A young Ireland in fact is coming to its full age. The demands of the Sinn Feiners are based on principles not unworthy. They desire intensely the union of all Irish citizens, and that all should share in the full responsibilities of free men. The one thing they seek—Republicans and Constitutionalists alike—is a definite deliverance from British interference in Irish affairs. All Irishmen believe that this is the only way to assure the lasting friendship of the peoples. The English have many great qualities, and no one admits their fine attributes more readily than Irishmen. Friends of Ireland have arisen in Britain who have labored to redress evils, and whose labors have been warmly recognized by the Irish. But where the whole system of government is false, English friends must ultimately prove as helpless to find redress as the Irish people.

To the Irish view the British have utterly failed in the imperial temper. Their statesmanship has not been such as to mark them as an imperially minded race. The time has come for a new beginning. The creation of an alliance which the old methods have failed to produce now depends on the insight and the courage of the Convention. In building up that alliance the old words "Empire" and "Imperialism" need no

longer be a dividing cry inherited from the past. For the imperialism of old days—the government of possessions by a “superior” people—is gone, and with it the word itself is fast dis-

appearing. The character and the history of the Irish prove that in a new Commonwealth of nations none will be found of greater generosity and fidelity than the people of Irish race and nation.

HOW ITALIANS RECEIVED THE POPE'S APPEAL FOR PEACE

ITALIAN comment on the appeal of Benedict XV for a speedy peaceful settlement of the great war is necessarily influenced, to a greater or lesser degree, by considerations of internal politics directly concerning the vexed questions connected with the Roman Catholic Church in Italy, even when, as with the writers whose opinions we give here, these considerations are studiously kept in the background.

A writer in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome), while paying full tribute to the nobility and elevation of the ideas expressed in the papal note, recognizes that it has failed to satisfy the requirements of the Allies, and has also aroused opposition in a considerable section of the German press.

He finds that although no one doubts that the Pope has been moved by a noble impulse, by one in full accord with his great spiritual authority, his action must necessarily have been conditioned by the influences surrounding him. This is made apparent by his divergence from the views of the Allies as to the responsibility for the war, and as to the basis for a conclusion of peace.

Regarding the first question, he has failed to realize that the present war is not one of those born of obscure and uncertain causes, but one that was wilfully provoked by two great powers for the satisfaction of definite political ambitions and insatiable territorial greed. Nevertheless, the writer disclaims any intention to deny the merits of the fundamental concept of the German state, the subordination of the individual to the realization of the supreme national aims. Indeed, he believes that the war will strengthen the principle of collectivity in the civilized world, in opposition to the exaggerated individualism of the past.

However, the Prussian and German state—any distinction between which he regards as vain—was not the popular modern state, based upon democracy in its internal policy, and upon the society of nations in its foreign policy, but a feudal and oppressive state striving to suppress true democracy.

As to the conditions of peace, the Pontiff



THE PAPAL RESCUE
From *L'Asino* (Rome)

has indicated certain of these, touching Alsace-Lorraine, the boundaries of Italy, and Belgium; but he has not entirely forgotten others, since he invokes a “spirit of equity and justice” which should direct the examination of all the other territorial and political questions, “especially those relating to Armenia, the Balkan states, and the districts forming part of the ancient kingdom of Poland.”

This formula is broad enough to include many of the objects of the present war. However, according to a “spirit of equity and justice,” the war cannot be ended without the complete reintegration and compensation not only of Belgium, but also of France, of Serbia, of Rumania, of Montenegro, and of all the regions invaded and devastated by the Austro-German armies.

A somewhat more sympathetic and favorable view is expressed in an article on the subject in *Rassegna Nazionale* (Florence). The writer seeks to determine whether the peace proposed by the Pontiff would be a just and lasting one, and whether either of the warring groups can be said to profit more than the other by the note.

In what concerns the first point, Pope Benedict urges that a lasting peace can be attained by the suppression of the means that could be used for breaking it, and he holds that the suppression of these means would be quietly accepted because of the lesson taught by the greatest war in history, namely, that no war, by the very conditions of its being, can ever fully realize the aims for which it was begun.

As to the second point, the writer finds that Germany, as the aggressor, changed the *status quo* in order to gain a decisive advantage. The peace urged by the Pontiff, however, would not only fail to secure this decisive advantage for Germany, but would even change the *status quo* to the disadvantage of that country, and at the same time, by the suppression of militarism, would rob it of any future chance to attain its aims.

The question of Alsace-Lorraine, one not considered essential by the French before the outbreak of the war, and one not dictated by the military situation, is posed as being sug-

gested by justice though against the interests of Germany; the reconstruction of ancient Poland is something distinctly disadvantageous for the Central Powers, and the unequivocal indication of Armenia's rights implies a sweeping condemnation of Turkish misrule. All this shows that the note clearly favors the cause of the Allies.

The writer does not hesitate to say that while Germany has lost *her* war, and can never win it now, the affirmation can as truly be made that, from a military point of view, she has not lost the war, and he doubts whether a one-sided peace, even if it were possible, would be desirable, if it can only be attained at the cost of new and dreadful sacrifices. Unquestionably the opinion of the Pontiff involves a most severe condemnation of those who precipitated the conflict, and the memory of the unnecessary, useless, and ever-accumulating misfortunes caused by it must be a source of lasting remorse for all who were responsible for plunging the nations into it.

SWITZERLAND: AT PEACE, IN THE MIDST OF WAR

AFTER three years of war, it is not necessary now to picture to the well-informed American reading public the unfortunate situation of neutral European countries. Maintaining peaceful relations with the whole world, they have nevertheless suffered all the hardships of belligerents, though in smaller measure. But conditions in Switzerland have recently been set forth so graphically and authoritatively by Prof. William E. Rappard, in the *Proceedings* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia) that we quote some of his statements here. Professor Rappard (of the University of Geneva) is a member of the Swiss Commission to the United States.

He reminds us that Switzerland is smaller than Maryland, but as densely populated as Connecticut. It has no outlet to the sea, and is entirely surrounded by four great nations, two of which are at war with the other two. It has no mineral resources. Moist climate and high average altitude, furthermore, render impossible the raising of cereal foodstuffs for four-fifths of the population.

Before the war, Switzerland had imported

80 per cent. of her coal from Germany, the rest from Belgium and France. Her pig iron came 55 per cent. from Germany, with most of the remainder from France. Nearly 75 per cent. of her imported wheat came from Russia and Rumania. In short, about three-fourths of Swiss imports had been foodstuffs and raw materials, while three-fourths of her exports had been manufactured articles. Profits from tourist traffic helped to balance foreign trade accounts.

Since the war began, Switzerland has naturally continued to be dependent upon the Entente Allies and upon the Central Powers. In order to live, the Swiss must, they maintain, import cereal foodstuffs from the Allies; and in order to obtain these they have been compelled by the Allies to curtail exports of cattle and dairy products to the Central Powers. Coal and iron, on the other hand, can be obtained only from Germany; and besides paying well for those commodities, Switzerland is now obliged to lend Germany \$20 for every ton of coal received.

Ever since the war began the Swiss army has been guarding all frontiers, to defend its neutrality against any aggressor. This has

cost \$150,000,000—which means as much to the Swiss people as \$4,500,000,000 would mean to the people of the United States.

Two-thirds of the Swiss speak a German dialect. Most of the remainder speak French, the rest Italian. The French and Italian elements have ardently wished for the triumph of the Allies; and even in those parts of the country where the German dialect is spoken—declares Professor Rappard—there was much sympathy with the Allied cause. The violation of Belgian neutrality (which had peculiar concern for the Swiss) and the terroristic methods of German warfare have contributed toward clearing the issues, and “to-day the great mass of our people have, with regard to the principles at stake, and to the champions on the field of battle, such feelings of hope and gratitude as become the citizens of the oldest democratic republic in the world.”

Germany has made extraordinary efforts to gain the sympathies of Switzerland. Professor Rappard describes some of these efforts as follows:

In spite of our adverse feelings, or perhaps on account of them, she has been generous towards us. Burning exclusively German coal, the Swiss people suffered less from last winter's cold than the German people themselves. Last year three-fourths of our imported potatoes were furnished us by Germany. Our own crop had failed and

this spring, when we were in dire need of potato seeds Germany, in spite of her own shortage, supplied us liberally with them.

When rumors of the threatening American embargo on food for neutrals reached Europe, rumors which doubtless provoked still more rejoicing in Berlin than anxiety in Berne, it was intimated that if the Allies failed us we might perhaps rely on Germany even for our cereal food stuffs.

Professor Rappard's mission in this country is to obtain modifications of the embargo on exports to “border neutrals.” He declares that “the United States Government has it in its power to save Switzerland or to ruin her.”

For America to let Switzerland perish, or to allow her to be saved through the shrewd and calculating generosity of the German autocracy, would be to abandon the most ancient and the firmest foothold of liberal and federative democracy on the continent of Europe. Could anything more hopelessly obscure the fundamental issue of this war, undertaken by the United States to realize that state of political fellowship between peoples of different tongues and races, of which Switzerland is perhaps the most perfect prototype in the world!

And, on the other hand, could anything more gloriously and more persuasively show the German people the true intentions of the American Government and the true obstacle to lasting peace than a fair and generous treatment of that country which at their doors is, for friends and foes of democracy alike, the very embodiment of the democratic idea?

A CUBAN VIEW OF THE PLATT AMENDMENT

THE Cuban review, *Cuba Contemporánea*, presents an eloquent defense of the so-called Platt Amendment to the Cuban Constitution, made by Dr. Evelio Rodríguez Lendián at the session of the Cuban Society of International Law held in Havana last January. As is well known, this amendment provides for active intervention in Cuba by the United States under certain contingencies. From Dr. Lendián's viewpoint, this provision is a necessary consequence of Cuba's geographical position, since it was not possible to leave the island exposed to the encroachments of other foreign powers, when it had ceased to be a dependency of Spain. The possession of Cuba by any strong maritime power would, in case of war, render possible to make the island a base for a blockade of the Atlantic and Gulf ports of the United States.

However, in case this intervention in Cuba should again become imperative, for it has, unfortunately, been once before found necessary, the Cubans will, in Dr. Lendián's opinion, always know that the American comes as the friend, the defender, and the champion of Cuban independence; that he comes to reestablish order, when it has been temporarily overthrown; but that his presence will in no way constitute a menace to the self-government of the island. Hence the Cuban should trust implicitly in the accomplishment of the solemn obligation assumed by the United States in the eyes of the world.

Commenting on Dr. Lendián's address, Señor Carlos de Velasco cites the authoritative declaration of Mr. Root that the intervention permitted by the third article of the Platt Amendment is in no sense synonymous



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THE CUBAN MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES

(Right to left: Cuban Minister Dr. Carbo M. Cesepedes, D. Joaquin R. Torralbre, Col. Aurelio Hevia, Cuban Secretary of Government, who heads the mission, and his son, Manuel Hevia)

with any interference in matters concerning the Cuban Government, but would be merely the formal action of the United States,

based upon just and substantial grounds, for the preservation of Cuban independence, and for the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty.

As Señor de Velasco truly observes, this does no more than fulfil the wishes of any people desiring to live justly and equitably. The sole distinction, an important one it is true, being that while the other American nations may or may not maintain for themselves a government of this class, Cuba is under obligation to provide it for herself, and to maintain it. For should she fail to do so, the United States would be called upon to establish and uphold such a government in Cuba. It is only for this purpose that intervention is permissible, only for the preservation of Cuba's independence, never for its destruction.

To make this perfectly clear and indisputable, the Cuban writer believes that his government should seek to have the terms and conditions regulating a possible intervention more precisely detailed and defined than they are at present. He urges, to this end, the execution of a special treaty or agreement with the United States, in which these terms and conditions shall be embodied, and which shall serve as a rule and guide in case any sudden and unforeseen difficulties should arise.

THE HOLY SEE AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

AMONG the many possibilities opened up by the Great War the reunion of the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches looms up as a not purely visionary ideal. At least that is what one may gather from the actions and attitude of the present incumbent of the Papacy as depicted at great length by Charles Loiseau in a recent issue of the *Revue de Paris*. The ambition to attain that end has never been abandoned by the Papacy, and the downfall of Russian Czarism tends towards its realization.

Though the Russian Revolution, says the writer, was of all the events of the war the most unexpected, and one to be guardedly judged, the Vatican accorded it an almost immediate welcome. It took occasion to thank the new government for its liberal decisions regarding the Catholic clergy. What seems to have struck the Papal Court

is the religious side of the Revolution, or, more precisely, the prospect of a revival of Catholicism. The writer's object is to probe and discuss this point of view.

Czarism in its relations to the Roman Church acted either as its enemy, or maintained a distrustful and haughty attitude towards it. An exchange of courtesies inaugurated the reign of Nicholas II, but even then one always felt the possibility of a break. It was evident that the sympathies of the Vatican turned towards the Poles, while the Holy Synod of Russia condemned any advances to the Papacy.

Such was the state of things before the Revolution. The Czar was regarded in Rome as a sort of Anti-Pope who placed in the service of the schism all of his autocratic power, while many Russians considered the Latins a hostile power; and when

they sought the bond that linked the Poles of all countries together, they found Roman Catholicism to be its strongest component.

One practise, in particular, constant since the reign of Catherine II, touched Rome in a sensitive spot: all the correspondence between the Holy See and the Catholics of the Empire was submitted to the civil authorities. It was justly complained that such action was unparalleled in any other country. For this and other reasons, when the conflagration took place Russia was perhaps of all the Powers the one against which the Vatican felt the most aggrieved, from which it expected the least—in a word, whose success it dreaded the most. It goes without saying that Germany and Austria spared no pains to heighten those feelings. Their contention—to the Holy See—was that should the Allies be victorious the Greek Church would spread to the center of Europe and throughout the Orient. The agreement of the Entente Powers to reserve Constantinople for Russia tended to increase that apprehension.

Briefly, whether the war added new grievances to those felt by the Vatican against Russia, or projected the old ones more sharply, the antagonism between the Catholic interests and the Imperial régime, hitherto more or less veiled, was clearly revealed.

It was with a feeling of relief, therefore, that the Vatican took cognizance of the fall of the imperial government. The head of the rival Church seems crushed; its dogmas and rites may remain unchanged, but at least it has ceased to be the associate of an autocracy hostile to Catholicism.

The Holy Synod, it is true, remains, but it seems, at any rate, as if a reviving breath had passed over it—a change has taken place in its spirit and composition.

Will the Holy Synod itself survive the Revolution? It is only a creation of Peter the Great, not deeply rooted in the Russian Church. The prospect of its disappearance, though distant and uncertain, can not fail to be agreeable to the Papal Court.

The provisional government has solemnly recognized the right of Poland to unity and independence—and the Vatican is more ready to believe in its promises than in those, full of reservations, of Nicholas II. What will be the outcome? No one can foretell, but in any case one feels that the new Russian régime can not regard "polonism" with the prejudice entertained by the old one.

On the whole, and with due allowance for possible surprises, Catholicism has a chance of being a gainer by the Revolution: it will not have to reckon with the political assets furnished to the schism by autocracy.

But the Papacy has still another, more ideal, object in view. It must not be thought that in the 1000 years since the Eastern Church broke with that of Rome, there has been no desire for the original unity, the former is resigned, and even rejoices, in the division, but in Rome the necessity of union is so inherent that any explicit, or implied, consent to the rupture is forbidden. The Roman Church has never resigned itself to the schism, and it never will. On the Latin side discussion of the question is encouraged, the aim of unity is never abandoned. This zeal is officially and openly expressed only at opportune moments, but in the intervals the idea is cherished.

The war, with its myriad episodes, has already changed the aspect of the world. If statesmen hesitate to draw general conclusions from such formidable events, the Catholic Church has reason to regard some of them as providential. One may fairly say, for example, that in the East certain causes that wrought for the schism have lost their efficacy, while others, favorable to a union, are beginning to operate. Firstly, the Russians, Rumanians, and Serbs, of the Greek Church, find their destinies linked with the great Roman Catholic countries; and it may be presaged that the bonds now formed in the various walks of life will survive the war. Moreover, a religion, which is always aiming to convert the heathens, and may justly pride itself upon the zeal of its missionaries, can it remain insensible to the confusion of its "divided brethren"? Does not the occasion to stretch out a helping hand constitute, indeed, a duty to do so?

After three years of a pontificate, coincident with three years of war, Benedict XV seems to seek in the Orient for the first result of that period—perhaps also a compensation for its trials and disappointments. A result which, tending to vivify the tradition of a thousand years, reveals the Papacy once more immutable in its hopes of unity, varying only in its choice of occasions and means.

These are, at least, prospects worthy to encourage the zeal of a Pontiff whose reign began at so inauspicious a moment, and before whom there gleams, perhaps for the first time, a rift in the clouds.

AN ASIATIC EXPEDITION UNDER- AMERICAN AUSPICES

ON the 28th of September, Mr. Roy C. Andrews, head of the Asiatic Zoölogical Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History, arrived in New York with the results of two years' work in a remote part of China securing mammals, birds and reptiles for the Museum. The specimens were secured principally in Yunnan, the most interesting province in China, zoölogically. Yunnan lies in the southeastern part of the Chinese Empire, jutting like a peninsula into Northern Burma. To the northwest is Thibet with its lofty mountain ranges

cylindrical-horned ruminant classed in the same group as the chamois. Scientifically it is known as *Urotragus* (or *Cemas goral*). Several species are known, all Asiatic, which are found in Burma, Thibet, the Himalayas, and in northern China. It represents an intermediate type between the sheep and the goat.

The Serow, or Sarau, is a goat-like antelope three times the size of the goral, allied to the goral of the same territory and also an intermediate type between the true sheep and the true goat. This animal is a local

Himalayan race of the Sumatran *Nemorhaedus sumatrensis*. Their range extends from Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula across Burma and China as far as Japan. While the goral is often found on grassy plains and on rocky ground covered with forest, the serow usually inhabits low mountains lightly timbered with scrub growths.

These rare mammals constitute, however, only a small contribution to the vast number of specimens secured in this region of China hitherto unknown to zoologists. A sambur, a deer twice as big as the American moose, was obtained, also small deer, six or seven

species of monkeys (two gibbon), muntjac (the Indian "barking deer"), polecats, civets, genets, and rare insectivores, including many shrews and moles.

In July, 1916, Mr. Andrews' party was joined at Fu-tsing by Mr. Edward Heller, an American collector, to whose work the collection of small animals is principally due. On their journey through China to Yunnanfu in Yunnan, they passed through a region infested with notorious bandits. Caravans preceding them were robbed of jade, musk and gold dust. Once forty robbers were found awaiting the caravan, but when Mr. Andrews informed the brigands that the expedition was not carrying other than just enough to pay for food and sup-



Photograph by American Museum of Natural History (New York)

CHINESE CIVET

(This animal, although superficially resembling a cat, belongs to a different family. They are fairly common throughout Asia and Africa. The expedition secured a splendid series of specimens)

and inaccessible plateaus; to the west, Assam in Burma; to the east, Tonkin in Indo-China.

Mr. Andrews and the members of his expedition found the region more Thibetan than Chinese. While there are actually about thirty tribes in Yunnan, the natives are principally of the three original tribes, *Lolo*, *Mosso*, and *Shaus*. Two days' travel north of Li-Chiang in Yunnan, the natives were entirely Thibetan. Along the borders of this "forbidden land" the expedition spent three months and secured over 1,300 specimens, including a fine series of gorals and serows. These animals are of peculiar interest to the zoölogist.

The goral is small, rough-haired and

plies, they were permitted to proceed on their way unmolested.

The first work of the expedition [said Mr. Andrews] was begun in Fukien Province where we worked for two months; leaving Fukien we took up the main work of the expedition in the Province of Yunnan. The mountain scenery of this region is probably the most magnificent in the world. Often the caravan of the expedition was 18,000 feet above sea level. The passes over which the expedition traveled into Thibet are 16,000 feet in altitude. On the peaks rest perpetual snows, and the panorama of color, light and shadow is of indescribable beauty. When we crossed the Yangtze-Kiang River, about 2,500 miles from its mouth, we viewed one of the most marvelous sights in the world. Very few white men have seen this gorge which is only rivaled by the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. Here the Yangtze-Kiang cuts through the great snow-clad mountain range in a gorge a mile deep and in places so precipitous that one can cast a stone into the river below.

Beyond the Yangtze, the party went into an absolutely unexplored region. The natives regarded the white men as strange beings. They were especially interested in Mrs. Andrews, official photographer of the expedition, and as she wore male costume, curious to know if she were man, boy, or woman. Her photography was an entirely new art to them. One of the pets made by the party was a little honey-bear eight days old, which Mr. Andrews brought home with him—15,000 miles' travel—to the United States. The little fellow is now about six months old.

Forty-one cases of large and small mammals, birds and reptiles, constitute the bag of the Asiatic-Zoological Expedition, the most expensive collection of the kind ever brought out of China and the largest series of gorals and serows ever possessed by any



MRS. ANDREWS GIVING THE LITTLE CAPTURED HONEY BEAR HIS FIRST MEAL OF BREAD AND MILK (Note the crescent-shaped white marking on the breast peculiar to this species of bear)

museum. It was financed by the Jesup Fund of the American Museum of Natural History and by the following patrons: Mr. John B. Ford, Mr. Sidney M. Colgate, Mr. and Mrs. Charles L. Bernheimer, Mrs. Adrian Hoffman Joline, Mr. Childs Frick and Mr. Lincoln Ellsworth. Its personnel included Mr. Roy C. Andrews, of the Department of Mammalogy of the Museum; Mr. Edmund Heller, who was with Colonel Roosevelt in his African Expedition, and Mrs. Andrews, who has taken many remarkable color photographs of the specimens. The explorers were aided by six servants, several men trained to skin animals and birds, and by fifteen muleteers. At Yunnanfu, the leader obtained a caravan of thirty-five mules and horses. This expedition was preliminary to one still more extensive which will penetrate to the heart of Thibet.

A HUMAN SURVIVAL FROM THE STONE AGE

IF a man of the Stone Age could by some miraculous power be brought in contact with modern civilization, what would be his sensations and individual response to the marvels of the twentieth century? Strange as it may seem, this question has been truthfully answered by the story of Ishi, the primitive Indian who was discovered in the wilds of California in 1910. His story has been eloquently told by T. T. Waterman in the October number of the *Southern Workman* (Hampton Institute, Va.).

Ishi was the last survivor of a tribe of wild Indians identified with an area of country around Mill and Deer Creeks in Northern California, east of the Sacramento River. This territory is a portion of the immense lava cap that lies around Lassen Peak. It afforded a natural refuge for wild tribes because of its formation of precipitous cliffs, deep gorges, winding canyons, caves, and hillsides covered with tangles of almost impenetrable scrub. To this mountain fastness fled the remnants of the tribe of Indians



ISHI, THE STONE-AGE
INDIAN OF CALIFORNIA

known to Californians as the Mill Creek tribe or Yahi Indians. There they remained, living comfortably except in the severe winters, when famine led them to commit depredations upon the property of the white settlers.

These excursions for necessary food finally led to

the extermination of practically the entire tribe. The Government considered removing the Indians to a reservation, but nothing was done, and, in 1865, a band of whites surprised an encampment of the Indians on the upper waters of Mill Creek and killed the entire tribe with the exception of two or three individuals. The few who escaped took up their solitary life in the old haunts and never again penetrated the territory of the whites. The few who were seen again by hunters in 1908 still used bow and arrow and spear, and were untouched by any contact with civilization.

Of the discovery of Ishi, the Stone Age man, Professor Waterman wrote in *Popular Science* in 1915:

One morning in August, 1911, there appeared at a slaughter-house at Oroville, a naked Indian. His only garment was an old cast-off undershirt. He was thin, hungry, greatly worn and of most unusual appearance. No one, Indian or white, could make him understand a word. The appearance of this strange Indian was at once connected with the Yahi (meaning simply people) tribe of Mill Creek. The first impression received of the wild Indian was the sight of him, draped in a canvas apron they had hurriedly put on him at the slaughter-house, sitting on the edge of a cot in his cell, still uncertain of his fate, and answering *ulisi* ("[I don't] understand") to all the questions that were being fired at him in English, Spanish, and half a dozen Indian languages by visitors. The present writer's amateur attempts at Yana were equally unintelligible to him for a long time. An agreement was finally reached, however, on the word for the material of which his cot was made, *si'win'i*, or yellow pine. His face lightened up at this word, though he evidently could hardly trust his senses. These were probably the first intelligible sounds he had heard from a human being in three years.

Ishi proved, in Dr. Waterman's hands, extremely tractable and grateful for kindness.

He accepted the appurtenances of civilization as miracles of comfort, and when it was proposed to take him back to his old haunts on a camping party, he objected, saying it was cold there, that food was scarce and that there were no chairs, houses or beds.

Aeroplanes, by the way, he took quite philosophically. We took him down to Golden Gate Park to see Harry Fowler start to fly across the continent. When the plane was trundled out and the engines started, the Indian was surprised and amused at the uproar they created. The machine was finally launched, and after a long circuit, soared back above our heads. As it came overhead we particularly called his notice to it. He was mildly interested. "*Salu!*" he said interrogatively, nodding toward the plane a thousand feet skyward, "White man up there?"

Here is another fact that illustrates his personal attitude. To a primitive man, what ought to prove most astonishing in a modern city? I would have said at once, the height of the buildings. For Ishi, the overwhelming thing about San Francisco was the number of people. That he never got over. Until he came into civilization, the largest number of people he had even seen together at any one time was five! At first a crowd gathered around him alarmed him and made him uneasy. He never entirely got over his feeling of awe, even when he learned that everybody meant well.

Ishi, moreover, was remarkably clever with his hands. In his own way he was a fine workman. He made bows of perfect finish. He could chip arrow-points to perfection out of any of the materials which give a conchoidal fracture—obsidian, flint, agate, or bottle-glass. Some of his handsomest specimens were made out of bromoseltzer bottles. No more beautiful arrow-points exist than the ones he made. His finished arrow—point, shaft, and feathering—is a model of exquisite workmanship.

Dr. Waterman and his family bear testimony to the fact that Ishi was in all ways a remarkable character, fastidiously neat about his own personal belongings, orderly, peaceable and possessed of a mind of unusual calibre.

He convinced me that there is such a thing as a gentlemanliness which lies outside of all training, and is an expression purely of an inward spirit. It has nothing to do with artificially acquired tricks of behavior. Ishi was slow to acquire the tricks of social contact. He never learned to shake hands, but he had an innate regard for the other fellow's existence, and an inborn consideration, that surpassed in fineness most of the civilized breeding with which I am familiar. His life came to a close as the result of an over susceptibility to tuberculosis, to which he was some time or other exposed, and to which he never developed the slightest immunity. He contributed to science the best account he could give of the life of his people, as it was before the whites came in. To know him was a rare personal privilege, not merely an ethnological privilege.



SEARCHLIGHTS GUARDING PARIS FROM NIGHT VISITS BY AEROPLANES

(The searchlights are playing from the roof of the Chamber of Deputies. The Eiffel Tower is similarly supplied with searchlights)

MOBILIZED SCIENCE IN FRANCE

WE all knew, in a general way, that the military applications of science in the present world struggle were numerous beyond precedent. Details, however, were lacking until recently. The scientific achievements of the warring forces were apparently regarded as military secrets, and we had quite reconciled ourselves to waiting until hostilities were over for most of the interesting information on this subject. Hence it is with grateful surprise that we read a brief article in the *Scientific Monthly* by Dr. G. K. Burgess, of the United States Bureau of Standards, in which the author, just back from an official journey abroad, presents some of the most impressive facts that he gleaned in his very intimate inspection of French science applied to warfare. He says:

Our mission had extraordinary if not unique opportunities for close observation of all the aspects of science in warfare, not only from many interviews, visits to laboratories, manufacturing plants, and technical ministerial bureaus, but also from inspection at the fronts of the French and British armies of the organization, application and actual operation of the scientific and technical services, all of which were shown and explained to the most minute detail.

The most striking impression brought home is one of unity of purpose, perfect adaptation and coördination of the several branches, a harmonious whole, in fact, made up of separate and often highly intricate parts constituting an organization in which all the sciences and their applications blend into one, which is focused by the admirably trained technical and staff officers on the sole object of destroying the enemy. The French traits of individuality, initiative, and self-reliance are, however, in no sense lessened or dulled by this coöperation.

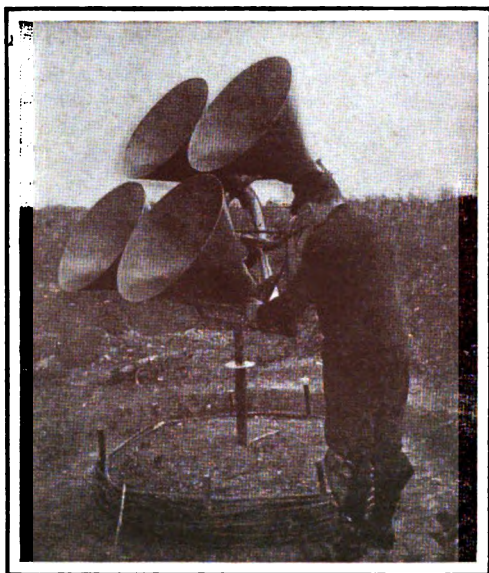
Nov.—7

Every branch of science is pressed into service, often in ways that even military experts would hardly have thought of before the present war.

The meteorologist is listened to with attention by the Great Headquarters, as was the astrologer of yore, before an extensive offensive is undertaken; and the geologist is consulted for information as to where to halt and dig in, where shelters may be safely built and as to the probability of underground waters. Even the astronomer's services are considered of great importance, for example, in the preparation of new artillery tables and maps, the improvement and invention of instruments, which differ but slightly in principle, however much they may differ in the nature of their use, from those with which he is familiar. Again, the statistician is a most valuable person when an offensive is being planned. Also the mathematician France, at least, has found indispensable, for in the person of M. Painlevé he sits at the head of them all as Minister of War, whose civil, technical staff is largely made up of eminent members of the same profession.

Nearly all branches of physics are applied to military problems, and of these applications some of the most remarkable pertain to acoustics; a department of knowledge that, only yesterday, was hardly thought of at all by military men.

One of the most highly developed is the location of enemy guns, concerning the details of which a volume could be written; suffice it to say that in the French armies there are several systems in use, all of which will locate to within a few yards an enemy battery at ten or twenty kilometers, indicate the caliber of the guns, differentiate between the sounds of discharge, flight through the air and bursting, and record each and every separate shot; and the spot from which the shot was fired may, under certain conditions, be located.



A "POSTE D ÉCOUTE," OR LISTENING POST

(Fitted with four reversed megaphones with microphone, which comprise the "ears" of the anti-aircraft defenders of Paris)

There have been developed several ingenious listening devices built on entirely different acoustical principles for use in mine warfare, by means of which enemy mining operations may be exactly located. Again for the location of sounds in the air, especially useful, for example, in locating airplanes at night, several new types of sound apparatus of extreme sensitiveness are in use. For submarine detection, some of the most promising methods for further improvement are based on the use of still other sound detecting devices. Wonderfully powerful megaphones for use in battle have also been developed.

In the photography and the technic of photographic map making there have been great improvements, brought about directly by military necessity, especially in aerial photography apparatus and interpretation. There are at the front schools for training balloon observers, who have to reconstruct maps from their perspective photographs; certain of the aviators are similarly trained, although the making of maps from the photos they take is mainly the work of a special branch of the service. The art of map making from photographs, as carried out at the front, is practically a new branch requiring great skill, and is evidently of the first importance, as oftentimes the success of an offensive is largely dependent upon the quality of this work. These special services, for which there are schools, are recruited from the army by competitive examinations, thus automatically obtaining the personnel best adapted.

As would be expected there have been not a few advances made in applications of electricity, especially wireless apparatus and methods, signalling and listening devices. There may be, for example, during a battle more than 1500 separate wireless stations sending messages simultaneously; provision is successfully made for preventing interference and sorting out this great mass of

signals so as to avoid confusion. Portable wireless outfits are supplied by the tens of thousands—requiring for the construction of these instruments alone a veritable army of skilled mechanics.

The military applications of chemistry are already somewhat familiar to the public. Their magnitude may be judged by the fact, among others, that there are in France some twenty-five distinct laboratories engaged in nitrogen fixation alone.

Turning now to meteorology, what has the weather man to do with war? He too plays a capital rôle. With his sounding balloons he keeps the troops informed as to when a gas attack may be expected and when it would be profitable to start one; the artillery depend on him for data to calculate important corrections, as for wind, humidity, pressure, and temperature and upper air conditions in sighting their guns; the aviators as to prevailing winds, especially high up, and for general weather conditions; the balloon men keep in close touch with him, and even the transport service depends upon him for advance information as to muddy roads; headquarters relies upon him for knowledge of impending fog or rain and other changes—the weather man has a very heavy responsibility in helping to decide the most propitious moment for an attack on a grand scale, and if his forecast is erroneous, disaster may result. There is a special meteorological service—in fact there are two in addition to the regular service of peace times—attached to the French armies and linked to the British.

Dr. Burgess gives abundant details, which we have not space to quote, regarding the almost incredible precision of artillery fire as now conducted, with the efficient aid of numerous branches of science. In aviation improvements are being made almost daily. All branches of military engineering are developing at a wonderful rate. Military medicine, surgery and sanitation are outside the writer's province and are barely mentioned. Trench warfare has evolved a host of new industries and appliances.

Gas warfare alone is based on what is literally a stupendous industry requiring the employment of chemists and other scientifically trained men on a great scale. Again there are large and very active laboratories maintained for the examination of enemy munitions and appliances of all kinds, and for the development of new and improved types.

A matter of vital importance is maintaining the quality and standards of the munitions supply, and this is done only by constant vigilance of the inspection and designing forces among which are many specialists of the highest grade, and the total number engaged in this work amounts to many thousands. There is nothing so disastrous to the morale of the troops in battle as premature shell explosions. The quality of the steel must be beyond reproach. Here, as elsewhere, the United States will do well to profit from the European

experience. The methods of steel casting as ordinarily practised in America are not considered abroad as entirely satisfactory for the production of "sound steel" from which shells, and especially high explosive shells, should be made.

For utilizing to best advantage the many suggestions and inventions that are proposed, there have been established, in Great Britain and France, inventions bureaux, to which are attached men of eminence in science and engineering. The most promising ideas are tried out under competent direction, and in some cases the board itself initiates and executes investigations of great military interest. Applications for patents may be held in abeyance and kept secret on the advice of this board.

The wonderful French organization was not all built up in a day, neither were mistakes avoided nor could all the developments that have taken place have been foreseen. In the early days of the war men were sent to the front whose brains to-day would be an invaluable asset; national laboratories were almost depopulated; the military authorities were indifferent to advice from civilian specialists. To-day one would be embarrassed to decide whether an officer in one of the specialized services was an officer before the war or, let us say, a professor of chemistry. The national laboratories have been multiplied tenfold; and such care is now taken to protect productive brains that it may happen that the inventor of a new device is not allowed to go to the front to try it out.

ORGANIZING SCIENCE ON AN INTERNATIONAL BASIS

AMONG the great gains to be put on the credit side of War is the remarkable manner in which it has contributed to international coördination and coöperation on one side and the other of the great conflict. It is purposed by a Belgian professor, Dr. Jean Massart, Vice-Director of the Class of Science of the Royal Academy of Belgium, to extend this coördination and coöperation intensively into the organization of scientific interests among the Allied nations.

Passing over the bitter denunciations of Germany and her methods with which his article in the *Revue Scientifique* (Paris) opens, he urges coöperation and organization first in the nation, and then among the Allied nations, both to advance their material and intellectual interests and to shake off what he terms "the scientific hegemony of Germany." That she has been able to impose such a control upon the world of science he considers due to the coöperation of her men of science with publishers, apparatus-makers, and manufacturers of chemicals, together with pecuniary subsidies from the government. He considers the advantage of a similar unity of the corresponding circles among the Allied nations under the following heads: international (or interallied) exchange of books, students, and savants; interallied publication of bibliographies, and the creation of interallied scientific institutes.

EXCHANGE OF BOOKS

For several years a service of international scientific exchange has been in operation. It enables scientific groups (universities, academies, museums, scientific societies, etc.) of certain coun-

tries to ship their publications free of charge to corresponding organizations in the associated countries. It would be easy to extend this institution in various directions:

(a) To accord likewise free transport of such publications within each country.

(b) Permit free shipping not only of full volumes, but of extracts from them, and of works sent "with compliments of the author"—in a word of all scientific publications having no commercial character.

(c) Finally, and this is most important of all, to facilitate in the same way the lending of the books in libraries. Men of science are constantly delayed in their work by the difficulty in consulting works not in the libraries of their own towns. They should be able to obtain them from any other. Librarians object because of risk of loss . . . but we must remember that books are tools, that their utility is in direct proportion to their utilization, and that they are useless so long as they remain on the shelves. . . . At worst, where libraries obstinately refuse to lend rare volumes the most important portions could be reproduced by photograph. . . .

EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS

Under this head Dr. Massart urges that university students should be encouraged to spend one or more years of their undergraduate terms in foreign countries, to gain breadth of view and a better knowledge of languages. To this end he would have the required curriculum standardized so far as needful, with the sole restriction that the candidate for a degree should be required to pass his professional examination in the country where he expected to practise his profession.

EXCHANGE OF SAVANTS

An excellent example is given us by America: the organized exchange of professors with other

countries. We might usefully generalize this method, and extend it to others than professors: librarians, curators of museums, physicians and surgeons of great hospitals, laboratory assistants, astronomical and meteorological observers—in short, to all those who labor for the edification of science.

PUBLICATION OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Little by little the Germans have monopolized nearly all the periodicals giving *resumés* of scientific works. To make a bibliography of any subject whatever one is therefore obliged to make use of some *Centralblatt* or *Jahresbericht*. Very often these are as brief with respect to foreign works as they are prolix of their own. . . . It is far from easy, we shall be told, to make proper *resumés* of scientific works; all of us find far too often in reading a *résumé*, that the very point specially sought is not touched upon.

Dr. Massart would remedy this by having the authors of the works edit the *resumés*. He also proposes that there should be international government assistance at least during the first years of the proposed bibliographical enterprise.

CREATION OF SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTES

The most fruitful suggestions of the author are found under this last head, of the creation of international scientific institutes devoted to pure science and therefore independent both of schools and of museums. He says:

Most of these centers of research could be established at any point whatever on the globe. It matters little, for example, whether a chemical laboratory, an archeological collection, or a sociological library is situated in one country or another. . . . But it is not the same for the sciences whose object is the study of the Earth, of its geographical conditions and of its natural productions, such as meteorology, botany, and zoology. For this there must be as many distinct sites as there are distinct regions, and each of these institutions would be visited by the savants of the whole world. . . . The biologic centers in existence at present have too narrow a field. They are apt to be either laboratories of marine zoology or botanical gardens. . . .

What we ought to have is a complete biologic institute in each of the great climatic and geographic zones of the earth, consecrated to both botany and zoology in all their domains: systems, anatomy, embryology, physiology, ethnology; each institute being specially adapted to the study of

the organisms of its own region. Many existing institutes could be thus utilized with increased equipment. The most immediately useful of such biologic institutes would be the following:

An Arctic Institute in Northern Russia;

An Equatorial Institute, *e.g.*, that of Peradeniya in Ceylon, and perhaps others in Brazil and in the Congo.

An Alpine Institute, *e.g.*, that of Col d'Olen on Mount Rose in Italy; a Desert Institute such as that at Tucson in Arizona, and another to be created in the Sahara;

Finally, a Mediterranean Institute. Its creation is imperative: are not the borders of the Mediterranean the cradle of our civilization and is not this sea the natural bond between nearly all the allied nations of Europe?

Before the war the most important Mediterranean Laboratory was that at Naples, founded and directed by the Germans. It was confined to marine biology, particularly zoology. Like all the others whose creation we recommend the Mediterranean Institute should study not only marine, but also terrestrial and aquatic plants and animals, and its equipment should permit the making of physiological experiments.

Dr. Massart advises that this institute should be located at Villefranche, on the Côte d'Azur, first, because of the great variety of the flora and fauna of the region, and next because of the allied interests already centering in the vicinity, comprising the great territories of Cape Ferrat and Beaulieu belonging to the Belgian Government, the Russian Zoological Laboratory at Villefranche, the English property at Beaulieu. He writes:

Its subalpine annex, used specially in summer, would be established on the Italian frontier at an altitude of a thousand meters. Coöperation could doubtless be established with the Botanical Garden at Antibes (France) and that at La Mortola (Italy) . . . The Touring Club of France proposes the turning of all Esterel into a national park, a magnificent forest domain on the Côte d'Azur, another excellent research territory.

To give these institutes the necessary amplitude subsidies from the allied countries would naturally be required. . . . Each should apply itself to intensifying the commercial, industrial and political relations among the Allies, for we shall all reap an immense advantage if the present good entente can be maintained and developed. But let us not forget that of all relations, those which cement the interallied union most effectively are intellectual relations, because their disinterested character puts them above suspicion. Let us then, exchange men and ideas.



THE NEW BOOKS

WORKS RELATING TO THE WAR

The Foes of Our Own Household. By Theodore Roosevelt. George H. Doran Company. 347 pp. \$1.50.

Mr. Roosevelt in his new book, as in the preceding volume, addresses the American public as a teacher of national duty, civic righteousness, and individual responsibility. For Theodore Roosevelt at least, this country remains one of free and frank speech. He says without reserve the thing that he believes it his duty to say to his fellow-countrymen. Before we entered upon the war, perhaps early in 1916, appeared his volume, "Fear God and Take Your Own Part." It was a plea for national preparation to defend America's interests on the one hand and to fulfill America's mission in the world on the other hand. The things that he then foresaw have since come to pass. We have been forced into war with Germany without being prepared. But we are now making preparation on a stupendous scale, and Mr. Roosevelt aims to arouse the country to a full-hearted support of America's position. The present volume, "The Foes of Our Own Household," combats some of the harmful tendencies of American society. A number of the chapters have appeared in magazine form, while many more have been written for the book itself. While supporting the war policy, Mr. Roosevelt demands universal military training and a broader treatment of the problems of national defense. He deals also with questions of citizenship arising out of the varied elements of our population, and demands a thorough Americanization. He treats of social justice, labor problems, the maintenance of farm life, and the problems of the family. The book is vital with the unimpaired vigor and moral force of its distinguished author.

Germany the Next Republic? By Carl W. Ackermann. George H. Doran Co. 292 pp. \$1.50.

Next to Ambassador Gerard, whose book is reviewed elsewhere in this number, no American had such opportunities for learning the truth about Germany during the two years prior to the breaking of diplomatic relations with the United States as Mr. Ackermann. He was the accredited representative of the United Press in the Central Powers, went everywhere, met everybody high in authority, both civil and military, and enjoyed every facility for gaging the attitude of the German autocracy towards democratic America. In this book he shows why Germany must be defeated to insure the ultimate triumph of German republicanism.

The Peril of Prussianism. By Douglas Wilson Johnson. Putnam's. 53 pp. 75 cents.

This clear statement of the issues of the war by a Columbia University professor has been printed in German for circulation among the

German-born population of Iowa. It is accompanied by a series of maps showing the growth of Hohenzollern dominion during four centuries and a half.

With Cavalry in the Great War. By Fred-eric Coleman. Philadelphia. George W. Jacobs & Co. 302 pp. \$1.50.

A phase of the fighting on the Western front, of which we have known little, is covered by Mr. Coleman in this personal narrative of the exploits of the British cavalry through the second battle of Ypres. Some of our readers may recall Mr. Coleman's earlier book entitled, "From Mons to Ypres with French." The present volume takes up the story where its predecessor left it—with the closing days of 1914. The author is frankly critical of British army administration in the earlier part of the war. He admits that it was only natural that mistakes should have been made, and he alludes to the mistakes solely for the purpose of avoiding like errors in future. His enthusiasm for the British army and its commanders is unbounded, and he is confident that the Allies will win the war and win it conclusively. The book is illustrated from photographs taken by Mr. Coleman himself.

Britain in Arms. By Jules Destrées. John Lane Company. 292 pp. \$1.50.

This is a French view of England's course in the war which has been thought important enough to translate into English and publish in London. A preface is supplied by M. Clemenceau.

American Ideals. By Norman Foerster and W. W. Pierson, Jr. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 326 pp. \$1.25.

This volume is a compilation of essays, addresses, and state papers that express, from the point of view of American statesmen and men of letters, the ideals in national and international relations which have approved themselves as distinctly American. The editors have drawn upon the state papers of President Wilson as well as those of the leaders of earlier generations.

Through the Iron Bars. By Émile Cammaerts. Illustrated with Cartoons by Louis Raemaekers. John Lane Company. 72 pp. 75 cents.

In this book the Belgian poet pictures conditions in his country during two years of German occupation. The author divides the experiences and suffering of the Belgian people since the beginning of the war into two periods—before the fall of Antwerp, when there was hope of deliverance, and after the fall of that fortress, when the Germans everywhere treated the Belgians as a conquered people. Throughout the narrative there

is a note of defiance and one gathers that the Belgians, as a people, are still unshaken and that their leaders have not yet despaired of their country's future. The book is illustrated with cartoons by Louis Raemaekers.

The Coming Democracy. By Herman Fernau. Dutton. 321 pp. \$2.

We read much in these days about Germany's need of democracy, but most of this argument originates outside of Germany itself. A brilliant exception is to be found in this book written by a German who now demands for his own country those political institutions which have long been the cherished possessions of England, France, America, and Switzerland. The author had already made a courageous attack on Prussianism in his "Because I Am a German," a book the possession of which is now punishable in Germany by death.

Out of Their Own Mouths. Introduction by William Roscoe Thayer. Appletons. 255 pp. \$1.

This is a compilation of the utterances of German rulers, statesmen, publicists, poets, business men, party leaders, and soldiers. The purpose is to set forth the actual ideals of modern Germany. In the main, it serves as an exposition of the German determination to achieve world power by the sword.

The Soldier's Service Dictionary. By Frank H. Vizetelly. Funk & Wagnalls Co. 184 pp. \$1.

War French. By Cornélie De Witt Willcox. Macmillan. 196 pp. 75 cents.

Hospital French. Translated by Ernest Perrin. Dutton. 37 pp. 25 cents.

All three of these pocket manuals of conversational French have two points in their favor—

they were compiled for the single purpose of giving the American soldier, ambulance driver, or hospital nurse just the kind of introduction to the French language that is required in their duties, and the compilers are as well qualified for their tasks as any men who could be found, at home or abroad. Dr. Vizetelly is managing editor of the "New Standard Dictionary"; Colonel Willcox is professor of modern languages at West Point, and Mr. Perrin is an experienced translator.

Army and Navy Information. By Major D. W. C. Falls. Dutton. 192 pp. \$1.

In this small volume Major Falls, of the New York National Guard, gives important facts about the military and naval services in a form that can be understood by the layman unlearned in such lore, and at the same time present a useful body of technical details relating to uniforms and equipment for the benefit of American soldiers and sailors expecting to serve abroad.

Machine Gun Practice and Tactics. By Lieut. K. B. McKellar. Macmillan. 165 pp. 90 cents.

A manual of instruction for officers and men, developed from three years' experience at the front. Lieutenant McKellar belongs to the Canadian Machine Gun Service.

Gunners' Handbook for Field Artillery. By Captains John S. Hammond and Dawson Olmstead. 142 pp. 60 cents.

This book of instructions for gunners' examination in the field artillery has been brought up to date and made to conform to the special regulations issued by the War Department last May. The authors are instructors in the United States Field Artillery service.

BIOGRAPHY AND RECOLLECTIONS

Goethe. By Calvin Thomas. Henry Holt & Co. 368 pp. \$2.

It is worth everything, in appraising a new biography of one of the world's great men, to get the author's perspective, if that be possible. Professor Thomas gives us this estimate of Goethe, as he says, "after forty years of university teaching, during which he has never long been out of my thoughts." Even when Professor Thomas began his study of Goethe more than a generation had passed since the poet's death; there had been time for the intensity of controversial opinion that so long focused on his character and career to abate in some measure. But it is not in our author's purpose "to write Goethe up or down, or to quarrel with other men's opinions about him." It is possible now for an American scholar to put aside the trivial and ephemeral and concentrate attention on those aspects of Goethe's life and work that "belong to the ages." That is what Professor Thomas has done in this volume. Only the first half of the book is biographical, the second part being devoted to exposition and criticism. While Goethe was a German, it is interesting to recall at this time that he

was not a Prussian, and that his ideas of German destiny differed from those of the Prussian.

"William, By the Grace of God." By Marjorie Bowen. E. P. Dutton & Co. 312 pp. \$1.50.

The story of William the Silent, who led the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain. The narrative is given frankly in the form of a romance, not a history. The author has already treated several historical personages by this method and is unusually successful in recreating the atmosphere of past times.

Anne of Brittany. By Helen J. Sanborn. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard. 252 pp. Ill. \$2.

A fascinating book which tells the life story of a Duchess of Brittany who was twice crowned Queen of France. Miss Sanborn, whose untimely death occurred while the book was in press, devoted much of her later life in securing knowledge of Anne of Brittany and her times. The introduction is by Professor Katherine Lee Bates, of Wellesley College. Twenty-seven beautiful full-page illustrations show us the Duchess Anne's country and her famous castles.

Li Hung Chang. By J. O. P. Bland. Henry Holt & Co. 327 pp. \$2.

Li Hung Chang, the Chinese statesman, is fairly entitled to a place in the gallery of "Makers of the Nineteenth Century," and he alone among his contemporaries in China deserves that honor. Even he does not deserve it on the score of moral eminence, for while he was a patriot he was unscrupulous in the choice of means for advocating his country's interests, and like a former boss of Tammany Hall he "worked for his pocket all the time." The really significant services that he rendered to his race are clearly set forth in this volume by a writer who has had good opportunities to study China and the Chinese at first hand.

A Pilgrimage with a Milliner's Needle. By Anna Walther. Stokes. 250 pp. \$1.50.

Miss Walther's ingenuity gave her a new way to see the world. Starting in Copenhagen as a milliner's apprentice she struck boldly out, with her needle as bread-winner, for Germany, France, Russia—all this was before the war—and then South Africa and the United States. Her book is a series of vivid pictures of places and people as she encountered them in three continents. Underlying it all is a charming personal narrative.

Memories Discreet and Indiscreet. By a Woman of No Importance. Dutton. 352 pp. \$5.

A chatty, anecdotal volume introducing such personalities as Garibaldi, De Lesseps, Cecil Rhodes, Lord Roberts, Mr. Balfour, Sir William Harcourt, Lord Cromer, Lord Kitchener, King Edward VII, and Cardinal Manning.

Richard Strauss: The Man and His Works. By Henry T. Finck. With an Appreciation of Strauss by Percy Grainger. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 328 pp. \$2.50.

This biography of Strauss the composer has the quality of sprightliness to an exceptional degree—partly, no doubt, because of its subject, a man who for years has kept the world of music guessing whether he should be classified as genius or charlatan; partly, too, because the book has evidently been a labor of love on the part of a veteran critic who has spent a lifetime in making the masters of music known to the laymen of their own day. We may easily accept Mr. Finck's assertion that he has "had no end of fun writing this book," and for his readers' sake as well as his own we are glad that the task was an enjoyable one. The result, at any rate, is an unusually readable and spirited memoir. Besides the story of the composer's life,



CARICATURE OF STRAUSS AS "THE HERO AND HIS ADVERSARIES"

the volume contains an attempt to determine his place in the history of music. An appreciation of Strauss is contributed by Percy Grainger.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

The Adirondacks. By T. Morris Longstreth. Century. 370 pp. \$2.50.

The printed descriptions of the Adirondack natural park in New York State are not over-numerous. Compared with the literature of the White Mountains, that of the Adirondacks seems scanty indeed—a very few books and, for the rest, magazine articles, railroad guides, and State documents published at Albany. "Adirondack" Murray and Charles Dudley Warner were among the first to immortalize the region, nearly half a century ago, and since their time no one has attempted to present up-to-date information by Mr. Longstreth's method. His book is most informal, sprightly, and vivacious, yet abounding in matter-of-fact detail of the sort most needed by the tourist. The human element in the story of the Adirondacks is not overlooked by Mr. Longstreth. There are interesting references to Paul Smith, Dr. E. L. Trudeau, Robert Louis Stevenson, and other personalities of the region.

Vagabonding Down the Andes. By Harry A. Franck. Century. 612 pp. \$4.

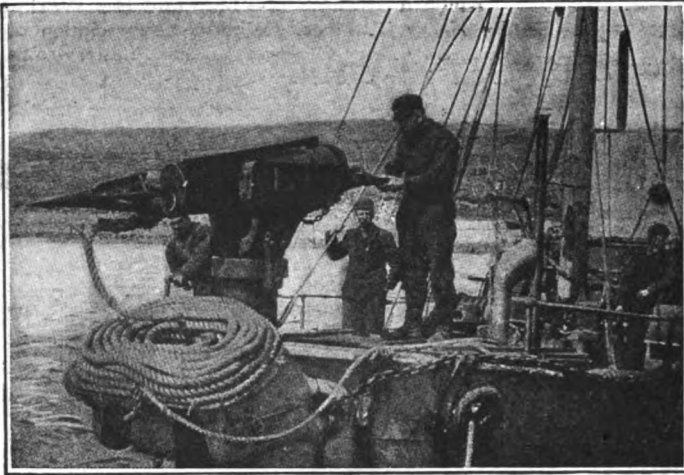
It is not every day that one can pick up a 600-page book, written by an American, on the subject of South American life and travel. Yet Mr. Franck's volume might have been much larger than it is if he had utilized for it all of the great store of data and photographs ac-



A TYPICAL INDIAN HUT ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF BOGOTÁ

(From "Vagabonding Down the Andes," by Harry A. Franck)

cumulated on his tour of the Andes. His "exploring" was not of territory merely, but of social



A MODERN WHALE GUN AND HARPOON READY FOR FIRING
(From "Modern Whaling and Bear Hunting")

ciate better than most the difficulties under which the country has struggled from the very beginning of the contest. In telling what he has learned of the Russian character by long-continued observation Mr. De Windt helps his readers to a clearer understanding of the problems and perplexities which the new Russia is facing at this moment.

Modern Whaling and Bear Hunting. By W. G. Burn Murdoch. Lippincott.

The methods employed in whaling when the industry was in its prime have largely been superseded. The harpoon gun now used on whaling steamers makes possible the capture of the largest "finners," such as could never have been attacked from a rowboat in the old way.

Perhaps the chase is less exciting, but it is more certain and productive. Mr. Murdoch describes the modern appliances used in whale-hunting in northern and southern waters and explains how polar bears are taken by the skilful handling of the lasso.

By the Waters of Africa. By Norma Lorrimer. Stokes. 342 pp. \$3.50.

A woman traveler's account of what is going on to-day in British East Africa—how the settlers and government officers live and go about, and how the country is being slowly developed. An interesting feature of the book is the description of the famous African lakes, Victoria Nyanza and Albert. British conquests in German East Africa enhance the value of the adjacent colony.

conditions quite as truly. The explorer went alone and on foot along the Andean ridge in Peru and Bolivia. It is safe to say that no other American, probably no European of this generation, at least, has ever before attempted such a feat. The book, rich as it is in detail, represents only a part of the fund of information about South America that Mr. Franck acquired during four years of touring afoot from the Mexican line to Argentina and Chile. The 175 illustrations are from photographs taken by the author.

Russia As I Know It. By Harry De Windt. Lippincott. 232 pp.

Mr. Harry De Windt is one of the few Englishmen who knew his Russia intimately before the war broke out and was in a position to appre-

LITERARY STUDIES: ESSAYS: PHILOSOPHY

The Soul of Dickens. By Walter Crotch. Chapman & Hall. 227 pp. \$2.

A book of fine literary artistry and high spiritual conception that presents one of the most eloquent and moving estimates of Charles Dickens ever published. Mr. Crotch has made the book timely by showing us that Dickens' England is the real England of to-day. The prototypes of the men Dickens loved are in the trenches or other departments of service. The common people, immortalized in his novels, have at last come into their own.

Brieux and Contemporary French Society. By William H. Scheiffly. Putnams. 436 pp. \$2.

A comprehensive and detailed study of Eugene Brieux, his dramas and their relation to French society. The author has considered two objects: the literary value and the purpose of each play, and the testimony of other writers

regarding the conditions that produced each particular work, and whether it correctly reflects the spirit of the time. Thus the book falls most agreeably into topical chapters, of which "Divorce," "The Relation of Child and Parent," and "Character of the French People and Religion," are among those of keen interest. Brieux is essentially a moralist, the exponent of a literature which is "of all literatures the most social." His idea of the drama is that it must transmit to the public the thoughts of great savants, "win the masses by bringing within their reach the noble dreams of philosophers."

Dante. By C. H. Grandgent. Duffield. 397 pp. \$1.50.

In this searching life of Dante mention is made of "De Monarchia," a work printed in Italy in 1559, and generally attributed to Dante. Excerpts show that the great Florentine thought

that the happiness and peacefulness of mankind depended on a just balance of power between the Pope and the Emperor, which goes to show how far Dante was at least in theory from the democratic ideals of modern times. This volume is the first of a series to be called "Master Spirits of Literature." Professor Grandgent has given us, to use his own words, a "portrait of the Middle Ages with Dante's features showing through."

Greek and Roman Mythology. By Jessie M. Tatlock. Century. 372 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

These versions of the most famous and interesting of the stories of Greek mythology are brief, simple and readable. They form a most excellent text-book for young people who have difficulty in understanding and remembering the legends of the gods and goddesses.

Epics and Romances of the Middle Ages. By Dr. W. Wagner. Dutton. 488 pp. Ill. \$2.

An adaptation from the work of Dr. Wagner, by M. W. Macdowell (edited by W. S. W. Anson), of the stories of the great epic cycles of the Middle Ages. Within the covers are all the old Scandinavian and Teutonic legends which have inspired artists and musicians for hundreds of years—the tales of the Amelungs, the Nibelungs, of Dietrich of Bern, of Beowulf, also the great Carolingian Cycle and the Grail Legends. Exquisitely illustrated with many half and full-page cuts.

Asgard and The Gods. By Dr. W. Wagner. Dutton. 326 pp. Ill. \$2.

A complete, popular English account of the religious beliefs and superstitions of the old Northmen, myths and stories of the gods, of the creation of the world, of Odin the father of the gods, of the Ases, the Golden Age, and on through all the splendid legends to Ragnarok, the "Twilight of the Gods." These are not, as most readers know, mere fairy tales. They are symbolic creations which embody the rude creeds, the strength and the courage of races whose descendants now battle for dominion over the earth.

The Supernatural in Modern English Fiction. By Dorothy Scarborough. Putnam's. 329 pp. \$2.

"The Supernatural in Modern English Fic-

tion," by Dorothy Scarborough, will prove entertaining and useful to the reader who wishes to go a-ghosting in the pages of novels. Beginning with Gothic fiction and "The Castle of Otranto," the ghosts walk out of their respective books in orderly succession down, the latest apparition appearing in Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett's story, "The White People." There are the devils and demons of Anatole France, the Elementals of Algernon Blackwood, Bram Stoker's vampires and were-wolves, shadows, hauntings, and even Maeterlinck's fairy "Bluebird."

The Moderns. By John Freeman. Crowell. 341 pp. \$1.75.

A criticism of critics, of writers whose dominant note, according to the author, is criticism. Essays on G. Bernard Shaw, Wells, Hardy, Maeterlinck, James, Conrad, Patmore, Francis Thompson, and Robert Bridges.

The Wonder. By J. D. Beresford. G. H. Doran. \$1.40.

In "The Wonder," a curious story of a child prodigy, M. J. D. Beresford has satirically pilloried certain methods of education and taken a fling at the sum of human knowledge. Victor Scott, the famous "Hampdenhire Wonder," was the only son of an athlete and a rather common woman nearing fifty. He seemed at first only an ordinary hydrocephalic idiot. At the age of five, however, he confounded the clergy and the local educational authorities by answering accurately difficult questions on religion, politics and mathematics. Challis, a noted anthropologist, who had given the strange child access to his library, discovers that he has memorized the dictionary and the Encyclopedia Britannica. Yet this intellectual marvel was spiritually blind, his mind a "magnificent, terrible machine," utterly removed from an approach to human sympathy and understanding. The only person who was attracted to him was the village idiot, the opposite arc of the circle that in humanity's development approaches to pure abstraction. Secondly, a theory of education might be derived from Mr. Beresford's book, but primarily the argument maintains that most of our pleasures arise from ignorance, from the fresh mysteries ever beckoning just over the hill.

PALESTINE AND JUDAISM

Palestine. By A. M. Hyamson. Knopf. 299 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

A detailed presentation of the social, economic, and agricultural conditions in modern Palestine, accompanied by a brief survey of the history of the country since the time of Roman occupation. Palestine has long appeared to be a desert. It is one of the most fertile of known lands, amply capable of supporting its full quota of population once water storage and proper irrigation have conquered the disabilities of the dry season. The yearly rainfall equals that of London, but it falls wholly in the winter months. The colonies estab-

lished under the care of the Zionist movement have proved that Palestine is one of the richest agricultural and fruit-producing countries on the face of the globe. Nathan Straus, Jacob H. Schiff, and Professor Jacques Loeb are among the prominent Americans who have contributed to the regeneration of the Land of Promise. What Palestine needs, Mr. Hyamson states, is, first, a new vitalized Western population, secondly roads, railways and harbors, and above all a wise, just and stable government. Since the sorry events of Turkish misrule following the war, the Jews of Palestine hope for local autonomy under the protection of a Protestant power that will see fair

play between the different elements of the population. Many illustrations accompany the text.

A History of Medieval Jewish Philosophy. By Isaac Husik. Macmillan. 462 pp. \$3.

It is hardly possible to enter upon the vistas of information and discussion in this most scholarly and illuminating work without space for an essay. Dr. Husik explains that the philosophic movement in medieval Jewry was the outcome of the desire by leaders of Jewish thought for reconciling two apparently independent sources of truth. Broadly speaking, Judaism espoused the doctrine of free will, the philosophy of that time, determinism. There were also tendencies borrowed from the Greeks which made it seem obligatory upon Jewish thinkers to declare, with the exception of Judah Halevi and Hasdai Crescas, that philosophy and religion were basically identical and to try to prove the proposition. Thus the Jewish

rationalistic philosophers turned the results of their studies to the interpretation of the Scriptures, to that perpetual search for God which has ever occupied the higher levels of the minds of the Jews. Dr. Husik is Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania.

Social Teachings of the Jewish Prophets. By William Bennet Bizzell. Boston: Sherman French. 232 pp. \$1.25.

For those who wish to revalue the teachings of the Jewish Prophets, this book meets a real need. There is at present a great revival of interest in the teachings of the Old Testament, particularly in order to relate their ethical, legislative, and social teachings to the problems of the present day. Lists of topics for reports and investigation and suggested further reading are given. Dr. Bizzell is president of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas.

FOOD, COOKERY, AND OTHER HOME PROBLEMS

The Modern Milk Problem. By J. Scott MacNutt. Macmillan. 258 pp. Ill. \$2.

The production of pure milk is a practical question that assumes national importance. It has invaded politics and already figures in some States and cities as a political issue. Clean milk is necessary to the nation. To secure safe, wholesome milk involves agricultural, sanitary and economic problems. This book—the first in its particular field—gives practical information as to the control of the milk supply, means and needs of sanitary supervision, with special attention to the grading of milk in both large and small communities. The volume is amply illustrated and the appendix gives tabulated reports of various investigations in different localities. Mr. MacNutt is connected with the Department of Public Health, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Food Conservation and the Art of Home Canning. By Mrs. Sherwood P. Snyder. Binghamton, N. Y. Health Publishing Co.

Some of the slogans used in the foreword of this manual are worth remembering: "Hungry armies mean lost freedom." "Every can of food put up by American housewives increases our chances of victory." "Battalions of women must engage the harvest when it arrives." "Victory depends upon home forces as much as upon field forces." With this simple, practical book at hand, attendance upon cooking and canning classes becomes unnecessary.

Kitchenette Cookery. By Anna Merritt East. Boston. Little, Brown & Co. 112 pp. \$1.

Business women who are loth to give up the privileges of housekeeping will find much helpful planning in this intensive study of the problem of cookery in a space no larger than a child's playhouse. The author was formerly the New Housekeeping Editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*.

Better Meals for Less Money. By Mary Green. Holt. 295 pp. \$1.25.

Seven hundred useful recipes carefully planned to reduce the high cost of living. They include recipes which require only a small amount of meat, those for vegetable dishes which can take the place of meat, those for the economical use of cereals, dairy products, and other common inexpensive foods; sensible recipes for breads, cakes and desserts that take the minimum number of eggs, and directions for plain relishes, condiments and other accessories of the menu. The preface gives general suggestions for economy—the kind a sensible housewife can really practise.

Mrs. Norton's Cook Book. By Jeannette Young Norton. Putnam. 634 pp. \$2.50.

A competent guide for cooking and serving for the home table, the outcome of twenty-five years of experience in cooking and testing foods by the author. Besides hundreds of recipes, there are chapters of general information most useful to the housekeeper, directions for preserving and pickling, instructions in camp and casserole cookery, and the preparation of foods for invalids and children.

Cakes, Pastry and Dessert Dishes. By Janet M. Hill. Boston. Little, Brown. 276 pp. \$1.50.

To those who, in spite of war economies, still bake toothsome cakes for "the joyful occasion, the social gathering, the feast," this book offers instructions in the art; also for the making of custards, frostings, sweet fruit dishes, puddings, sauces, and gelatine and frozen desserts.

Eggs in a Thousand Ways. By Adolphe Meyer. Chicago. The Hotel Monthly Press. 140 pp. \$1.

To boil an egg is considered a simple feat of cookery. According to Mr. Meyer, for many

years chef at the Union Club, and steward at the Knickerbocker, New York, very few cooks know how. As for the other 999 recipes for the preparation of the now elusive delicacy, they are sufficiently tempting to induce every cook to invest in this slim purple manual and begin to experiment.

Domestic Service. By An Old Servant. With a Preface by Mrs. George Wemyss. Houghton, Mifflin. 111 pp. \$1.

It is a delight to read this simple, moving record of an old servant who has devoted fifty-two years of her life to domestic service. There is emphasis in each chapter on the enduring value of loyalty in every walk of life.

The Home Handy Book. By A. Frederick Collins. D. Appleton & Co. 164 pp. \$1.10.

A compendium of useful things to do around the average house and how to keep it in repair. Just the thing for the man who likes to "putter around," or the growing boy who wishes to make himself handy.

The Book of Home Nursing. By Frances Campbell. Dutton. 271 pp. \$1.25.

If you are intending to work in the war hospitals, this book will prove invaluable and serve as a solid foundation for specialized training. The author is a trained nurse who writes out of the knowledge gained in actual experiences. One very useful chapter is called: "How to Keep Well."

The Baby's Food. By Dr. Isaac A. Abt. Saunders. 143 pp. \$1.25.

Minute directions for the preparation of food for infants and children, with diet lists and general directions for the care of young children, both in health and sickness. A most useful book for mothers, and one that will save many doctor's bills.

The School Nurse. By Lina Rogers Struthers. R. N. Putnam. 293 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

Society has now stepped into the schools and assumed the responsibility for the health of the children. Those who wish to undertake the important work of a school nurse will find this volume contains a full survey of the duties and responsibilities in the maintenance of health and physical perfection and the prevention of disease among school children. The author was a pioneer in this work and has had years of extensive experience.

Food for the Sick. By Solomon Strouse, M.D. Saunders. 270 pp. \$1.50.

Complete details of diet for the sick, with definite plain instructions for preparing the food. Those who are considering war nursing will find this manual extremely useful.

Good Health. By Alvah H. Doty. Appletons. 304 pp. \$1.50.

Instruction both for the physically fit and the unfit, in overcoming the artificial conditions due to civilization and maintaining good health. Anatomy, physiology, hygiene, foods, work, and first aid to the injured are included among the many topics. Dr. Doty was formerly Health Officer of the Port of New York.

Hygiene of the Face and Cosmetic Guide. By Richard W. Muller, M.D. Dutton. 257 pp. \$2.

A manual that gives hundreds of recipes for creams, powders, lotions, washes, ointments, which are indicated in the hygienic treatment and preservation of the skin, face and hair. Many of these prescriptions have been hitherto guarded by "beauty-specialists" and made inaccessible to the average woman. Dr. Muller shows that beauty of complexion, and the glow of health, are every woman's birthright and can be secured with intelligent care. The directions for massage are carefully illustrated.

NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES

THERE are sharp differences of opinion in regard to J. C. Snaith's novel, "The Coming."¹ The text of the story is: "He came unto his own and his own knew Him not." A man appears in a village on the borders of Kent and Sussex teaching the pure doctrines of Jesus Christ. He is a young man named John Smith, who has grown up in the neighborhood. His work beyond the care of an invalid mother is carpentry. This man makes a claim to Messiahship and says he has a divine voice within that speaks with authority and truth. Individuals representative of various social groups regard his pretensions with varying degrees of seriousness. A few believe in him, and none care to disturb him, with the exception of the reverend Perry Hennington, the vicar of the village. Notwithstanding that many have been helped and healed

by John Smith, the vicar accuses him of blasphemy, has him adjudged insane and incarcerated in an insane asylum. After regenerating many of the inmates and writing a great peace play—which is finally produced in America—John Smith dies with the penitent vicar praying at his bedside. In contrast to this village Messiah, there is the American Murdwell, who has discovered a new destructive force powerful enough to end the war by obliterating entire armies and cities of the enemy with ease. Smith's argument is that science can and has led to diabolism, that there is no future for the human race unless another spirit comes into the world. Armageddon is the logical outcome of our negation of God. Speke, one of the characters describes the state of mankind in the following words:

"The miserable, childish futility of our present phase of evolution. So many little groups of brown grubs slaving night and day to make

¹The Coming. By J. C. Snaith. Appleton. 371 pp. \$1.50.



GEORGE GIBBS, AUTHOR OF "THE SECRET WITNESS"

human life a worse hell than nature has made of it already. . . . colonies of organized hatreds profaning all art and all science, poisoning the very air God gave us to breathe. It makes us loathe one's species. We are little hideous two-legged ants, flying around in foul contraptions of our own invention. And to what end? Simply to destroy."

"The Secret Witness,"¹ by George Gibbs, is a second "Prisoner of Zenda" in its headlong pace, picturesque situations, adventure and love interest. The Countess Marishka Strahni overhears while in company with her lover, Hugh Renwick, a young Englishman of the British Embassy, the Emperor of Germany, Admiral Tirpitz and Archduke Franz Ferdinand, planning in the garden of the Archduke's villa the long-contemplated war schemes and their execution. The Countess and Renwick hurry to Vienna and give their information to their respective governments. There follows the abduction of the Countess by the agents of the German Secret Service and a long maze of imprisonments, encounters, and hairbreadth escapes with the governments working at cross purposes. The suspense is continuous, the climax dramatic, and impressive. In regard to the serious evidence that upholds the plot of the novel, Mr. Gibbs appends a chapter referring to an article in the *Nineteenth Century* for February, 1916, written by Mr. Henry Wickham Steed, for twenty years the correspondent in Vienna, for the *London Times*. In his own opinion, "the dream of an empire from Hamburg to Salonica is as yet a dream, but that it was dreamed in Potsdam, no one doubts."

Mr. Winston Churchill has been moved to picture the rapidly changing conditions of American social and industrial life in a story of great earnestness and power. "The Dwelling Place of Light."² The scene is laid in Hampton, a New England city, where the great mills have attracted the usual polyglot population of American industrial centers. In the midst of a colony of Greeks, Italians, Belgians Syrians and French, he places the Bumpus family, the impoverished scions of early seventeenth-century New Englanders, whose one pride is the thought that in the chaos that has everywhere in America succeeded permanence, they were held by ancestral blood strains to the Old Order, that had been so comfortable and secure. Edward Bumpus, the father, belonged to the generations that had preceded him. Materially in the present, he was spiritually in the past, and thus failed to meet the industrial strain of his time. He had sunk slowly from positions of comfortable affluence to the lowly position of gate-keeper in the leviathan Chippering Mill of Hampton. His two daughters, Janet and Lise, after a few hurried years in the public schools, go out to earn their living in competition with the foreigners who control the economic life of a large portion of the city. Lise, the younger, finds work in a store. She is paid six dollars a week and the urge to beauty and joy leads to the fate of many young girls who are afforded no protection from the temptations and evils of economic exploitation. Janet becomes a stenographer, and later the private secretary of Ditmar, the owner of the Chippering Mill. The Puritanic trend of her character is tempered with a passionate desire to live, to experience. She is the new and the old, and because of this she stumbles, and blunders and goes down, the victim of the volcanic forces of upheaval that are warping America away from the old currents of nationalism. Her love story is the most significant that Mr. Churchill has ever written and the most moving. She struggles toward self-realization, which is, according to the novelist, the "dwelling place of light." Beneath the story moves the tragedy of the slow disappearance of the old Anglo-Saxon Stock, which illy endures the tumult and the attritions of change. We are the in-between generation. What of the next? is Mr. Churchill's question.

"Mendel,"³ by Gilbert Cannan, is an epic of the adjustment of the Jew of the *pale*. of centuries of oppression and repression, to the conditions of modern life in England. Mendel Kuhler is a young Polish Jew who rises by power of his ability to paint realistically and well, to the appreciation of the young artists of his time and to a permanent place in the world of art. The acrid savor of the Jewish race, their mounting egotism, their strange humility and evermastering desire for God, Cannan has pictured with sympathy and deep insight. But when Mendel tries to understand the Anglo-Saxon ideals of conduct and of love, he is baffled. He tells the English girl he loves and tries to comprehend, the secret of his art: "Jews are wonderful people. They know what matters is the impulse of the soul . . . when I swing from happiness to unhappiness,

¹ The Secret Witness. By George Gibbs. Appleton. 403 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

² The Dwelling Place of Light. By Winston Churchill. Macmillan. 462 pp. \$1.60.

³ Mendel. By Gilbert Cannan. Doran. 445 pp. \$1.50

from good to bad, from dark to light, then a force comes up in my soul and it can move up to art, and beyond art, into that place where it can be free." Around the young artist flows the not altogether savory Bohemian life of London and Paris, but this is merely perspective to lift this vivid character study into high relief.

"Sonia,"¹ a brilliant English novel, by Stephen McKenna, presents a cross-section of life in England before and after 1914. In the last third of the story we see the new type of Englishman in the making. David O'Rane, patriot and adventurer, whose career occupies a major portion of the narrative, voices the sentiment current in England to-day. "Do you think we can come back with the scream of a shell in our ears to take up the old narrowness and futility?" A charming love story lightens the pages. Sonia is one of the most vital and pleasing heroines of the year's fiction.

Rider Haggard's new story of Zululand, "Finished,"² is the last volume of the trilogy of which the other volumes are "Marie," and "Child of Storm." It tells of the vengeance of the wizard Zikali upon the royal Zulu House of which the Chief Senzanacona was the founder, and Cetawayo, the enemy of the British in the Zulu war of 1879, the last representative who ruled as king. The cause of the war is represented to be the last appearance to the Zulus of their white goddess, Inkosazana-y-Zulu, or Queen of Heaven. Our old friend, Allan Quatermain, relates the thrilling adventures of the tale.

The evolution of the unfolding love relationship between man and woman is given in panoramic form in "The Wanderer,"³ a volume of short stories by Mary Johnston. From the time of the half-human tree dwellers to the types of the men and women of the people in the time of the French Revolution, the stories show the growth of the family relationship and woman's long fight for freedom. They preserve to an extraordinary degree the atmosphere and probable perspective of life of the periods they represent, and teach that not until man and woman are truly one, can the great adventure of the soul begin.

Eleven tales by Anton Chekov, translated by Constance Garnett, are published under the title "The Party and Other Stories."⁴ They are a welcome addition to the work of this master of Russian fiction already rendered into English. Each narrative is built upon some weakness, foible, or yearning passion of the human heart. "The Party" is a powerful, grimly realistic tale in which the trivialities and sins of an average married couple are purged by their longing for racial perpetuation.

Dorothy Canfield Fisher, author of "Understood Betsey,"⁵ a new story for young folks, and mothers with small children, is at present in Paris, where Mr. Fisher is in charge of a training camp for American ambulance drivers. Mrs. Fisher has charge of edit-



MRS. DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER WITH HER CHILDREN, NOW IN PARIS

ing and printing books in raised type for soldiers blinded in battle. "Betsey" is a pampered little girl brought up by old maid aunts who make her the victim of child-study. Circumstances necessitate her living for some time on a remote Vermont farm among simple, natural, sensible people, who give her space and freedom to grow to be herself. One might call the book a simplified, practical manual of the Montessori method adapted to the average home and the average family where the children must largely look out for themselves. As a story pure and simple, it is delightful, a mine of fun, wisdom and common sense.

A book written by means of the ouija board, "The Sorry Tale,"⁶ narrated by Patience Worth, a disincarnate entity, through the medium of Mrs. John Curran, of St. Louis, has aroused widespread interest. Laying aside all question of the actual authorship, the novel has beauty and extraordinary power. The scene is Palestine, the time that of Christ. Hatté, a son of Tiberius Cæsar by a Greek slave; is born in a leper's hut outside the walls of Bethlehem on the night Christ is born. The story follows their separate lives until they meet on the crosses of Calvary. Will Marion Reedy, of the St. Louis *Mirror*, has pronounced the tale a "literary marvel . . . full of incident, of passion, humor, tragedy, meanness and moral splendor." The book is edited by Caspar Yost.

⁴ "The Party and Other Stories." By Arthur Chekov. Macmillan. 340 pp. \$1.50.

⁵ "Understood Betsey." By Dorothy Canfield. Holt. 271 pp. \$1.30.

⁶ "The Sorry Tale." By Patience Worth. Holt. 640 pp. \$1.90.

¹ Sonia. By Stephen McKenna. Doran. 475 pp. \$1.50.

² Finished. By Rider Haggard. Longmans. 399 pp. \$1.40.

³ The Wanderer. By Mary Johnston. Houghton, Mifflin. 426 pp. \$1.75.

FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—POSITION OF THE FOREIGN GOVERNMENT BONDS

PRIOR to last April, or before the United States declared war on Germany, loans had been made by American bankers to the Entente and to Canada amounting to \$2,351,000,000. The borrowing of Latin-American countries had reached the sum of \$160,000,000 and of neutrals \$35,000,000. The aggregate of all loans outside the United States, from August 1, 1914, to April, 1917, was \$2,605,867,253. About 10 per cent. had been cancelled, leaving net obligations of Europe, South America, and Asia of about \$2,375,000,000.

The earliest of these loans was the Anglo-French for \$500,000,000, offered to the American investing public in October, 1915. It was for five years. It, therefore, has three years still to run. It was far and away the largest amount ever submitted at one time to the American public. The subscription was fair. Our public was not educated up to foreign bonds and there was propaganda from German sources to discourage buying. Banks and private bankers who took them had considerable amounts for sale months after the lists closed. Eventually they were widely distributed.

The educational process went on, but there was also demand on the part of those from whom the funds for European loans were expected for a greater return and more security than a government's promise to pay. To meet this the rate of interest was raised to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the later English loans, and they were protected by the finest quality of collateral. Still more their maturities were shortened. From every standpoint, therefore, their quality as investments was improved and there was consequently less difficulty in selling them. The United Kingdom $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. notes of 1918 and 1919 went off very readily with the full sum of a quarter of a billion covered at once.

With the entering of the United States into the war it became obvious that no further loans would be negotiated by the Allies in the open market of this country. This, temporarily, improved the position of the en-

tire list of foreign government loans. The last loan placed was that of the French Government, running two years and bearing $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest, with privileges in the way of advantages in the exchange rate. These bonds went to a premium of 1 per cent. on April 24, when their yield was only 5 per cent. Recently they have been at a discount of 4 per cent. and their return raised to about 8 per cent.

Causes of Decline

The causes making for enough reaction in the price of such bonds to produce nervousness among holders of them are threefold: First, the enormous increase in foreign government debts since the Anglo-French loan was placed; second, the collapse of Russia, bringing with it added difficulties for France and England, and especially for France, whose securities have been weakest, and, third, liquidation by wealthy holders of these loans, which are taxable in this country, to replace them with domestic loans, exempt from all taxes as in the case of the Liberty $3\frac{1}{2}$ s and municipals.

The Canadian loans were very popular in the first two years of the war and were even better placed than the Anglo-French and its immediately succeeding English and French loans. Canadian borrowing, however, became very heavy and entered into direct competition with that of the American Government, so that loans finally placed were chiefly with bankers and for special accommodation to London. Italy had a loan of \$25,000,000 which was renewed for one year from October 15, 1916, and Norway a loan of \$3,000,000, half of which was cancelled a year ago and the remainder has just matured. The notes of neutral nations have all held their prices well ever since the issue.

Why Attractive for Investors

From an investment standpoint all of the foreign government bonds are attractive, but particularly the collateral-secured ones, which mature in 1918 and 1919. It is diffi-

cult to say what bond could be stronger, for instance, than the new collateral-supported United Kingdom 5½s of one and two years' maturity. In only slightly less degree is this true of the French Government 5½s of the same maturities. As external loans they are superior to loans of internal nature and held entirely by home investors.

It would seem to be the part of good judgment for investors holding certain classes of semi-speculative railroad, public-utility, or industrial stocks to exchange them for foreign notes of the kind designated. In many instances it is possible to make the transfer and secure an even better yield to maturity than is now given by these stocks. The most discouraging thing for the investor to-day is to see his principal shrinking from month to month. He knows that his interest will be paid and that his dividends are reasonably secure, but he is all the while becoming poorer through the depreciation in his investment holdings. We know of no better way to minimize this paper loss than by substituting for both bonds and stocks the short-term foreign notes. Upon definite signs of peace a replacement of the original investment may be effected in so far as the parts of it have not, meanwhile, been affected by the ravages of the war on capital.

The prices at which the leading foreign bonds were issued and the yield basis to subscribers with the quotations current on October 10 and approximate yields then, follow:

	Issue Price	Yield	Oct. Price	Oct. Yield
Anglo-French 5s.....	98	5.45	92	8.00
United Kingdom 5s of 1918 (collateral)	99	5.50	98	7.00
United Kingdom 5½s of 1919.....	99¾	5.75	95	8.00
United Kingdom 5½s of 1921.....	98¾	5.85	93	7.25
United Kingdom 5½s of 1918 (collateral)	99½	6.00	99¾	6.25
United Kingdom 5½s of 1919 (collateral)	99½	6.00	98½	7.25
City of Paris 6s....	98¾	6.30	90½	8.50
City of Bordeaux 6s.	98	6.75	90	11.00
City of Lyons 6s....	98	6.75	*90	11.00
City of Marseilles 6s	98	6.75	90	11.00

*City of Lyons 6s fell as low as 88½, or to an 11¾ per cent. basis.

	Issue Price	Yield	Oct. Price	Oct. Yield
Russian 3-year 6½ per cent. credit....	100	6.50	75	20.00
Russian 5½s of 1921.	94¾	6.75	66	14.00

It will be noticed that the bonds secured by collateral have made a better showing than those unsecured. There are two reasons for this. First is the very practical one that a secured note is better any day than one unsupported by guarantee or securities, and the second that there has always been a chance that the sum of the secured note issues would be reduced before maturity by liquidation of the collateral. This is just what has taken place in the case of the United Kingdom 5s due next September. Between February and October 5 the notes were reduced by \$100,000,000 through sale of bonds and stocks underlying them.

Our Government's Loans to the Allies

Just as soon as the United States entered the war, loans to the Entente and countries associated ceased except on the agreed basis of a rate of interest equal to, but no higher, than paid by the lender (the United States) and covered by a like amount of bonds of the government to whom the loan was made. It thus happened that, in October, when the obligations of Great Britain were selling to yield from 6¼ to 8 per cent. (and these would have been the terms on which she must have borrowed in the open market under the former arrangement), she was tendered about \$100,000,000 by our Government at 4 per cent. Similarly, France, whose securities were on about an 8 per cent. basis, was given accommodation at 4 per cent. and credits were granted to Russia at 4 per cent. when the best her external loans in the New York market would bring were from a 15 per cent. to a 20 per cent. yield, or discounts of 34 to 24 per cent. from par values.

The total loans to our Allies, since this country entered the war, now amount to approximately \$2,500,000,000, of which one-half is to Great Britain. The authorized commitment is \$7,000,000,000.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 877. A CRITICISM OF ONE INVESTOR'S PLAN OF DISTRIBUTION

Here is a solution I have worked out for an investment problem on which I should like to have your criticism: Fifty per cent. of total capital in first mortgage on city property at 6 per cent.; 7½ per cent. in Liberty Loan 3½'s, convertible; 12½ per cent. in Liberty Loan 4's; 20 per cent. in stocks to average 7½ per cent.; 10 per cent. in Building & Loan shares described in literature enclosed.

This would give me an average yield of about 6 per cent. I should like particularly your opinion on the building-and-loan proposition and your judgment as to whether my plan would be considered well balanced, assuming purchases of stock as follows: Southern Pacific 23 per cent.; American Woolen preferred 25 per cent.; Wabash preferred "A" 25 per cent.; Baltimore & Ohio preferred 17 per cent.; Kennecott Copper 10 per cent.

Your plan, as outlined, is on the whole not bad. In saying this we assume, of course, that in putting as much as 50 per cent. of your surplus capital into a first mortgage at 6 per cent. you would make the investment with full personal knowledge both of the financial responsibility of the borrower and the character of the property on which the loan was secured.

We see no advantage in dividing your purchase of Liberty Loan bonds between the 3½'s and 4's. Both issues are convertible and we take it there is no need of your considering the surtax provision in connection with the 4 per cent issue.

Your distribution of stocks, we think, might be improved upon, although not without difficulty in keeping the average yield at 7½ per cent. To get this rate, even under prevailing market conditions, you must assume more or less business risk. However, you might consider the possibilities of substituting Bethlehem Steel preferred for American Woolen, and St. Louis & San Francisco 4 per cent. prior lien bonds, Series A, for Baltimore & Ohio preferred. We have a notion such substitutions might prove profitable in the long run.

Kennecott Copper, we think, might be left in the list, if you would take into account the fact that the present situation of the copper-producing companies as a whole is due to conditions which no one expects will prove permanent. Kennecott, however, is a good representative stock of its class.

Wabash preferred A, as you doubtless are aware, falls considerably short of being an investment stock, but it seems to have possibilities, and we regard Southern Pacific as being relatively cheap at this current market price.

Toward the building-and-loan-association proposition in question we are inclined to advise a cautious attitude. We say this despite the fact that the association seems to have a long and successful record of operation. Our own experience and observation have been that the safest type of building-and-loan association is the type that operates only on neighborhood or local lines, rather than on national lines. There is a big element of hazard in loaning money on property situated at a great distance which the national associations have very frequently found difficulty in overcoming, so that, taken as a whole, the record of such associations has not been good.

No. 878. NEW YORK CENTRAL STOCK

I should like to have your opinion about the advisability of purchasing New York Central stock outright to hold. A few years ago it was selling around 143 and it is now less than 74. Is there anything fundamentally wrong with it? Is the dividend going to be passed? What have the earnings of the road been these last few years? And what dividends have been paid? Why is the stock so low?

The two principal causes for the relatively low price at which this stock is selling are: first, the generally unsettled financial conditions due to the war which have made necessary a radical readjustment of market prices for all types and classes of securities; and, second, the great increase in the average cost of everything entering into railroad operation, from labor to supplies.

The operation of the second of these two causes is very clearly shown in the latest available report of New York Central's earnings—that for the seven-months' period ended July 31 last. This report showed net earnings after charges and taxes of \$11,307,851, which was a decrease of \$10,865,490 as compared with the corresponding period of 1916. For the full year 1916 the road reported a balance available for dividends amounting to \$45,659,217; for the year 1915 a balance of \$27,711,473, and for 1914 a balance of \$9,358,247.

Despite the relatively poor showing which the road is now making, it is the general belief that the 5 per cent. dividend on the stock can be maintained, as it has been at that rate since 1913.

We are inclined to agree with the opinion that this railroad property under average conditions ought to be able to earn the equivalent of about 9 per cent. per annum on its present capitalization, and on this basis we think purchase of the stock at the present low level might sometime show satisfactory results.

No. 879. BOND FLUCTUATION

What causes bond fluctuations, and to what extent does the "gambler's chance" enter into the purchase of bonds? If I buy at 95 to-day, what are my chances of getting my money back, or more, say five years from now?

It is difficult to explain within the space available here all of the causes for fluctuations in the market prices of bonds. Such causes are many. One cause or set of causes may be operating at one time and an entirely different cause or set of causes at another time.

Perhaps we can at least lay the foundation for an understanding of the matter, if we refer to the fact that bonds are fixed income securities, and that for this reason their prices are governed largely by the market rate of interest for current funds. It is axiomatic that when money rates go up the market prices of bonds must fall, and vice versa.

It would be futile for anyone to undertake to prophesy at what price a given bond would sell in the open market five years hence. However, if you were to buy to-day at 95 a bond maturing five years hence you would not be taking a "gambler's chance" at all, assuming, of course, that you took care to buy a bond having ample underlying security.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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A Glimpse Into St. Mark's Square, With the Famous Venetian Lion in the Foreground

GLIMPSES OF BEAUTIFUL VENICE, DESERTED LAST MONTH BY ITS POPULATION AS THE GERMANS APPROACHED AND THE TEMPORARY WAR FRONT WAS ONLY A FEW MILES DISTANT

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LVI

NEW YORK, DECEMBER, 1917

No. 6

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Peace
Hopes All
Deferred*

Peace discussion, as inspired a few brief months ago by the Pope's appeals and the socialist propaganda centered at Stockholm, had almost wholly ceased before the autumn leaves fell; and the peace hopes that were so bright in September had quite faded away. Behind the scenes—as our readers may as well be told—there was not only the hope but also the belief less than three months ago in the highest political and financial quarters, that the war would end before Christmas.

*Germany
Still
Autocratic*

There were some who thought that the knowledge in Germany of the great preparations that we in America were making would produce the desired result of bringing about a change in German political control, so that with the incoming of a liberal government a basis for peace might be found. The political changes in Germany, however, have not seemed to us in the Allied countries to have involved very much of concession to the demands for real control by public opinion. The new Chancellor, Baron von Hertling, about whom we are publishing a well-informed article on another page, is a famous university professor and scholar of Munich, a prominent member of the Centrum, or Roman Catholic, party, who for several years past has been Prime Minister of Bavaria. As our readers will remember, it was the Center, or Catholic, party in the Reichstag last summer, under the leadership of Herr Erzberger and others, that led

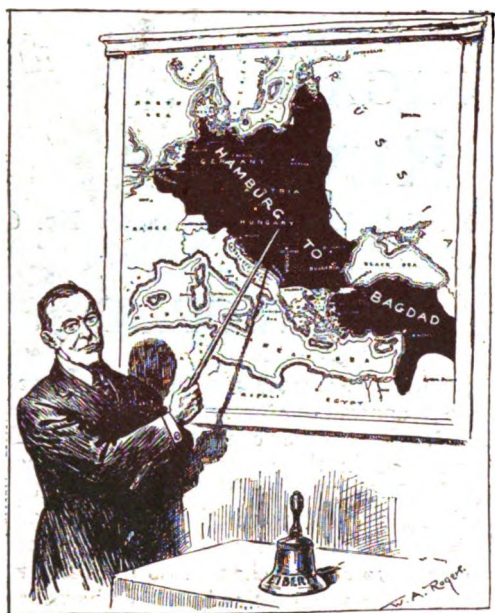
in passing the famous resolutions for peace without annexations or indemnities. There have been some other changes in the imperial cabinet and in the government of Prussia, that have at least nominally brought the Reichstag into closer relations with the administration and the actual conduct of government. But these changes do not seem to us to have an immediately vital character, although it should be said that there are many writers and politicians in Germany who have been saying that the process of democratizing the imperial government is going on at a surprising rate. Autocratic and military control are as yet unshaken, and in our opinion will not be affected by political changes until the German people become convinced by the logic of events that the war itself is for them a terrible failure, as for the whole world it is an unspeakable calamity. This enlightenment will come in due time.



A SHRINE THAT MUST BE SMASHED

("The Real Enemy is the war spirit fostered in Prussia. That ideal, that war spirit, has its shrine in Potsdam. There will be no peace in the world, there will be no liberty until that shrine is shattered and its priesthood dispersed and discredited forever."—From a recent speech in London by Premier Lloyd George)

From the *News of the World* (London)



A MUCH NEEDED LESSON BY THE "SCHOOLMASTER"
 "Look at a map of Germany's dominion. I saw a map the other day appropriately printed in black, and the black stretched all the way from Hamburg to Bagdad. If she can keep that, her power can disturb the world always, provided present influences, in the country and the government, can still control. Germany is determined that the political power of the world shall belong to her."—President Wilson to the American Federation of Labor, at Buffalo, on November 12.

(The map referred to by the President, and shown here by the cartoonist, was printed in the REVIEW of REVIEWS for October)

From the *Herald* (New York)

To Annex
or Not to
Annex

The trouble with the formula "no annexations, no indemnities," as pronounced at Berlin, is simply that there is no moral conviction behind it. When the Reichstag in July adopted that resolution, the German demand for peace was most insistent, as every member of the Reichstag knew from his constituents at home; and the new coalition majority in the Reichstag perceived that no early peace could be made unless Germany renounced her western territorial acquisitions, and gave up the idea that England and the United States would at some time pay Germany great sums of money as the price of order in the world. When, however, the fortunes of war so fluctuate that Germany seems to be gaining, the discussion of terms alters its tone at once in the German newspapers and among the leaders. For example, the turmoil in Russia, and the failure of the Russian army to fight without a government behind it, has given Germany the control of the important port of Riga on the Baltic and of the Courland province and other territory to the south-

ward. Earlier in the war, Germany had not thought it possible to annex this part of Russia. It happens that Riga and Courland have for many generations had a large German element in their population, and the Pan-German party is now bent upon the idea of keeping Riga and Courland permanently.

Belgium
to Be
Kept

It is only when the war seems for the moment to be going against Germany that the idea of giving up Belgium is seriously entertained at Berlin. It is not our habit or desire to make unwarranted assertions. And it is not without some grounds for the reluctantly formed opinion that we express our concurrence with the view of those who say that the hardships of Belgium are in part due to a German willingness to be rid of the inconvenience of too large a permanent Belgian population. To put it bluntly, Germany desires the country and its resources but does not so much desire the Belgian people. It has been almost impossible for many of us in America to believe that the German mind could have become so perverted as to entertain the idea that a beneficent God



THE BELGIAN "MENACE"

KAISER: "If I grant you my gracious pardon, will you promise not to terrorize me again?"

("Belgium would be required to give a guarantee that any such menace as that which threatened Germany in 1914 would in future be excluded"—German Foreign Secretary to Papal Nuncio at Munich)

From *Punch* (London)

had willed that Germany should destroy neighboring peoples in order to make room for a predestined German expansion. General von Bissing—who was made military governor of Belgium soon after the conquest, and who died of illness in April of the present year—had many excellent qualities as a man, but he was unshaken to the last in his conviction that Germany must keep Belgium permanently and that the inhabitants must be held down as Joshua kept subdued the inhabitants of Gibeon. His views were representative, and he was in high favor with his Emperor. He declared against the creation of another Alsace-Lorraine by mistaken leniency and efforts at conciliation.

Since Bissing's death there has
The Words of an Authority appeared in the German press a document known as "General von Bissing's Testament," which he had written for himself as expressing his views on the future of Belgium. He discusses the need of keeping Belgium for military reasons, and also for industrial. He shows how the seizing of Belgium's coal supply has helped Germany directly, and also indirectly by giving her something to exchange with Holland and the Scandinavian countries, thus obtaining their food surplus. He warns against an independent Belgium that would inevitably be under the influence of England, France, and America. "Against all this," he goes on "our only weapon is the policy of power, and this policy must see to it that the Belgian population, now still hostile to us, shall adapt itself and subordinate itself, if only gradually, to the German domination." He explains further that Germany must dominate so that it may use for German benefit the capital created by Belgian savings and the Belgian companies which already exist in large numbers in the countries of our enemies." Arguing that Belgium could undoubtedly be Germanized in due time, General von Bissing proceeds:

Surely we [Germans] have learned from the mistakes that were made, and we shall never again have recourse to the vacillating policy of conciliation which was so disadvantageous not only in Alsace-Lorraine, but also in Poland. Of course, no people *which has been appointed to play a creative part in the history of the world* will find doves dropping already roasted into its mouth. A people which, during the war, has achieved such brilliant things in the trenches, in the army command, and in all branches of economic life will have forces enough at its disposal to solve the difficult, but assuredly not insuperable, problems of peace.



DR. FRIEDRICH VON PAYER, THE NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR OF GERMANY

(On page 613 will be found a picture of Count von Hertling, the new Chancellor, with an article upon his career. While Hertling is an eminent Catholic, the new Vice-Chancellor had a theological education as an Evangelical Lutheran. The Chancellor is a prominent Bavarian, living at Munich, while the Vice-Chancellor is a typical leader from Wurttemberg, a graduate of the University of Tübingen, living at Stuttgart. He was formerly in the Wurttemberg local government, but has for a long time been a leader in the German Reichstag. He is a Moderate Liberal in politics, and his appointment as Vice-Chancellor is considered at once a concession to the Reichstag and to the democratic tendencies. It should be noted that neither Chancellor nor Vice-Chancellor is a Prussian)

This eminent authority goes on to prove that it would not do for Germany to discuss during the peace negotiations the terms under which Belgium was to be held. He says that Germany must merely fall back upon the right of conquest. King Albert would have to be deposed and exiled, because he could naturally never consent to the policy that Germany must pursue.

No one can deny that General von Bissing was a student and a thinker, and he was in touch with the dominating intellects of the universities and the press as well as with the leaders of the army and the government. He was speaking, therefore, not for himself, but for the whole ruling mind of present-day Germany, when he wrote the following sentences:

On the most various occasions the English have described the right of conquest as the healthiest



THE BLASPHEMER

From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

and simplest kind of right, and we can read in Machiavelli that he who desires to take possession of a country will be compelled to remove the king or regent, even by killing him. These are grave decisions, but they must be taken, *for we are concerned with the welfare and the future of Germany.*

Even the conciliatory steps taken at times by General von Bissing as Governor of Belgium were—as he explained during his last illness in letters to statesmen and leaders of thought in Germany—a part of his far-reaching plan to undermine the future independence of Belgium for the sake of Germany's more complete conquest. When, therefore, the Center party formed its coalition last summer and carried through the Reichstag the resolution favoring peace "without annexations and without indemnities," we had only a gesture or a maneuver, so far as the deeper purpose of German statecraft was concerned. The German people were demanding peace, but the Government was not giving its terms in advance. There is no intention whatever in Germany to restore Belgium as a matter of right or justice. It is with the Germans purely a question of power, either present or future.

Attila
or
Joshua?

It was in 1900, when the Germans took part in the expeditionary force that went to China to subdue the Boxer uprising, that the Emperor William instructed his troops to "be as terrible as Attila's Huns." It is this, doubtless, that has led the English newspapers to refer ordinarily to the German soldiers as "Huns," and has resulted

recently in some instructive books, written to tell us again the story of the terrible Attila, who had the courage to fight the Eastern Roman empire and also the Western. But the present-day Germans do not derive their spirit from the Huns. Instead of quoting the Emperor William of 1900, we should quote his 1914 proclamation to the Army of the East early in the present war, from which these are typical sentences:

Remember that you are the chosen people! The spirit of the Lord has descended upon me because I am the Emperor of the Germans. I am the instrument of the Almighty. I am His sword, His agent. Let them perish, all the enemies of the German people! God demands their destruction; God who, by my mouth, bids you to do His will.

"Onward with God!" is the German motto, the word that the Emperor is always sending to his own soldiers and to those of his allies. It is a "tribal God" that the Germans worship, and the highest duty which this kind of religion enjoins is that of tribal aggrandizement. To destroy the neighbors and possess their lands is the chief aim of German existence, according to this form of nationalistic faith. To understand the conception, one has only to read again the annals of the chosen people of old, as they were embarked upon the task of creating an empire under the leadership of Joshua.

Joshua's
Empire-
Building

"From the wilderness and this Lebanon and to the great river, the River Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and to the great sea at the



ONE WHO TRIED IT

NAPOLEON I. (to—Something-very-different!): "Ah, I overran Europe, stole countries wholesale, dreamt of the East, made Marshals out of my Generals, Kings of my Marshals, a deity of myself. But the end and the shame of it came all the same."

From the *Sunday Evening Telegram* (London)

going down of the sun, shall be your border. . . . Be strong and of good courage, for thou shalt cause this people to possess the land which I have sworn to their fathers to give them." It is necessary to understand that the Emperor William II has read the book of Joshua repeatedly, and that he thoroughly believes that the God of the Germans is inspiring him, just as the Jehovah of the Jews gave Joshua his fighting orders. The bloody extermination that was enjoined upon Joshua when he crossed the Jordan was justified upon the ground that the Israelites were superior in every way to the people whom they were to supersede, and that the Lord's chosen people had a right to take whatever they could lay their hands upon. In the eighth chapter of Joshua we have a description of the attack upon the city of Ai by a chosen army of "thirty thousand men, strong men of war." They were instructed to seize the city and set it on fire. They killed the women as well as the men. "Joshua drew not back his hand . . . until he had utterly destroyed all the inhabitants of Ai. Only the cattle and spoil of that city Israel took to themselves for a prey." In the next chapter we are told of Joshua's treatment of the people of Gibeon. These people had four towns, and Joshua made a treaty with them agreeing to let them live but reducing them to vassalage. They were made bondsmen and "hewers of wood and drawers of water." The sweep of Joshua across the face of Palestine is further described in succeeding chapters. Every step in this devastating invasion was taken by the ruthless leader of Israel in the name of Jehovah.

We have no intention to discuss Old Testament ethics; we are merely trying to find some clue that may aid our comprehension of the present-day state of mind of the German Emperor and his military and professional groups of German leaders. In some directions the Germans seem to have adopted the policy of Joshua towards the people of Ai, and in other directions to have used the plan adopted towards the inhabitants of the great town of Gibeon. Germany has adopted a set of principles that justifies the imitation of any step, however ruthless, taken by Joshua, or by Attila, or by the followers of Mahomet in their career of conquest. The extent of German domination, on these principles, is to be limited solely by the resisting power of the obstacles encountered. Other

*Germany's
Tribalism*



BELGIUM AND ARMENIA—OR THE RECIPROCAL BUTCHERS

KAISER WILHELM: "It is a proud honor for me to come in touch with such an army through my appointment as Field Marshal."—From a speech at Constantinople, on occasion of the Kaiser's recent visit to the Sultan.

From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)

people have no rights as against German policies, and there is no valid expression of German policies except through the Emperor, who rules by divine authority. This German attitude has against it the unorganized but growing forces of modern public opinion throughout the world. It is the supreme misfortune of our age that the enlightened sentiment, which has been steadily breaking down the evil forces of political absolutism and tribal barbarism in other countries, had been checked and stifled in Germany, and that the Empire's growth in military and commercial power and in scientific and technical ability had become a menace to the liberties of the world.

*The
Ruling Spirit of
Prussia*

Speaking of this dangerous spirit of the present-day rulers of Germany, Mr. Otto Kahn—who is himself of German birth and education, though for the past twenty-five years a banker in New York, characterizes it in a recent speech as follows:

I speak as one who has seen the spirit of the Prussian governing class at work from close by, having at its disposal, and using to the full, practically every agency for molding the public mind. I have watched it proceed with relentless persistency and profound cunning to instill into the nation the demoniacal obsession of power-worship

and world-dominion, to modify and pervert the mentality—indeed the very fibre and moral substance—of the German people, a people, which until misled, corrupted and systematically poisoned by the Prussian ruling caste, was and deserved to be an honored, valued, and welcome member of the family of nations.

I have hated and loathed that spirit ever since it came within my ken many years ago; hated it all the more as I saw it ruthlessly pulling down a thing which was dear to me—the old Germany to which I was linked by ties of blood, by fond memories, and cherished sentiments.

The difference in the degree of guilt as between the German people and their Prussian or Prussianized rulers and leaders for the monstrous crime of this war and the atrocious barbarism of its conduct is the difference between the man who, acting under the influence of a poisonous drug, runs amuck in mad frenzy, and the unspeakable malefactor who administered that drug, well knowing and fully intending the ghastly consequences which were bound to follow.

The world fervently longs for peace. But there can be no peace answering to the true meaning of the word—no peace permitting the nations of the earth, great and small, to walk unarmed and unafraid—until the teaching and the leadership of the apostles of an outlaw creed shall have become discredited and hateful in the sight of the German people; until that people shall have awakened to a consciousness of the unfathomable guilt of those whom they have followed into calamity and shame; until a mood of penitence and of a decent respect for the opinions of mankind shall have supplanted the sway of what President Wilson has so trenchantly termed "truculence and treachery."

*Redemption
After
Defeat*

We are not of the opinion, as some people are, that this German attitude is so inherent in the German nature as to make the German people a permanent menace. Other nations have had their false gods, and no nation is even yet perfect. For several hundred years there has been going on in England an intense struggle for the democratic idea as against the medieval principles of the ruling class. It seems hardly longer ago than yesterday when Mr. Lloyd George as Chancellor of the Exchequer was making his life-and-death fight against the entrenched prerogatives of the House of Lords. Some of the most serious handicaps in the way of the efficient prosecution of the present war by England have been presented by the persistently bad influence of certain elements of the privileged classes of Great Britain. Yet England upon the whole is a democratic country; and the further needful reforms will be attained in due time by the healthy processes of discussion, by the spread of education, and by the growth of capacity in the common people to maintain the institutions of order and justice. In like manner the

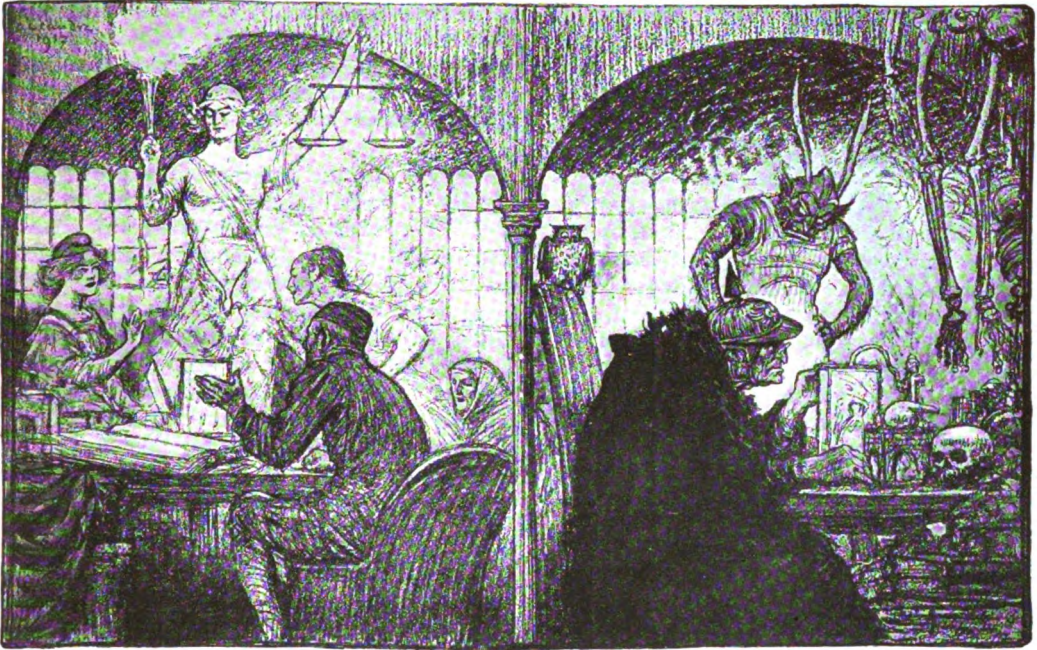
people of Germany, who have so much in common with certain elements in Great Britain, are quite certain, *if given the right start by defeat in this war*, to cast out the evil spirits of envy, greed, and insane ambition, and open their minds and hearts to the true ideals of the best people in other lands.

*Moral
Eclipse and
Propaganda*

The strange thing is that recent German scholarship in history, economics, philosophy, science, and comparative politics, has not produced any strong leaders who see things justly and sanely. They all prate of the rights of Germany, and disavow any responsibility for upholding the rights of other people. Furthermore, they all seem to believe that the rest of the world looks upon Germany with intense envy. Where they see, as in the United States, signs of a more altruistic sentiment, they regard these as evidence of weakness rather than of moral growth. It is this fanaticism in Germany that is sustaining the war, and that explains not merely the amazing unity of the people in supporting German arms, but also the ingenuity and persistence of German propaganda in Russia and Italy, in France and England, and in North and South America.

*Germany
Must Be
Taught*

We have been watching with great anxiety for signs of courageous liberalism on the part of the educated Germans. The blindness of these men seems almost incredible. In our "Leading Article" department this month (see page 651) we present the views of Professor Foerster, of Munich, and we commend them for careful reading. Even in the poisoned atmosphere of Germany, which has produced a form of pervasive delusion, the words of Professor Foerster show that it is possible here and there for a strong mind to keep its hold upon sanity. If we could get a thousand good scholars like Foerster, and a thousand good business men from the German cities, to come to the United States, learning our point of view and obtaining our perspective upon European affairs, it might be possible to start the needed revolution of German sentiment. Since, however, we cannot bring the professors and the merchants here, we must do what we can to push a propaganda into Germany. The doctrine to be preached is that of international goodwill and coöperation, as against that of nationalism and aggressive imperialism. Although the prospect seems dismal, yet the



THE GOOD SPIRIT

(Justice, liberty and fraternity inspire the Allied savant)

THE EVIL SPIRIT

(The Evil Spirit inspires German scholarship)
From a large double-page colored cartoon in a recent issue of *La Baionnette* (Paris)

cause is far from hopeless. The reaction against military autocracy must surely come in Germany, and it must be encouraged from without in so far as it is possible

How to Bring Home the Truth

The best means of bringing others to see the truth is to exemplify it ourselves. The United States has of late set a fairly good example. This country does not intend to conquer and annex any part of Mexico. It has decided to give the whole world an equal access to the benefits of the Panama Canal. It has made official declaration that the Philippines are to be as free and independent as their political and social capacity may render possible. Even more fully in the future than in the past we will be prepared to aid the South American republics in maintaining their independence while they develop their resources and grow in population and power. Germany must abandon hope of any political future in the Western Hemisphere. She can have a most prosperous future of commercial dealings with North and South America if she will abandon her execrable political creed of conquest, and cease to be a menace. But she must renounce her out-of-date Joshuas, and strip her helmeted Attilas of their bloodthirsty swords. If, however,

Germany does not soon change her point of view and rise against her Hohenzollerns, her Hindenburgs, and her Tirpitzes, it will soon be a question whether this country should not withdraw from its present position, and join England and the Allies in declaring an absolute economic boycott against Germany for a fixed period—say, forty years.

Spirit of the Future

The economic boycott that had been arranged by the Allies at Paris, some time before we entered the war, was unsound in its nature. The scheme was too little upon the basis of principle, and too much like a German project, in its pushing for advantages regardless of the rights of other people. As planned, this economic boycott was in association with the agreements of the Allies regarding the distribution of territorial spoils after Germany and her associates had been conquered. Those were the days when the Czar's bad government was still in authority; and when the Czar's advisers were insistent that Russia should have Constantinople and much of Asiatic Turkey. The old program as announced by the Allies to President Wilson, just a year ago, is as obsolete as any other abortive scheme in the past history of Europe. President Wilson has announced war

aims in totally different terms, and it will not be impossible for Great Britain, France, and Italy, as well as for Russia, to accept America's principles and doctrines. Germany must learn that the new Belgium is not going to be maintained as a cloak for Anglo-French designs, any more than it is to be a vassal of Germany. Expansion of influence and of interest in the future is not to have the form of territorial conquest or annexation, but is to be upon a higher plane. German science, industry, music, genius for social organization—these things are to extend the German name and fame in the future. The Anglo-Saxon civilization for what it is worth can make its way among men without violence or oppression. There is still a great work for all the leading peoples to do in the world. A little more-humility of spirit would benefit all the aspiring races, though it is Germany to-day that is chiefly the victim of arrogance and pride.

*Russia
Active and
Passive*

While the events of recent weeks have been disappointing to those who have hoped to see an early dawn of the new era of peace and reconciliation, it is quite possible that we may soon discover that the apparent reverses are but blessings in disguise. It was inevitable that so radical a happening as the destruction of the Czar's government in Russia should be followed by a period of turmoil. The Russian people, in their home neighborhoods, are essentially stable and peaceful. The Czar had mobilized something like twenty million men, and great numbers of these were distributed along the great war frontier facing three or four million German and Austrian soldiers. Russia was left without any established government. The people have not understood how to respect and obey anything above them that is not strong and permanent. It should be remembered that the Russian soldiers had been fighting for nearly three years, had won some great victories, had borne terrible defeats, and had become desperately homesick. No people are more attached than the Russians to their own domiciles and neighborhoods. The armies were very short of food and of guns and ammunition. It is amazing that the military collapse was not worse than it was. Perhaps Russia may find coherence next year. Many Teutonic soldiers, indeed, have been taken away from the Russian front, yet even in the chaos of October and November, with no stable government to keep Rus-

sia in the war, it seems to be true that the Russians in great numbers held defensive lines and that two or three million German and Austrian soldiers were kept occupied, although there was not much fighting.

*Russia
and
Germany*

In the presence of a great historic spectacle like that of the Russian people trying to create institutions of self-government, antipathies have a tendency to disappear. Those Germans who had honestly feared what they called the "menace" of Russia to western Europe are no longer afraid of "pan-Slavism." Doubtless many Germans are beginning to think of a future of neighborly relations with Russia. An intelligent, industrious Russian republic would furnish Germany a most stupendous market for all kinds of manufactured wares. The new Russia can have no desire except to live in a world of reasonableness and justice. We heard much last month of the mischievous peace propaganda that the Germans had been car-



HINDENBURG'S RADIO-TELEGRAM TO RUSSIA

"You know, Dear Russia, that I have loved you dearly for two hundred years and would like to live with you in peace. Why fight for England and France? I will give you my friendship and gold. I will send you cigars, silk, and beer. At your request I will with pleasure recall the Act of Independence of Poland and let this country be ruled again under your leadership. Time to make peace. Do not reject my propositions now because later I will not grant these terms. I will give you statesmen and counsellors for your government and a Prussian Prince for your throne. Darling, what more do you want?"

From Mucha (Moscow, Russia)

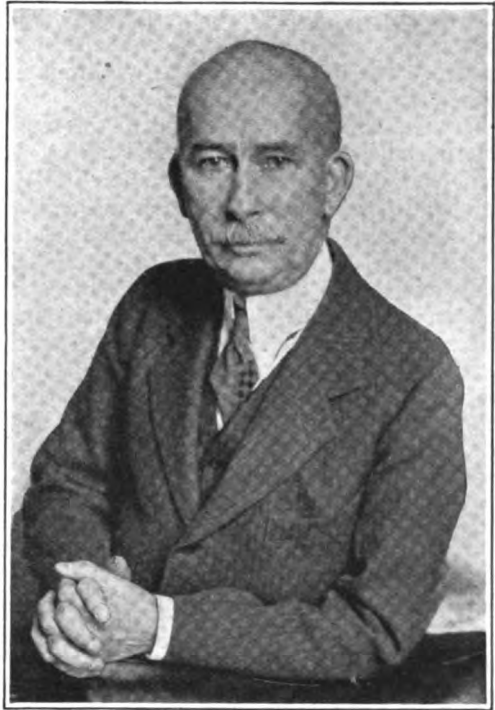
rying on in Russia. But something of the spirit of Russian freedom was, per contra, certain to invade Germany. Nothing can wholly prevent the working of the heaven. It is hard, indeed, in view of the sacrifices of the world-war, to have peace deferred. Yet peace with a Russian republic in place of the Czar's old autocracy may turn out to be the best thing possible for those who would see a new spirit arise among the Germans. Any peace awaits stable government.

*The Main
Object of
the War*

It must not be forgotten that this great world war is wholly unlike any other recent war, although it presents analogies that recall earlier struggles in Europe. The war is not to be won simply by direct military effort, with all the subsequent conditions to be laid down by victors. This is a war in which the objects are, to some extent at least, to be gained as the war goes along. Its principal object is to prove to mankind the superiority of the interlacings of a world-wide civilization over the separate groupings of national units. It is not Germany alone that must abandon those phases of nationalism, or of empire-seeking, that are harmful to human kind as a whole. All the peoples—not least the Germans themselves—are having a terrible demonstration of the meaning and value of worldwide association. Each nation is undergoing something of a chastening, and is facing the need of making its own due concessions to the general good. International society had progressed much faster than means had been provided for supporting it. National governments, being a law unto themselves, had not been capable of protecting the immense network of interests that did not own allegiance to any one government because they were worldwide.

*Beginning
the World-
Union*

In an excellent little book called "The Rebuilding of Europe" (see our notice of the book on page 662) Dr. David Jayne Hill has interpreted the conditions that are leading us to a necessary reconstruction of the world on the basis of facts. Nationalism does not fit existing human society. Internationalism, therefore, must be organized. The United States, in association with Great Britain, France, and the Allies, is already beginning to lay the foundations of this future order. Germany, while seemingly victorious, is suffering untold pangs and hardships from her present isolation. She can never conquer the



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COL. EDWARD M. HOUSE

(Colonel House, who went to Europe last month as the head of President Wilson's special mission to the Inter-Allied Conference—about which we write in subsequent pages—is an exponent of the constructive American view that would bring the nations together in union for future world progress while holding the Allies to an immediate program of unity in war management and strategy as well as in war aims.)

respect of the world by force of arms. But without the world's respect, her future is blighted and withered. She can only enlarge her place in the world by renouncing the principles and objects that now control her action. The paradox is not difficult to thoughtful minds in America and England, and men like Professor Foerster in Germany are grasping it.

*Italy
to Work in
Harness*

As for the unfortunate catastrophe that befell the army of Cadorna, our readers have the advantage of Mr. Simonds' admirable narrative and analysis in this number of the REVIEW, and we shall not here discuss it in its military significance. But from the standpoint of its bearings upon the larger issues of the future, we may be allowed to rise above discouragement. For this Italian situation has compelled not merely an emergency coöperation of the fighting elements of the Allies, but has given us increased hope for a better understanding, all along the line, of the na-

ture and meaning of the conflict. Italy was pursuing her own aims in too detached a fashion. She has her future to work out in coöperation with all of her neighbors, not otherwise. She is now entitled to the most determined help from the United States, as well as from England and France, in her struggle to overcome the forces of disintegration within, while pursuing the toilsome work of regaining an essential part of the actual Italy, which she has lost in her somewhat questionable pursuit of control all along the eastern shores of the Adriatic. There must be team work in war-making, and also in peace aims. Italy's disaster hastens the re-statement of the things for which the Allies are fighting, as well as the co-ordination of their strategy and pooling of their resources.

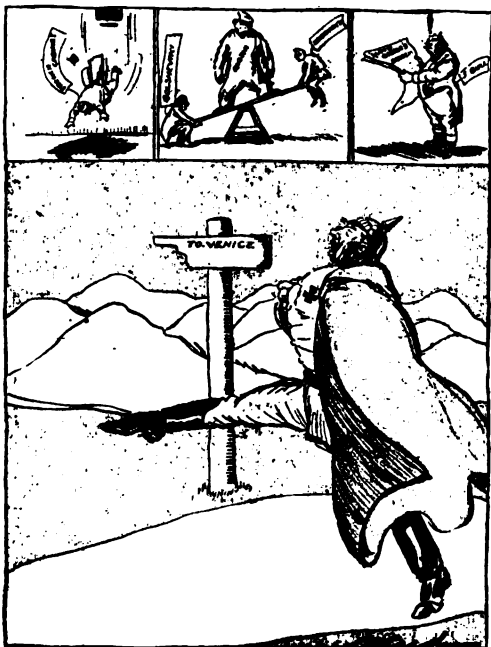
Business for a World Society

In this number of the REVIEW, Dr. Charles H. Levermore lays down a bold doctrine for international statesmen that may now hope to gain a respectful hearing, although it would have been accounted a futile dream only two or three years ago. He looks forward not only to an association of nations for keeping the peace, but for joint tasks of world development on the analogy of the acqui-

sition of the Western lands by our American confederation at the end of the war for independence. Some of Italy's aspirations could be best met along the lines proposed by Dr. Levermore. Nothing could be more favorable for the legitimate hopes of Greeks, Bulgarians, and Rumanians. The greatest domain to be administered by the united nations is the vast common heritage of the seven seas, with all the straits and passages, to be held secure for commerce and human intercourse. Asiatic Turkey is ultimately to be erected into a self-governing country; but it ought for a long time to be administered in trust under the auspices of a confederated world in order that peace and safety, education, public sanitation, and modern agriculture and industry, may replace the misrule of the past centuries. Dr. Levermore's brief article is not a casual production, but a result of long study and of mature conviction. We endorse his views, for our part, without reservation; and we commend them alike to self-seeking imperialists on both sides of the great war line-up.

Italy and the Allies

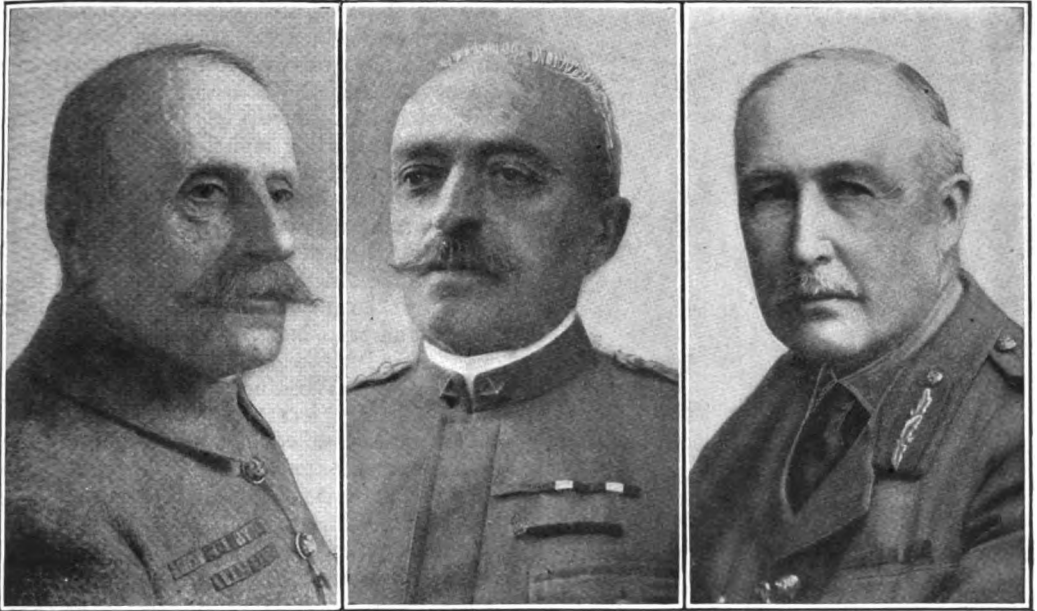
Unquestionably the retreat of General Cadorna's armies, caused by German strategy and attack—described for us so vividly in this number of the REVIEW by Mr. Simonds—had failed to produce dismay in the high military and political circles of the Allies. The Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France hurried to Italy in person, following their telegraphed promises of swift military aid. They took with them distinguished army officers and organized at once a military Inter-Allied council, consisting of the Italian leader, General Cadorna, the great French strategist, General Foch, and General Wilson, of the British General Staff, whose rank has been next to that of the chief of staff, General Robertson. Some of General Pershing's officers also accompanied the British and French. The Government at Washington immediately extended a new credit of \$230,000,000 to Italy for the purchase of supplies, and arranged to put a large tonnage of shipping at Italy's disposal which the Italian authorities themselves could not have secured. The great need of Italy was artillery; and the Allies took measures to make up this need to the extent of their ability. The military situation thus resulting is described for us by Mr. Simonds, and it remains chiefly to comment upon certain political consequences.



WHILE HE GOES MARCHING ON!

(The cartoonist represents the Kaiser as striding down the mountains towards Venice, while France, Russia, and Great Britain are each engaged in their own game of politics at home)

From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)



GENERAL FOCH GENERAL CARDONA GENERAL WILSON
THREE GENERALS SELECTED AS THE BEGINNING OF A WAR COUNCIL AFTER THE ITALIAN RETREAT

Lloyd George at Paris Returning from Italy to Paris, on his way home to England, Mr. Lloyd George, on November 12, attended a luncheon in his honor and made a speech of such sensational frankness that it will doubtless have made for itself a permanent place in the history of the war. M. Painlevé, the French Premier, had declared that absolute unity was requisite for future victory; and this furnished Mr. Lloyd George with his keynote. He reviewed the war and dealt in detail with the disasters that had overtaken Serbia, Rumania, and Russia. And then he reviewed the Italian campaign, leading up to the following statement, which in itself is the boldest criticism that any statesman high in authority, on either side of the war, has made since the summer of 1914:

As far as I am concerned, I had arrived at the conclusion that if nothing was changed I could no longer accept the responsibility for the direction of a war condemned to disaster from lack of unity.

Italy's misfortune may still save the alliance, because without it I do not think that even to-day we would have created a veritable superior council. National and professional traditions, questions of prestige and susceptibilities all conspired to render our best decisions vain. No one in particular bore the blame. The guilt was in the natural difficulty of obtaining of so many nations, of so many independent organizations, that they should amalgamate their individual particularities to act together as if they were one people.

The Premier went on to express his faith in the final triumph of the Allied cause, saying that he was sure that the United States and Russia would coöperate with Great Britain, France, and Italy in the work of the inter-Allied council.

Clemenceau at the Helm in France The echo of Premier Painlevé's fine phrase of November 12, "a single front, a single army, a single nation," was still ringing around the world and gaining approbation everywhere among the friends of the Allied cause, when word came of a sudden crisis in the French Chamber of Deputies, resulting in the resignation of the Painlevé ministry. It was soon clear to a puzzled world that this was not due to any lack of sympathy with the ministry's prompt support of Italy, nor to lack of belief in the plan of united military action. It was due to a political situation which Professor Painlevé was not masterful enough to deal with. There had been some serious scandals pointing to the corrupt use of German money in Paris, implicating certain newspaper publishers and some prominent politicians. One phase of this trouble in Paris was the visit to New York of a certain Parisian of Turkish origin, Paul Bolo Pacha, some time before our entrance into the war, the visitor's object having relation to the use of German money for propaganda purposes in France. Painlevé insisted upon



STEPHEN PICHON, THE NEW FRENCH MINISTER
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(For a picture of Premier Clémenceau, see Mr. Leon's article, page 609. Pichon, like Clémenceau, is a Paris journalist, as well as a statesman. Pichon is a great authority on French foreign relations, has been Foreign Minister before, and is a member of the French Senate.)

postponing further investigation of these matters until after the conference of the Allies, which had been scheduled for November 15. But the Chamber of Deputies preferred to deal with treason without further delay. As a result, a new cabinet was formed under the premiership of the veteran editor and statesman, Georges Clémenceau. The character and career of Clémenceau, and the conditions which have brought him to the front at this time, are most intelligently set forth for our readers by Mr. Maurice Léon, whose article will be found beginning on page 609. Clémenceau is a great friend of America, and in his early days practiced medicine in New York for several years. He is a strong supporter of the able French generals who are now in authority, and is fully as ready for unity among the Allies as was his predecessor.

*Political Stir
in
England*

Meanwhile, a tremendous commotion had been stirred up in England by Lloyd George's speech. Some of the things he criticized had happened before he became Prime Minister; and the friends of various generals, admirals, and ex-cabinet ministers felt it necessary to be resentful. Furthermore, there were many men in England who believed in

playing the exclusive game of the British Empire, and who were afraid of a real and sincere unity of war-aim and war-action among the Allies. These men pretended to think that Mr. Lloyd George was reflecting upon General Haig and General Robertson, and announced that these generals would throw up their commands if they were subjected in any way to the higher authority of an inter-Allied general staff. Lord Northcliffe and Lord Reading, who had headed important business missions in the United States, and who had for some days mysteriously failed to keep their engagements in New York, Washington, and elsewhere, were suddenly "located" across the Atlantic, having quietly sailed home in order to have a hand in the preliminaries of the inter-Allied conference that Colonel House and his associates had gone to attend. Such opportunities are never neglected by Lord Northcliffe, and he did not fail to rise to the situation.

*Northcliffe's
Grenade*

On November 15, Lord Northcliffe, from the London branch office of his mission to America, sent a letter to the Prime Minister which was immediately given to the newspapers of both hemispheres. It began by declining a place in the cabinet, thus informing the British public that Mr. Lloyd George had been urging Northcliffe to take control of the aviation department. He remarked that "after five months spent in the virile atmosphere of the United States and Canada," he had come back to find conditions that seemed to him deplorable in contrast to the "fervor and enthusiasm" of North America. He observed that there were men holding



FRANCE CLEANS HOUSE

"As you will—we sweep up your traces."

(The overthrow of the Painlevé ministry was due in large part to exposures following the apprehension of Bolo Pacha, French agent for German corruption)

From L'Echo (Paris)

high offices in England who were dallying "with such urgent questions as that of unity of war control, the eradication of sedition, mobilization of the whole man and woman power of the country, and the introduction of compulsory food rations." He criticized "obstruction and delay in certain departments in London," and found "the censorship still being misused," while there were "men in various positions of authority who should have been punished, but have been retained and in some cases elevated." He would not enter a cabinet to be gagged by a loyalty to colleagues who ought not to be in office. Lord Northcliffe further declared that he knew from countless conversations in the United States that "unless there is swift improvement in our methods here, the United States will rightly take into its own hands the entire management of a great part of the war. It will not sacrifice its blood and treasure to the incompetent handling of the affairs of Europe." He praised British army leaders, and Lloyd George himself.



LORD NORTHCLIFFE, OWNER OF THE LONDON "TIMES," THE "DAILY MAIL," AND OTHER NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

(Lord Northcliffe in England, like Clémenceau in France, understands the power of the press and has unflinching political courage. He stands for business efficiency in the war, and hates the dawdling of certain departments of the British Government)



THE PREMIER RUSHES THE AIR MINISTRY BILL THROUGH

From *Opinion* (London)

(This recent London cartoon shows how free is criticism of the Government in England. Out of hundreds of American cartoons examined in our editorial office during November, there was not one single reflection upon President Wilson. German cartoonists do not hesitate to attack the Chancellor. This particular cartoon refers to the recent establishment of a new cabinet post, the Air Ministry, with Lord Cowdray as first incumbent)

A Most
Well-Timed
Offensive

This letter of Northcliffe's made almost as much excitement as the Paris speech of the Prime Minister. It was at first quite generally thought by the American newspapers that Northcliffe was aiming to break down Lloyd George, and that he was unjustified in using American opinion as a club with which to assault the very chief who had sent him on his American mission. But the closer observers saw the affair in a totally different light. Northcliffe was simply helping Lloyd George to bring about the necessary reform of his administration along the line of the Premier's Paris speech. A first step, as a result of the Northcliffe letter, was taken when Lord Cowdray, in high dudgeon, resigned from his post as head of the Air Ministry. He had not known that his place was being offered to another man. A great debate in the House of Commons over Lloyd George's Paris speech and the proposal of a joint Allied war board was set for Monday, November 19. Mr. Asquith, the ex-Premier, criticized the plan and declared himself in favor of having each country go on fighting its own war in its own way. Nothing could have given the Prime Minister a better opportunity to uphold his position.

*Asquith
and the
Allied View*

Since Asquith was evidently the only man in sight with whom there was any chance of replacing Lloyd George, it was plain enough that his very first attack in this debate had rendered Lloyd George's retention as Premier a necessity. There had been made public in London, on that same day, a cablegram from President Wilson upholding the plan of joint action and going even further than Lloyd George had proposed. In these circumstances, if Mr. Asquith had been returned to supreme power, the Allied cause would have been dealt a severe blow all along the line—a much worse blow than the collapse of the Italian front. The Lloyd George cabinet had of necessity been composite in its make-up, various elements having had to be represented. The Premier could not have rearranged things without the aid given by the pressure of outside events. The Italian disaster, the Paris luncheon, the Northcliffe letter, the mission of Colonel House, the American demand for efficiency and coöperation—these things were all made to bear upon the English political situation. The prospect was that Lloyd George would remain as Prime Minister, but that he would be able to organize his government and his country more efficiently. Mr. Asquith had antagonized the overwhelming opinion of the Allied countries.

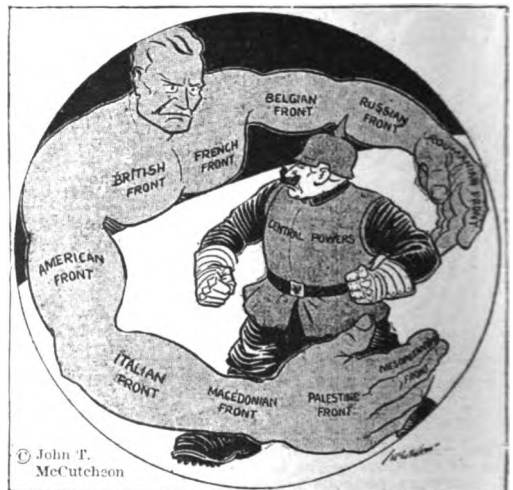
*The
American
Mission*

It is not the time to comment extensively upon the mission of Colonel House. His close relations with the President are well known. Secretary Lansing had, on November 7, announced the arrival in England of American commissioners who were to attend the Allied war conference in Paris later in the month. The membership of the commission had not been announced until after its safe arrival. Besides Colonel House, there was Admiral Benson of the Navy, General Bliss of the Army, Assistant Secretary Crosby of the Treasury, Mr. Vance McCormick, head of the War Trade Board, and representatives of two or three other important branches of war administration. These competent gentlemen at once entered into conferences having to do with army and navy matters, finances, shipping, food, and other things essential to the joint welfare of the Allied countries. Secretary Lansing had said that the conference was essentially one devoted to obtaining the highest war efficiency. It went about its affairs in a way

that seemed to reflect credit upon the practical good sense of the United States.

*The Program
of the
United States*

This conference abroad cannot possibly avoid some frank discussion of the part that America can and should play in the war. We have set out to do many things of great magnitude, all at the same time. The administration has, upon the whole, done well enough during the past six months to be able to afford the risk of facing without danger of embarrassment, a study, and perhaps a revision, of our larger program. The Administration is not under fire. It is being supported with unquestionable loyalty by the press and the business interests of the country. It is going its own gait, with no critics to disturb it. There has never been anything like this deference to an administration in the history of the United States, perhaps not in the history of any country. There never was a minute when Washington, Jackson, and Lincoln were not under sharp fire from all directions. Everyone is praising President Wilson, and it is hard to detect lack of sincerity in the praise, even from sources of former opposition. But Mr. Wilson is only one man. Hundreds and thousands of men at Washington are exercising unwanted authority. Perhaps some of them need to be criticized for not resigning in favor of abler and better men. If that be so, we are not yet definitely aware of it. Our system of fixed terms for the executive has many advantages, even if its inelasticity is



© John T.
McCutcheon

UNITED ACTION UNDER ONE HAND WOULD CRUSH
HIM

From the *Daily Tribune* (Chicago)

irksome at times. Congress is about to meet again, the winter term opening on Monday, December 3. Congress and the country will have the right to know, from the President and the executive departments, upon what scale and in what proportions they are conceiving of the total program of America at war, in order to make things work together.

*Making a
Business of
the War*

It is understood by the leaders of American thought and action that the country must organize itself more completely and resolutely during the coming year 1918 for helping the Allied cause to prevail. But there is no lack of confidence, and the American view is not panicky. It is perceived that for strictly military purposes the Germans, fighting from inside lines, have many strategic advantages. But all the other advantages are with the world-wide coalition that opposes Germany. The one logical chance Germany had to win the war lay in the success of the submarine campaign. With the relative failure of the submarines, the Allies could afford to proceed deliberately, because the future was surely in their hands. In the middle of November the sinkings had fallen to their lowest point, while the Allied naval meth-



© Harris & Ewing, Washington

MR. CHARLES A. PIEZ, IN EXECUTIVE CONTROL OF THE SHIPBUILDING PROGRAM

ods were beginning to tell strongly against the survival of the U-boats. There was still need of the utmost naval effort, and of extreme concentration upon the rapid building of new merchant ships. Fortunately, Mr. Hurley, at the head of our Shipping Board, is strengthening his organization every day and overcoming obstacles. Admiral Capps has the practical aid of an exceedingly capable Chicago business man, Charles A. Piez, who relieves our famous naval architect of the executive work of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. It has been of enormous importance that the handling of shipping in the port of New York, and the practical affairs of this greatest of all transportation terminals, should be thoroughly organized and controlled. A board has now been created for that purpose, under the supreme direction and control of Mr. Irving T. Bush. Mr. Bush is the man who has created the great shipping facilities known as the Bush Terminals on the Brooklyn water-front, and he is prime master of all the problems of water transportation.

*What Is
Our Chief
Function?*

While it is eminently necessary that the United States should have an army, it would be better for the purposes of the present war if the entire army were disbanded and the War



MR. IRVING T. BUSH, HEAD OF THE NEW YORK PORT WAR BOARD



© International Film Service

HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, ADDRESSING THE NAVAL RECRUITS AT THE GREAT LAKES TRAINING STATION

(It is interesting to note how important a part our Great Lakes—Michigan, Superior, Erie, and Ontario—are playing in the development of the Navy and the creation of a merchant marine. Ships built on the Great Lakes are taken through the Welland Canal to the ocean.)

Department abolished than that the other parts of our war efforts should be hampered by our ambition to mass men in army uniforms. This is not on our part a war of soldiers, but one of farms, machine-shops, ships and supplies. Russia had far too many men under arms, but too few guns, too little ammunition, a breakdown of transportation, and a shortage of food. The Italian collapse was due to a shortage of coal, steel, artillery, and supplies. The German victory over the Italians was purely due to a concentrated attack with heavy artillery. The Germans used very few soldiers in this offensive. France needs our wheat, our aeroplanes, our steel and other supplies far more than she needs any of our boys in the trenches. We have some officers of repute in the Army who to-day are demanding that the United States should, at the earliest possible moment, put from three million to five million men on the fighting front in France. The Germans could desire nothing so much as this kind of misdirected American energy, which would seriously imperil the cause of our allies. Our agriculture, our war industries, and our land and sea transportation facilities, are the American essentials in this war. Along with these three essentials, the Navy takes equal rank as a fourth. Fifth in importance should be named the special forms of service requiring high training and

relatively few men, such as the aviation program and other activities of the Signal Corps, the medical and Red Cross programs, and the work of the army engineers. We are in great danger of making a standing army too fast, and of taking men away from agriculture and industry. The most highly skilled and most essential labor in the country is what ignorant people call "ordinary farm labor." It takes longer training to make a good farm laborer than to make a high official in the bureau that lays down the draft regulations. Those who have studied the subject understand what France has had to bear, and sympathize with the French desire to have our men in the trenches. But we cannot finance the war, feed Europe, build ships, and create war supplies for our allies abroad, and at the same time maintain an army of several million men, four thousand miles away from its main centers of supply.

*Essential
War
Situations*

In seizing Poland and Courland, Germany obtained control of the most highly industrial parts of Russia. Her absorption of the coal mines, and the iron-and-steel industries of Belgium and northern France, enlarged her own supplies and put the French in a position of dependence upon England and the United States. Germany's drive into northern Italy renders the Italians more than ever in dire

need of coal, steel, heavy guns, and ammunition. Since the whole Western front, from the North Sea to the Adriatic, is to be unified, it becomes plain that the Allies have a great surplus of soldiers, but are relatively short of those materials—food, cotton, and all sorts of war supplies—that America alone can furnish in reliable abundance. At present we can do nothing for Russia. The Kerensky and Lenine socialistic factions seem to have been eliminating one another. For some time in November the extremists, or Maximalists, under Lenine and Trotzky, were in control of Petrograd and Moscow. While these pages are in the press, almost anything may have happened in Russian politics. There seem to be certain fundamental capacities for peace and order, however, inherent in the Russian nature, and we cannot be wholly pessimistic. The Italians will almost certainly have to see Venice occupied by the Germans, but there is reason to believe that the line of the Adige River can be held. The Allies will begin to make war.

*America,
Japan, and
China*

The Chinese have been somewhat disturbed by the agreement between the United States and Japan, which was announced by our State Department as a result of the mission of Viscount Ishii. Our recognition of the fact that Japan has special interests in China is by no means to be construed as admitting that China is not wholly sovereign within her own territories. Mr. Lansing's understanding of the affair is in the highest sense honorable, and is in keeping with our demand for a new order of open dealing, and of scrupulous regard for the rights of all nations. Until there is reason to take a contrary view, we must believe that Japan is no less sincere in this matter than is Uncle Sam. China's chief business is to put her own household in order, and to rise to the great opportunity that lies before her in a world of honest friends and good neighbors. Along with this agreement, Japan takes over a much enlarged task of maritime policing in the Pacific, and proposes to put merchant tonnage at our disposal. We can afford to pay Japan well for this tonnage, and to give her as much steel as we can spare for her ships now building. We can also afford, at the same time, to make China a handsome war loan with which she may strengthen the pillars of her new republic, and may prepare to render some definite aid to the cause of the Allies, such as may be assigned to her by the



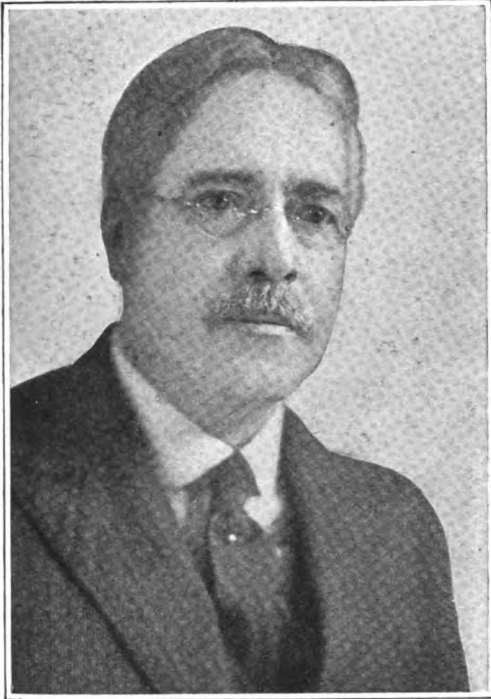
NIKOLAI LENINE (ON THE RIGHT) AND HIS CHIEF AID, LEON TROTZKY

(The seizure of the Russian Government by Lenin and Trotzky, and the overthrow of Kerensky, formed the great sensation of last month at Petrograd. These men are ranting Socialists of no previous practical experience in large affairs. Their early overthrow was to be expected)

great inter-Allied council that is now forming. The "yellow peril" now disappears.

*Interpreting
the War
Tax*

The heads of business in America have been in deep water, since the passage of the War Revenue bill, in their attempts to find out just what the excess profits tax means to them. The certainty that tens of thousands of corporations and firms will be called on next spring to pay extremely large sums into the national treasury—in many cases very much more than their entire normal cash holdings—makes some approximate estimate of the size of the tax a matter of vital concern. The wording and arrangement of the excess profits section of the Revenue bill were so loose, ambiguous and illogical that business men have been in utter confusion over the application of the law to their individual operations. A particular concern might show a book profit for 1917 of ten million dollars, and suspect that nearly a half of this sum would be called for by the excess profits law. The concern in question



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HON. FRANK A. VANDERLIP

(The New York banker who has taken charge of the great new system for raising money to support the Government's activities by the sale of thrift stamps and small interest-bearing certificates)

might have a normal cash balance of not more than half the probable tax and would therefore be confronted on the one hand with the task of slowing up operations to some extent or on the other of having to borrow money to pay its tax. With the available funds for lending so largely drawn on by the nation's needs, it became absolutely necessary to figure out closely the tax demands.

*The
Puzzle
Solvers*

It will be of great help in this puzzling situation to have the Commission—appointed on November 13, by Secretary McAdoo—to interpret the excess profits provisions of the law. This advisory board of nine members will act as a court of appeals for the Internal Revenue Bureau on all questions arising from the operations of the excess profits law. The membership of the commission is so made up as to give the widest representation to the business interests of the country. Thus, Representative Hull, from the House, is found in company with Dr. T. S. Adams, of Yale; Wallace D. Simmons, of the great St. Louis hardware firm; J. E. Sterrett, of Price, Waterhouse & Co., accountants; S. R.

Bertron, a New York banker; E. T. Meredith, editor of a Western farm paper; T. W. McCullough, editor of the *Omaha Bee*; Stewart W. Cramer, a Southern cotton manufacturer, and Henry Walters, of the Atlantic Coast Line railroad. The appointment of such a commission is a very necessary and wise step, indeed, in an almost hopelessly confused situation.

*A
Concrete Tax
Estimate*

Naturally most of the largest corporations have made an attempt to calculate the amount that the excess profits tax will take from them. The United States Steel Corporation, whose accounting and statistical operations have in many ways been models for large manufacturing organizations, has published its estimate of the contribution it will make, from current earnings, to the National treasury. For the quarter ending September 30 last, the Corporation showed net earnings of \$131,976,797; of this it expects to pay no less than \$63,733,013, to cover both the income and excess profits taxes. For the whole year this single concern will probably pay in taxes more than a quarter of a billion dollars (\$250,000,000).

*Ten Billion
More Needed
By June*

In his Baltimore address on November 14, Secretary McAdoo stated that the Administration's war program would require no less than ten billion dollars more revenue than the nation has provided to date, to be raised by June 30, 1918. This staggering sum is to be made up by new bond issues, certificates of indebtedness, war-savings certificates, and, possibly, further taxation. The task of getting it will be taken up actively after the first of the year, the third Liberty bond issue being scheduled for February next. The Secretary estimated that the ten billions would cover the initial expenses of the war and leave the nation with a substantial balance in its treasury on July 1, 1918. He believes that the flotations of the first and second Liberty loans will make the call for further and larger loans easier to carry to a successful conclusion rather than harder. In October the Government spent \$42,600,000, on the average, for each working day; and the Treasury officials promise that this rate will soon be doubled. Of the total expenditures this year of three and a half billion dollars, a little more than half has gone as loans to the Allies. Of the October disbursements, \$395,000,000 was required for our own

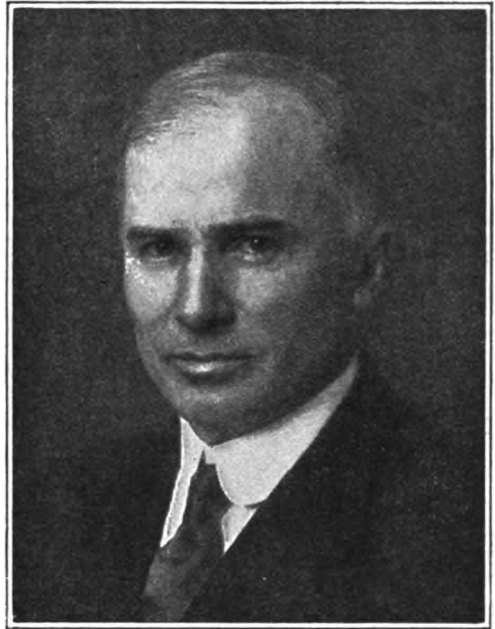
Army and Navy, the Shipping Board, the Aircraft Production Board, the Food Administration, and the ordinary Governmental activities. The Government's receipts during October were almost twenty times those of the same month in 1916, and were in excess of the expenditures for the month.

**Thrift and
War Savings
Certificates**

On November 15, Secretary McAdoo and Frank A. Vanderlip, Chairman of the War Savings Committee, made banquet addresses to the State and district directors of the campaign for encouraging thrift and for investing the results of it in the new war-savings certificates. The sale of the certificates begins actively on December 2, and it is hoped that \$2,000,000,000 will be obtained from them. The special significance of this dinner occasion lay in the emphatic exhortations of Secretary McAdoo and Mr. Vanderlip to the men and women of the nation to refrain from buying unnecessary articles. It was pointed out that such thrift would not only enable a multitude of small investors to furnish sums of money, large in the aggregate, for war needs, but would also release labor employed in producing the non-essential things to be used in the vital work of supporting our armies in the field. President Wilson said later that even the unheard-of money expenditures of the war would be worth while if they resulted in cultivating national habits of thrift, care and self-denial. The dinner which saw the launching of the war-savings plan was arranged to be consistent with the idea of frugality. Instead of the usual banquet of many courses, costing perhaps five dollars, a three-course repast was served at a cost of less than one-third as much, and consisting of soup, chicken, two vegetables and ice-cream.

**Huge Demands
From Railroad
Employees**

Consternation prevailed among railroad managers when it became known, early in November, that 170,000 conductors and brakemen were about to demand large increases in wages, the aggregate being estimated at \$109,000,000 per year. As it is certain the roads cannot now stand such an addition to their payrolls, and as the men had proceeded to ballot on a strike program, the situation looked serious indeed until President Wilson took it in hand and let it be known that he was ready to take over the railroads and operate them in the national interests rather than have them tied up with a country-wide



HON. DANIEL WILLARD

(The railroad president who has become head of the War Industries Board, one of the two or three chief agencies through which America is doing her part to help end the war)

strike. A conference at the White House with the chiefs of the railroad brotherhoods was arranged for November 22; but several days earlier than that date it was announced that the men would accept an offer of mediation and, perhaps, of arbitration.

That the transportation problem of the country is at a serious stage was freely admitted by the railroad presidents in statements issued by the members of the Railroad War Board in the middle of November. Since the entry of the United States into the war, the volume of traffic has increased more than 16 per cent. The winter impediments to the moving of trains will come at a time when the roads are confronted with a totally unprecedented volume of traffic, and with inability to buy all the cars and other equipment they need even when they have the requisite money or credit. For the manufacturers of the country are being driven at such fever heat, and so much of their output must be distinctly war material, that the railways can only obtain a certain fraction of the output. With this situation confronting them the managers of the roads are seriously considering the placing of a general embargo on a great number of different ar-

**An Embargo on
Non-essential
Commodities?**



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MR. HENRY P. DAVISON, OF NEW YORK
(Mr. Davison, as head of the Red Cross War Board, is directing the great work with the highest efficiency)

ticles that may be classified as non-essential. The traffic officers of the railways have prepared a list of about 450 commodities to be thus classified, which the public could forego without inconvenience; and they have made another list of about 75 articles which might also be dispensed with, but not without inconvenience. These lists have been turned over to Judge Lovett, Director of Priority, and Dr. Garfield, Fuel Administrator. Mr. Fairfax Harrison, in a public statement, gave it as the opinion of the railway presidents that the roads can certainly transport all commodities required by the Government to carry on the war, and also those needed by the people for their subsistence and comfort, if the non-essential things are eliminated. Such an embargo will not be put into effect until there is real need.

Elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW will be found excellent articles describing the great work now carried on by the American Red Cross, and also pictures and information relating to the extraordinary development of the work of the Young Men's Christian Association to meet the needs of soldiers. In the middle of November a campaign to raise \$35,000,000 for the war-camp work of the Y. M. C. A. met with enthusiastic response. The country will gladly support this work, upon whatever scale of magnitude it may be

laid out. It has the official sanction of the War and Navy departments and of all the officers in control of cantonments, camps, and stations. In like manner, the noble efforts of the Red Cross will find the country more ready to give a second one hundred million dollars than it was to give the first like sum a few months ago.

Elections Last Month

On November 6, Governor Samuel W. McCall was re-elected in Massachusetts by a majority creditable to the character and intelligence of the Commonwealth. The Hon. Westmoreland Davis was elected Governor of Virginia by sweeping majorities throughout the State. In the State of New York the referendum on woman suffrage was the only important issue, and by an unexpected majority of more than 91,000 (out of 1,200,000 votes cast) the suffragists won their cause. The voters of Ohio at the same time rejected woman suffrage by a majority of 136,000. Prohibition was rejected in Ohio by a very close vote, but adopted in New Mexico. The overwhelming defeat of Mayor Mitchel and his associates on the Fusion ticket, in the New York municipal election, seems to have been due to many different factors. Tammany comes back with immense majorities.

Mitchel's Fine Record

All of those who have taken the lead in denouncing the Mitchel administration are aware that in its general conduct of the affairs of the metropolis it has made an unsurpassed record. Mayor Mitchel's standing in the community has suffered nothing from his defeat. Socialists and pacifists supported Morris Hillquit, a Socialist lawyer of ability, who came to New York from Russia. He won almost as many votes as Mayor Mitchel. The Mayor's tremendous onslaughts upon the record of the Tammany candidate, a local Brooklyn judge named Hylan, had the useful effect of bringing out from this man a declaration of loyalty to the war measures of President Wilson. So abnormal was the local situation, New York being a city of vast foreign elements, that Mayor Mitchel was probably justified in turning his campaign upon the issues of the war. He lost at the polls, but he seems to have gained a victory in what he did to help clear the atmosphere. Tammany in power again will find it less easy now than in the past to loot and disgrace the town.

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From October 22 to November 20, 1917)

The Last Part of October

October 23.—The French launch a new drive north of the Aisne, between Soissons and Rheims, piercing the German line to a depth of two miles on a front of six miles.

French authorities publish later information regarding the Zeppelin raid of October 20; two machines were entirely destroyed by French airplanes, one was captured undamaged, and two others drifted away disabled.

J. Louis Barthou becomes Minister of Foreign Affairs in France, succeeding ex-Premier Ribot.

October 24.—A German and Austro-Hungarian army, with preponderant artillery, begins a drive against the Italian positions south of Tolmino, on the Bainsizza Plateau.

Withdrawal of the German line in Russia, north of the Dvina (begun on October 20) reaches in some places a depth of fifteen miles.

Great Britain hands over to Sweden pouches of diplomatic mail which had been seized at Halifax.

October 25.—The French renew their attack northeast of Soissons and make a further advance of one and a half miles; the number of prisoners taken in three days exceeds 12,000.

October 26.—The Brazilian Senate and Chamber of Deputies, with but one dissenting vote, authorize a declaration of war on Germany, in response to the recommendation of President Braz and following the sinking of a fourth Brazilian merchant vessel by a German submarine, in the Bay of Biscay.

The Austro-German offensive against the Italians, having broken through, causes the Italians to withdraw over a wide front, abandoning positions that had been gained only after many months of difficult operations.

The Italian cabinet under Premier Boselli resigns when the Chamber of Deputies refuses a vote of confidence, 96 to 314; the ministry had held office since June 18, 1916.

The United States Navy Department announces that since April 1, 1917, twenty-six men in the Navy have lost their lives in active service and five have been captured.

October 27.—It is officially announced from the American headquarters in France that some American soldiers are in the first-line trenches of a quiet sector, as part of their training for instruction purposes.

Subscriptions for the United States Government "Second Liberty Loan" are closed, with a total of \$4,617,532,300 from 9,500,000 subscribers; bonds will be issued for \$3,808,766,150 (the three billion offered and 50 per cent. of the excess).

The German report of the Italian retreat declares that 65,000 prisoners and 500 guns have already been captured; the announcement states that Emperor Charles of Austria is in personal leadership, although Gen. Otto von Below is believed to be in real command.

The American steamship *D. N. Luckenbach* is sunk by an unobserved submarine off the French coast.

October 28.—The advancing Austro-German armies occupy Gorizia, a strategically important point held by the Italians since the summer of 1916.

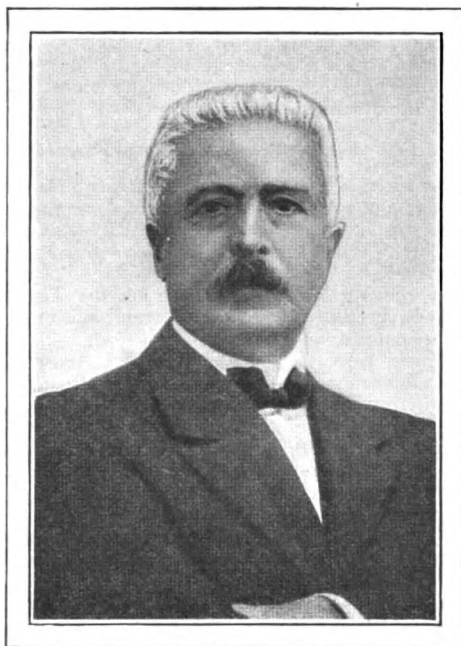
October 29.—Premier Lloyd George declares in the House of Commons that since the beginning of the war the British navy has successfully guarded the transportation of 13,000,000 men with a loss of only 3,500; 76,000,000 tons of munitions, supplies, and fuel were also transported.

October 30.—Count George F. von Hertling (Prime Minister of Bavaria) becomes Imperial German Chancellor, succeeding Dr. Michaelis, who had held office less than four months.

Prof. Vittorio Orlando (recently Minister of the Interior) forms a cabinet in Italy, succeeding Premier Boselli. Baron Sonnino remains as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Udine, the most important railroad center in northern Italy, and headquarters of the Italian army, is occupied by Austro-German forces.

The United States extends an additional credit of \$230,000,000 to Italy (making a total of \$485,000,000), and plans to make available immediately 100,000 tons of shipping.



VITTORIO ORLANDO, NEW PREMIER OF ITALY

(Who formed a ministry when the Boselli cabinet was overthrown as a result of the Austro-German invasion)



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GEN. OTTO VON BELOW

(Leader of the Austro-German invasion of Italy)

A British war credit of \$2,000,000,000 is asked in the House of Commons, to last until January; the total for the year is \$9,500,000,000, and for the whole war \$23,460,000,000; current expenditures are at the rate of \$33,240,000 daily.

October 31.—British forces from Egypt, under General Allenby, attack and occupy Beersheba, in Palestine.

The United States lends \$435,000,000 to England, the largest single credit to any of the Allies; loans to England total \$1,860,000,000, while to all Allies the amount is \$3,566,400,000.

The First Week of November

November 1.—The United States Navy Department announces that the transport *Finland* was struck by a torpedo while homeward bound, but was able to reach a French port; nine persons lost their lives.

The retiring Italian armies reach the Tagliamento River line, behind which they hope to halt the German advance.

Premier Kerensky is quoted by an Associated Press interviewer as declaring that Russia is worn out by the strain of war, and that the other Allies should shoulder the burden; he also inquired where the British fleet was when the German fleet was operating against the Russians in the Baltic.

The United States steamer *Rochester* (armed) is torpedoed and sunk while homeward bound, off the Irish coast, nineteen of the crew and naval guard losing their lives.

November 3.—The German War Office announces the first capture of American soldiers, as the result of a reconnoitering thrust at the Rhine-Marne Canal.

The first clash of American and German sol-

diers results in the death of three Americans, with eleven wounded and eleven captured; the Germans had cut off, with a heavy barrage fire, a section of an American trench and then raided it.

British and French soldiers (artillery regiments) arrive on the Italian front.

The British Admiralty reports the sinking of a small German auxiliary cruiser and ten armed patrol craft, in the Cattegat, between Sweden and Denmark.

November 5.—Austro-German troops in Italy cross the Tagliamento River, north of Pinzano.

The American patrol boat *Alcedo*, a converted yacht, is sunk by a German submarine in the war zone, twenty-one of the crew being lost.

November 6.—Canadian troops carry the entire village of Passchendaele (dominating Roulers), in the climax of a series of operations begun on October 25.

German official reports announce that Teutonic forces have crossed the Tagliamento River along the whole front.

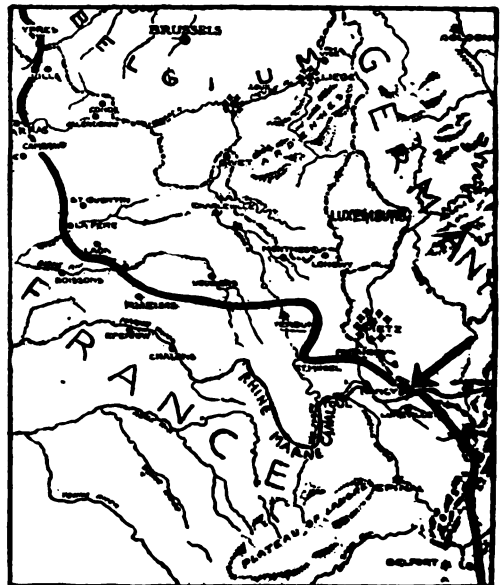
November 7.—In Petrograd, the Maximalist Revolutionary Committee seizes the telegraph agency, the state bank, and the parliament building.

An American war commission arrives in Great Britain, to attend an Allied war conference at Paris; the commission is headed by Col. E. M. House, the President's confidential adviser, and includes Admiral Benson (Chief of Naval Operations), General Bliss (Chief of Staff), Vance McCormick (chairman of the War Trade Board), and others.

British troops in Palestine capture Gaza, near the Mediterranean coast, after several days' fighting.

The Second Week of November

November 8.—A second revolution in Russia, directed against the government of Premier Ker-



WHERE THE GERMANS REPORT THAT AMERICAN TROOPS ARE IN FIRST-LINE TRENCHES

ensky, is announced by "the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Central Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Deputies"—the Bolsheviks, or Maximalist faction of Radical Socialists; the program announced is an immediate democratic peace, an immediate handing-over of lands to the peasants, and the convocation of a constitutional assembly.

The Premiers of England, France, and Italy, together with high military officials, confer at Rome on measures to meet the Austro-German invasion of Italy.

An official German report places the number of Italian prisoners in the present offensive at 250,000, with 2,300 guns.

November 9.—The Russian Maximalist leader, Nikolai Lenine, declares the plan of his faction (now in control of the government) to be "an immediate armistice of three months, during which elected representatives from all the nations, and not the diplomats, are to settle questions of peace."

Moscow comes under control of the revolutionary party in Russia, after fighting in the streets, which resulted in 700 casualties.

The Allied conference at Rome creates a Supreme War Council, composed of the Prime Minister and a member from each Government, together with a permanent military representative from each; General Cadorna (Italy), General Foch (France), and Major-General Sir Henry Wilson (Great Britain) are named as military members.

Gen. Armando Diaz becomes commander-in-chief of the Italian armies.

November 10.—The Italian army reforms behind the lower Piave River, the last natural barrier to the Austro-German advance toward Venice.

A cabinet is formed by the Russian Bolsheviks, with Nikolai Lenine as Premier and Leon Trotzky as Minister of Foreign Affairs; the Minister of Marine is a sailor, and the Minister of Labor is a laborer.

In Finland, a provisional soldiers' committee appoints a sailor as commissary in place of the Governor-General.

November 12.—Premier Lloyd-George, speaking in Paris on lack of coöperation among the Allies, recalls with "brutal frankness" the Serbian "tragedy" of 1915, its repetition in Rumania in 1916, and the present Italian disaster; at the same function, Premier Painleve states the program for future Allied victory as "a single front, a single army, a single nation."

A third unit of American troops enters the first-line trenches for instruction and experience.

November 13.—The French Chamber of Deputies refuses a vote of confidence in the Painleve ministry, by vote of 186 to 277, and the Premier resigns; the ministry had been in office just two months (see page 609).

November 14.—Kerensky, head of the recognized government in Russia, flees from Petrograd in disguise, to escape arrest by the revolutionists.

British shipping losses from submarines and mines, as reported by the British Admiralty for the week ending November 11, show the sinking of only one vessel of over 1,600 tons, as against a weekly average of fifteen during October.



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HON. A. MITCHELL PALMER, CUSTODIAN OF ENEMY PROPERTY

(Mr. Palmer was appointed to the new office late in October. He has broad powers to seize and hold in trust until the end of the war all German property of a business nature—including money, food and other supplies in storage, real estate, and German-controlled commercial enterprises)

The Third Week of November

November 15.—Georges Clémenceau, former Premier, agrees to form a cabinet in France.

Lord Northcliffe, the British newspaper publisher, in declining to head a new Air Ministry, criticizes "dallying" policies in the British Government while the United States and Canada are asked to make immense sacrifices and are proceeding with war preparations with fervor and enthusiasm; he declares that unless there is swift improvement in British methods the United States will rightly assume entire management of a great part of the war.

It is reported from Venice that all but 20,000 of the population of 160,000 have left the city.

The Danish Minister of the Interior declares that the cessation of supplies from America threatens Denmark with ruin.

November 16.—The completed Clémenceau ministry in France shows Radical preponderance, with most members not previously associated with active conduct of the war.

Italy's defense of the lower Piave River region takes the form of releasing waters held back by dikes and flooding a triangular piece of lowland twelve miles on each side.

The British advance northward in Palestine reaches within three miles of Jaffa; the number of Turkish prisoners taken during November is announced as 9,000.

November 17.—Professor Jan Kucharczywski is



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THE ZEPPELIN AIRSHIP "L 49"

(Brought down by French airplanes on October 19—
the first Zeppelin to be taken whole)

appointed first Premier of the new Polish State.

The British army in Palestine occupies Jaffa, the Mediterranean port thirty miles west of Jerusalem.

November 18.—It is announced at Tokio that

efforts to obtain Japanese shipping for United States steel have ended in failure; the Japanese hold that the transfer of shipping would destroy their European trade.

November 19.—Premier Lloyd George defends his policies in the British House of Commons, justifying in particular his advocacy of an inter-Allied Supreme War Council and also the defense against submarine attacks on shipping.

It is reported from London that Colonel House, head of the American mission to the Allied conference, has been informed by President Wilson that the United States considers unity of control to be essential.

November 20.—Colonel House and the American mission hold their first formal conference with Premier Lloyd George and other British officials at London.

The Italians continue to hold the line of the Piave River, but reports indicate that the massing of Austro-German troops at the northern end may result in the forcing of the Italian defenses and the evacuation of Venice.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From October 22 to November 20, 1917)

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

October 22.—A Custodian of Enemy Property (A. Mitchell Palmer) is appointed by the President.

October 24.—Command of American transports, including the entire personnel, is transferred from the Army to the Navy.

October 26.—The Indiana woman-suffrage law is declared by the State Supreme Court to be in violation of the State constitution, which defines voters as male citizens.

October 27.—The President authorizes an advance of 45 cents a ton for bituminous coal at the mines.

November 1.—The District of Columbia becomes "dry" by Congressional enactment, and 269 bars go out of existence.

November 6.—Elections are held in several States:

In Massachusetts, Governor Samuel W. McCall (Rep.) is reelected, defeating Frederick W. Mansfield (Dem.), his opponent in 1916, by an increased plurality.

In Virginia, Westmoreland Davis (Dem.) is elected Governor, defeating Thomas J. Muncy (Rep.).

A woman-suffrage amendment is adopted by the voters of New York State, 646,500 to 555,000, while a similar amendment is rejected in Ohio by 136,000 majority.

State-wide prohibition is rejected by the voters of Ohio, 522,430 to 524,153, and adopted in New Mexico by a majority of 15,000.

In New York City, John F. Hylan (Dem.) is elected Mayor, defeating Mayor Mitchel (Fusion) by a record plurality; the Socialist candidate polls nearly five times as many votes as his party

received in the last election; the entire Democratic city and borough tickets are elected.

November 9.—The Fuel Administration prohibits the use of electric display signs in New York and other large cities, except between the hours of 7:45 and 11; it is estimated that the ruling will save 8,000 tons of coal monthly.

November 10.—The personnel of the Government's Emergency Fleet Corporation is again changed, and a civilian—Charles Piez, of Chicago—is brought in to assume entire charge of shipbuilding and expedite construction.

November 12.—The President addresses the convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Buffalo, pleading for cooperation with other classes and groups in the endeavor to release the spirit of the world from bondage.

November 14.—The War Department's plans are announced for dividing into five classes the young men who were registered for military service on June 5 and who have not yet been drawn into the National Army.

Railroad labor leaders are summoned to confer with President Wilson at the White House on November 22; a strike is threatened by the refusal of the four railway brotherhoods to accept mediation and arbitration of new wage demands.

November 19.—The President appoints Daniel Willard (president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and chairman of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense) as chairman of the War Industries Board.

The spokesman for the railroads of the country declares to the Board of Mediation and Conciliation that in the event of a labor crisis the railroads are ready to place their interests in the hands of the President for protection and disposition in the public interest.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

October 27.—The Spanish cabinet under Premier Eduardo Dato (in office since June) resigns after constant domestic political crises.

November 2.—Marquis Manuel Garcia Prieto (who served as Premier from April to June of the present year) agrees to form a coalition ministry in Spain.

November 14.—Followers of General Villa, in Mexico, attack and occupy the border town of Ojinaga, the federal garrison crossing into Texas and surrendering to American troops.

November 16.—The Premier of China, Tuan Chi-jui, resigns.

November 17.—General Villa, the Mexican bandit and revolutionary leader, in hiding since the Mexican punitive expedition of 1916, proclaims from Ojinaga a new revolution against the "traitor and despot," President Carranza.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

November 2.—The American Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, and Viscount Ishii, special ambassador from Japan, establish an agreement whereby "the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China," and both governments declare "they always will adhere to the principle of the so-called 'open door,' or equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China."

November 12.—China makes formal protest to the United States against the American-Japanese agreement, declaring that it will not be bound by agreements entered into by other nations.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

October 22.—Two Italian airplanes fly from Norfolk, Va., to Mineola, N. Y. (330 miles), one in 2 hours and 55 minutes, and the other, with eight passengers, in 4 hours and 2 minutes.

October 24.—The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimate that food prices increased 47 per cent. in the four years from August, 1913.

October 28.—Eight inches of rain in Natal, South Africa, after months of abnormal rainfall, causes the overflow of rivers and drowns nearly 1,000 natives.

October 30.—Fire destroys railroad freight yards, piers, and shipping at Baltimore, the damage amounting to \$5,000,000; it is estimated that in three fires during October, of incendiary origin, \$10,000,000 worth of food supplies was destroyed.

OBITUARY

October 24.—J. Carroll Beckwith, the portrait painter, 64. . . . Rev. James A. Worden, D.D., of Philadelphia, long prominent in Presbyterian Sunday School work, 76. . . . Sir William James Herschel, the English authority on fingerprint identification, 84.

October 26.—Rev. Isaac Morgan Atwood, D.D., a noted Universalist minister, educator, and editor, 80.

October 28.—Dr. William Porter, professor of Latin in Beloit College (Wisconsin), 97.

October 30.—Elisha B. Andrews, former president of Brown University and afterwards chancellor of the University of Nebraska, 73. . . .



QUEEN LILIUOKALANI
(The last royal ruler of
Hawaii)



AUGUSTE RODIN
(The famous French
sculptor)

Gen. Charles H. Grosvenor, Civil War veteran and former Member of Congress from Ohio, 84. . . . Gen. William Gates LeDuc, a Minnesota pioneer, at one time Commissioner of Agriculture, 94. . . . "Private" John Allen, Confederate veteran and former Member of Congress from Mississippi, 74.

November 2.—W. Godfrey Hunter, former Member of Congress from Kentucky and ex-Minister to Guatemala, 76. . . . Rear-Adm. David M. Harmony, U. S. N., retired, 85.

November 3.—Rear-Adm. Frederick Rogers, U. S. N., retired, 75. . . . Brig-Gen. Henry Clay Hodges, U. S. A., retired, 86.

November 6.—William H. Kendal, a prominent English actor and theatrical manager, 74.

November 8.—Dr. Adolph Wagner, professor of jurisprudence and political economy at the University of Berlin for forty-six years, 82.

November 9.—John D. Crimmins, the New York banker, philanthropist, and pioneer constructor of street railways and sewers in New York City, 73. . . . Rev. Moseley H. Williams, D. D., of Philadelphia, a widely-known Congregational preacher and editor, 78.

November 10.—Dr. Hans Kudlich, of Hoboken, N. J., prominent in the revolutionary movement for a liberal government in Austria in 1848, 94.

November 11.—Liliuokalani, former Queen of Hawaii and composer of native music, 79.

November 13.—Robert M. Galloway, formerly a prominent New York banker and railway official, 81. . . . James P. McNichol, prominent in Philadelphia Republican politics, 53.

November 15.—John W. Foster, Secretary of State under President Harrison, and for many years in the diplomatic service, 81.

November 17.—Auguste Rodin, the famous French sculptor, 77. . . . Dr. John Paine Mall, professor of anatomy at the Johns Hopkins Medical School, 55.

November 18.—Major-Gen. Sir Frederick Stanley Maude, commander of the successful British army in Mesopotamia, 53.

HOW RUSSIA SEES HERSELF



DOCTOR'S CONSULTATION

RUSSIAN PATIENT: "Doctor, some medicine, please, I feel very weak."

AMERICAN DOCTOR: "Madam, first you must get rid of these naughty boys (Lenine and Bolsheviki). In their presence even my injections will not stimulate you."

From Mucha (Moscow)



AT THE FRONT

Duma and Kerensky are all right. They order us to fight the Germans while we have work enough for three months to remove from our epaulets the insignia of the old Czar.

From Mucha (Moscow)



PRECOCIOUS

NEW BORN REVOLUTIONARY: "Now I will set all their matches on fire. It will be wonderful to see the conflagration. The world never has seen such a sight!"

From Mucha (Moscow)



ON RUSSIAN FRONT

GERMANS: "These two 'soldiers' are sufficient to keep the Russian army in check to the end of the war, and we can now attack the English at Ypres! Hurrah!"

From Mucha (Moscow)



ANARCHIST PRINCIPLES

VOICE AT WINDOW: "Who is that? Oh, Kropotkin! Say, you are also an anarchist. Hold this swag for me till I can get down."

From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

(After the seizure of the state bank, Premier Lenine is reported to have proffered his personal check for millions of dollars)



How Pompeii fell.



LAST DAYS

How Petrograd will fall.

From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)



BOLSHEVIKI: "BE CAREFUL, BEAR, YOU MIGHT HURT HIM!"

From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)



FROM WASHINGTON TO PETROGRAD

PRESIDENT WILSON: "My delegation has already arrived in Petrograd. If they fail to teach the Russians common sense then the only measure left will be a common English-French-American-Japanese bath."

From *Mucha* (Moscow)



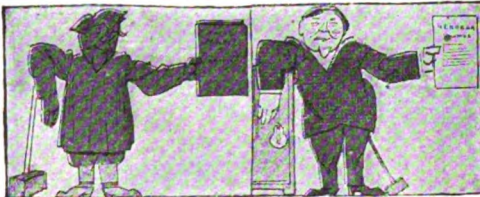
Worship 1914

Worship 1917

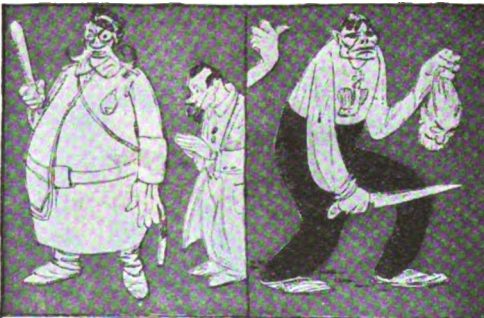


Soldier 1914

Soldier 1917

Proletariat 1914
(Earl Marx)Proletariat 1917
(Cheque book)

HOW TIMES CHANGE
From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

How the Radical pictures
a dictatorAs the Constitutional
Democrat pictures one

As seen by the average citizen How the Bolshevik pictures him

A DICTATOR
From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)



How the wife treats the head of a bourgeoisie How the husband treats the head of a bourgeoisie

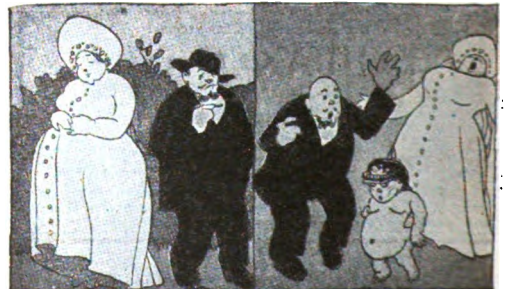
ON THE SAME PLATFORM
(The wife of one of our political celebrities runs a "beauty parlor")
From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

This Petrograd periodical exercises in the cartoons on this page a liberty of criticism probably never excelled in any European country.



He serenades

He woos



He weds

He becomes a parent

ROMANCE OF LENINE AND RUSSIA
From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

A FOURTH WAR CHRISTMAS FOR EUROPE



THE LEANING TOWER—HOLD FAST, ITALY!
From the *American* (Baltimore)



ITALY UNDER THE TEST
From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)
(The Austro-German advance was made possible by seditious propaganda behind the Italian lines. The Italian cartoon below pictures the same situation)



(South American mules when attacked form a ring, putting heads together and heels to the enemy)



(The Russians put their heels together, bray at the enemy, and kick one another)

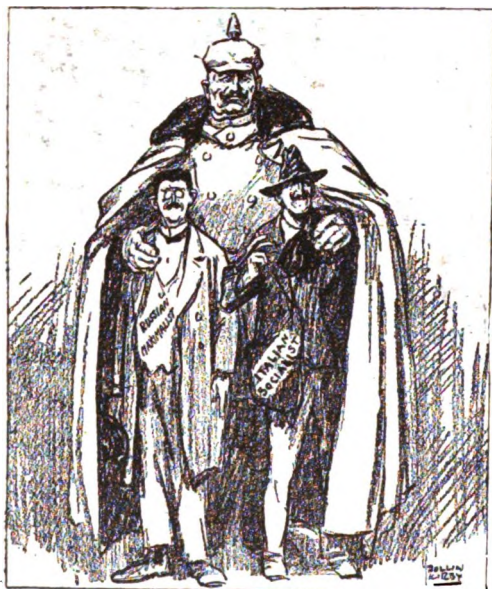
STRATEGY
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



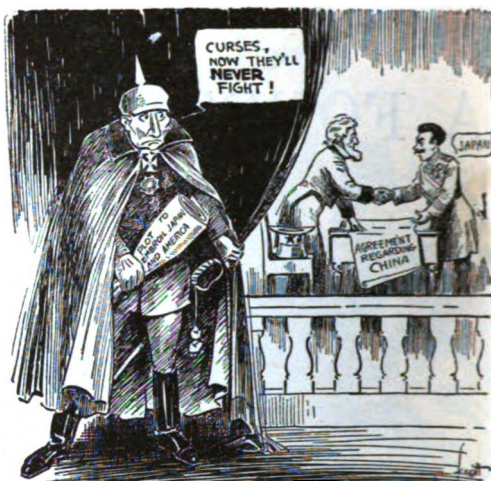
ITALY FIGHTS THE FOREIGN ENEMY AS WELL AS THE HOME ENEMY (SEDITION)
From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



GERMAN BAT POLITICS
I am peace, see my wings!
I am war, see my head!
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)



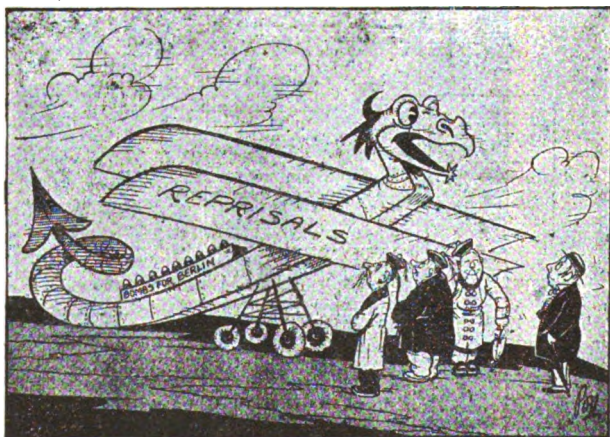
FRIENDS OF THE ALL-HIGHEST
From the *World* (New York)



FOILED AGAIN!
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



POINCARÉ: "See, Majesty, the Germans make war to destroy."
KING VICTOR: "Yes, and we wage war to make them build it up again." From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



DELIVER THE GOODS
MANDARIN (the Government): "There you are, John; what more do you want?"
JOHN CITIZEN: "I want to see it start."
From the *Evening News* (London)



FOOTPRINT ON THE SANDS
(German influence is at work in England on the same lines as the "Bolo" case in France. The only mystery is, "Who are the agents"?)
From *Reynold's Newspaper* (London)



IMMUNE FROM REPRISALS

THE KAISER: "Well, it's been a wonderful protection—so far!"

From *Opinion* (London)



THE SEEN HAND

PEACE PROPAGANDIST: "What we want, friends, is Peace—Peace at any price!"

MAN FROM THE TRENCHES: "What price YOU?"

From the *National News* (London)



ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS!

THE "NEUT": "Why can't we buy goods at this store?"

JOHN BULL: "Because we must consider our friends first."

THE "NEUTS": "But we are friends."

JOHN BULL: "H'm!—whose friends?"

(Denmark and Holland have been permitted to enter)

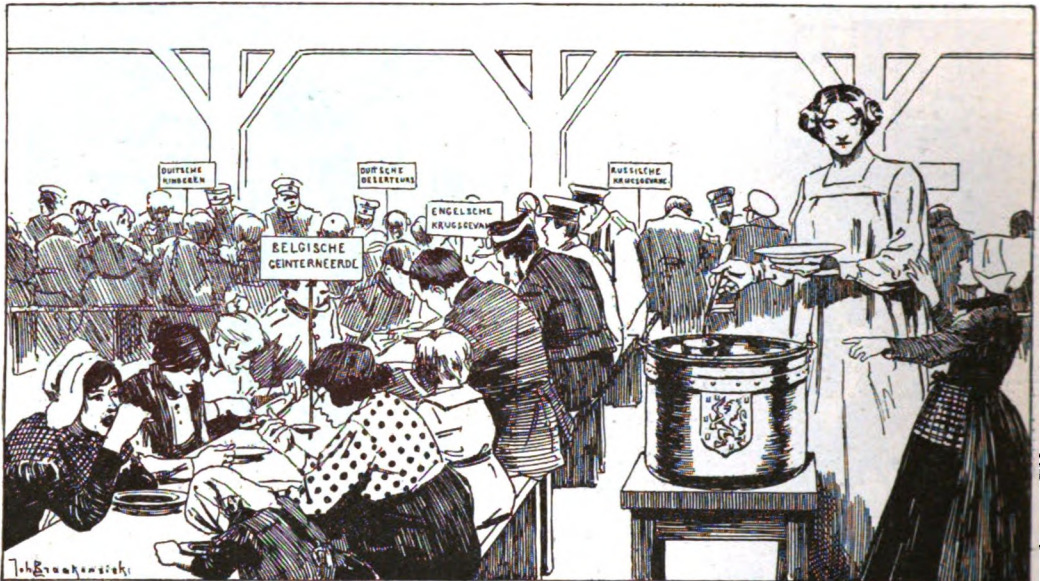
From the *Passing Show* (London)

Dec.—3



HOW TO LOSE THE WAR AT HOME

From *Punch* (London)



HOLLAND AND HER GUESTS—INTERINED CIVILIANS AND SOLDIERS, DESERTERS, AND GERMAN CHILDREN

HOLLAND: "Will there be any left over for me?"

From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



FROM THE MOUTH OF BABES

"Ah, we have our bread card now. All we require is money to buy some with"

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



THE MODERN FURNITURE

"And what do we lack now, my love?"
"Only room to move about in, my dearest!"

From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

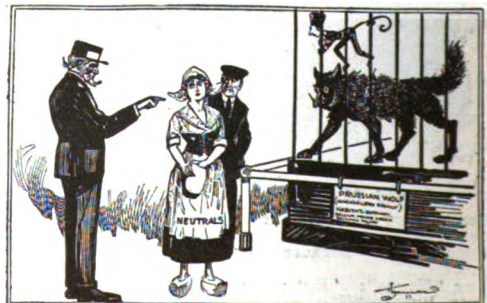


ZÜRICH'S INCREASE

(The issue of bread cards has shown that thousands of people have come to Zurich without announcing their arrival)

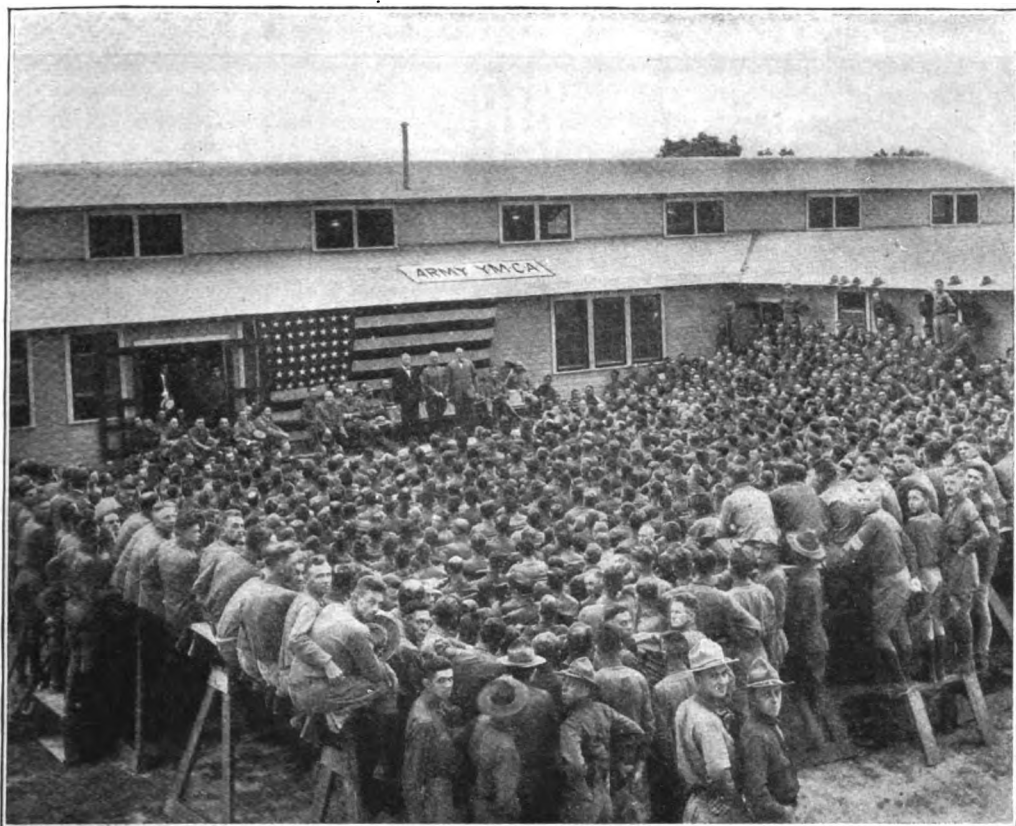
They come, they do nothing, but I must feed them all!

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



DON'T FEED THE ANIMALS

From the *News* (Detroit)



© Moffett, Chicago

A SCENE AT FORT SHERIDAN

(At this camp Liberty bonds were bought to the amount of \$4,790,000)

THE Y. M. C. A. IN THE WAR

IT would take a great many pages like this to picture the activities that have entered into the special war work of the Young Men's Christian Association. This great or-

ganization has set itself the tremendous task of serving 24,000,000 men in the armies and navies of the United States and her Allies and in the great prison camps of Europe.



"STUNT NIGHT" AT PRESIDIO NUMBER II,
SAN FRANCISCO



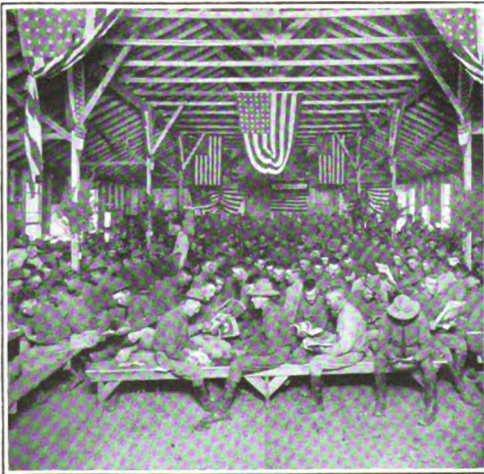
Y. M. C. A. SECRETARIES SELLING MONEY-ORDERS
TO THE SOLDIERS AT CAMP MCARTHUR



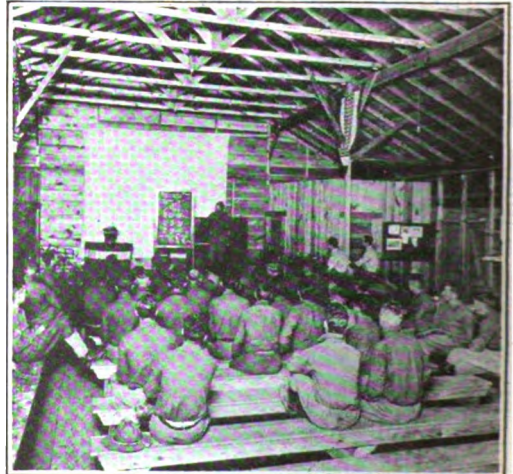
ASSOCIATION SECRETARIES ASSISTING SOLDIERS AT CAMP MC ARTHUR

This service is rendered in manifold ways. In the American cantonments officers of the Association not only provide entertainment for the men, but they offer instruction as well and give practical aid in such matters as supplying money orders to enable the soldiers to send home portions of their pay. In all the camps their buildings offer every evening in the year places of wholesome recreation.

In the prison camps of Europe the Association quickly found its mission. In twenty-six camps, scattered over Siberia, there are Y. M. C. A. huts with schools, libraries, orchestras, and facilities for athletics. The cobbler's shop shown on page 599 is supplied with sole-leather from a tannery started by the Association—a typical instance of efficient ministry to prisoners' needs.



AN EVENING IN ONE OF THE ASSOCIATION BUILDINGS



A CLASS IN MATHEMATICS CONDUCTED BY THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE SOLDIERS



ONE OF THE FIRST OF THE Y. M. C. A. HUTS ERECTED FOR AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE

(This photograph was taken by Mr. Francis B. Sayre, who has recently returned from an official inspection of the work on the Western battlefield. Some of his observations are reproduced on page 647)



CAMOUFLAGE FOR AN ASSOCIATION HUT IN FRANCE



ONE OF THE TWO-HUNDRED Y. M. C. A. HUTS FOR FRENCH SOLDIERS NOW IN USE



AFTER THE CONCERT: ALLIED PRISONERS LEAVING THE Y. M. C. A. HUT AT WIESELBURG, AUSTRIA
 (The joy in the faces of these men is in sharp contrast with the gloom that normally pervades the prison enclosure)

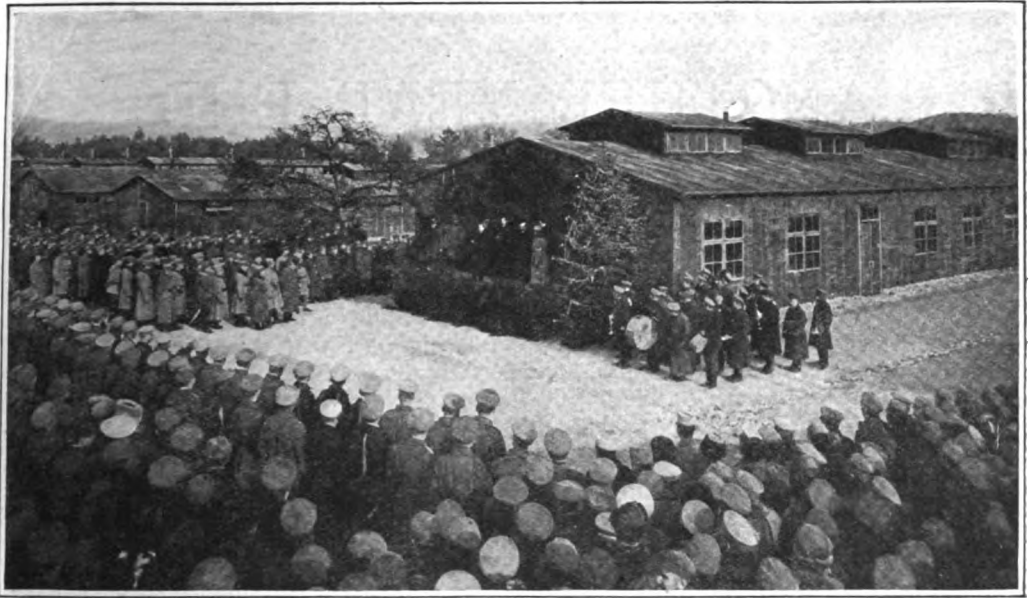
The illustrations on this page and the one opposite represent life in the great camps maintained for prisoners of war in Austria,

Russia, and Italy. The Association's work for these prisoners is one of its many forms of service rendered in this great war.



CHRISTMAS, 1916, AT HARTH, AUSTRIA

(The Association is bringing a measure of Christmas this holiday season to hundreds of thousands of prisoners of war, many of whom have been all but broken in body and soul by strain and hardships. The photographs of prison camps reproduced on this and the facing page were provided by Mr. Hugh A. Moran, a secretary of the International Young Men's Christian Association)



RUSSIAN CHRISTMAS IN THE PRISON CAMP AT PURGSTALL, AUSTRIA



TURKISH PRISONERS IN SIBERIA
(The Y. M. C. A. ministers to these Mohammedans as well as to Christians)



AUSTRIAN AND HUNGARIAN PRISONERS IN THE
GARDEN OF ONE OF THE ASSOCIATION'S TWENTY-SIX
HUTS IN SIBERIA



COBBLER'S SHOP IN A SIBERIAN PRISON CAMP, SUP-
PLIED BY AN ASSOCIATION TANNERY



ASSOCIATION BUILDING ERECTED BY THE PRISONERS-
OF-WAR AT PADULA, ITALY

ANOTHER YEAR END

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. STRIKING THE BALANCE

WITH the coming of December we approach the end of another calendar year and the close of the fourth campaign of the World War. The year has been marked by four great events of unequal importance but of unmistakable magnitude—the failure of the German submarine campaign, the entrance of the United States into the war, the Russian Revolution and the Italian disaster; these four events have so far offset each other that there has been no decision in the great struggle and none is immediately in sight. At the very least we must expect one more year of fighting, if there is to be a military decision. Peace now can only be a negotiated peace, in which both contestants must make concessions and can hereafter claim advantages.

Yet if one cares to look backward carefully it seems to me inevitable that the balance for the year must still be to the advantage of the nations which are at war with Germany. On January 1 of the current year the problem of the Germans was clear. Outnumbered and engaged in a war with nations possessing greater immediate and eventual resources, their necessity remained what it had been at the outset, to get a decision in advance of the time when they would begin to lose the war through attrition, when they would lose to greater numbers and superior resources. This was the underlying purpose which expressed itself in the campaign of 1914 wrecked at the Marne; this was the central idea of the campaign of 1916 in the West, which failed at Verdun.

It was no longer within the power of the Germans at the outset of this year's campaign to seek a military decision in the West. They had neither the men nor the guns to make possible a new thrust at France or at Britain. For the duration of the war they were condemned to face a condition in which they were outnumbered and outgunned in the West. They had therefore to seek a decision against their principal enemies, the French and the British, elsewhere than on land, and they chose to seek it by a sub-

marine campaign. So essential was prompt success to them that they risked bringing the United States into the war. They gambled on obtaining a decision by the submarine campaign, whether the United States came in or remained neutral. The first consequence of this was the entrance of the United States, now become a belligerent and sending troops and supplies to the Western front.

Had the submarine campaign succeeded, had it brought Britain face to face with starvation, the Germans would have won the war and the success of their early submarine operations gave color to their assertion that within a measurable period—not, to be sure, in 1917 but certainly in 1918—Britain and her allies would be compelled to consent to a peace negotiation to avoid starvation. But by midsummer there began a rapid decline in the totals of submarine sinkings. American warships were able to take over a portion of the work of convoying merchantmen, and the result was a decline in submarine killings until the second week of November saw but one British ship of more than 1600 tons sunk by German submarines.

We shall do well to recognize that this figure will not stand. There are bound to be week-to-week fluctuations and increases. But the possibility of a return to the conditions of last summer seems unlikely. And to support this view we have the testimony of such eminent and impartial witnesses as Admiral von Tirpitz and Captain Persius, the best known of German naval writers. The main German offensive of the campaign of 1917 is thus concededly a failure. It has not brought the enemy to terms; it has not produced a situation in which the enemy must consider negotiation to avoid starvation; and unless there is a complete change, the nations allied against Germany can look forward to a time when their new ship programs will begin to give them a greater monthly yield than the submarines can sink.

Briefly, then, the submarine campaign, so far as it is possible to speak definitively in the fourth week of November, 1917, has followed the course of the campaigns of the Marne and of Verdun. It has failed, and

its failure has thrown the Germans back upon the old problem of the ultimate disadvantage which was always bound to be theirs in a war of attrition against Britain and France, whether these nations were allied with Russia or with the United States. In 1917, as in two previous years, the German bid for victory—the concentration of all effort and all hope on a single drive—has failed to attain its purpose. France and Britain are no nearer to military disaster than they were a year ago. They retain their advantage over the German armies before them, and have demonstrated this in a long series of successes, local and relatively minor, but still successes measured by ground taken, guns and prisoners captured.

II. ALLIED FAILURE

Now over against this German failure we have to set the failure of the Allies to win a decision in their campaign of 1917. They sought their decision on land; they were satisfied that a concentric attack upon the Central Powers, such as had achieved greatly in 1916, winning very considerable territorial gains in Galicia and producing the first material German retirement in France since the Marne must bring Germany to her knees and completely crush Austrian military power. To attack all along the line, as Grant had planned to attack and did attack the South in 1864, was the Allied strategical conception.

But, even before this attack could begin, the Russian Revolution came and with this Revolution Russia ceased to be a serious factor. The disorganization of Russian armies went forward so rapidly that by June an opening Russian offensive, which had succeeded greatly, collapsed in a rout; and thereafter Russia was out of the fighting—if not of the running. And this Russian collapse put a prompt end to all the Allied expectations. If Sherman and Thomas had lost their armies by internal revolt in 1864, Grant's whole campaign would have been impossible because the South would have been free to bring its armies from Tennessee and Georgia to Virginia.

After Russia had quit, then, it was clear to the Allies that there was no longer a chance of a decision in 1917. With Italy they still had more men and more guns than the Germans and their allies, but the release of German troops from the east front insured to Germany enough men to hold out beyond

the year 1917, whatever the pressure in Flanders and along the Aisne. Beyond this the entrance of the United States insured the eventual possession of numbers and resources so superior that the final victory could not be lost, provided the war continued until the United States could organize its armies, its industries and its shipping. But this could not be in 1917, and might not be in 1918.

Had Russia gone out and the United States not come in, the Allied hope of victory would not have survived the summer. In this situation the Allies would not have been compelled to accept German terms. This danger was already past—given the failure of the submarine—although without our aid it might have succeeded, measurably, but they could no longer hope to impose their terms upon Germany. The war at best would have been a draw on the field and it would have been left for the future to decide which group of nations had suffered most or profited most by the contest.

But the United States stepped promptly into the position of Russia, and in the first instance lent its enormous resources to fortify the financial position of the nations fighting Germany. In Russia the Allies lost a borrower and in us they found a lender; and in addition our own navy began to contribute materially to disposing of the one real danger, the submarine. All things considered, the loss of Russia and the gain of America might be offset against each other, provided there was no German success in the field before we arrived in the military way, which might end the war.

Meantime the Allies were thrown back upon the necessity of carrying forward a campaign which could not get a decision this year, but would contribute to extending the exhaustion of Germany in men and munitions and thus lessen the work of the later campaigns. The burden of this work fell upon the British, because the French had carried the weight of the great campaigns of the Marne and of Verdun and were beginning to face exhaustion themselves. Thus, after a first great but relatively costly and unsuccessful effort at the Aisne, the French became passive, while the British transferred their operations from the Somme to the Lys and began a great attack upon German positions in Flanders, which is still going forward and has so far resulted in the conquest of valuable ground, which in British hands menaces the German hold upon the Belgian seacoast and foreshadows the eventual retire-

ment of the Germans behind the Scheldt and the Meuse, with the incidental surrender of the larger part of their holdings of French territory. In the course of this fighting the British and French have taken nearly 150,000 prisoners and well on toward a thousand guns, and have lost very few prisoners and no guns.

III. THE ITALIAN DISASTER

Had one made a summary of the campaign of 1917 at the end of October, the advantage would all have lain with the Allies. The failure of the submarine campaign was already foreshadowed. The British successes in Flanders and the French local victories on the Aisne and the Meuse were unbalanced by any German achievement. The Italians were still making material gains on the Isonzo; and the Russian situation, while confused, still held out hope to those who did not realize that the events of June had proven, as I pointed out here at the time, that Russia was out of the war for a long time, if not permanently.

But with November the Germans once more had recourse to their familiar tactics. They struck a heavy blow in a subordinate field, and capitalized this blow to prove that they were invincible in all fields. A year ago, when they had lost the Somme and were aware that they must retire from the Noyon salient, they directed a thrust at Rumania, which practically annihilated this state; and on the strength of this victory they calmly proposed a peace which should leave them victors. And it was not for many weeks that the world woke up to the fact that the Rumanian defeat was merely a defeat for the Allies in a minor field, less significant than their own defeat at Gallipoli the previous year.

To-day the German situation is this: They will have to retire in Belgium and Northern France at no distant date, and their submarine campaign has failed. Next summer American troops will begin to be effective on the Western front and the following year, if the war endures, we shall have both the ships for transport and the men to play a great rôle in Lorraine or Alsace, as the case may be. But meantime the collapse of Russia has released men and guns—not in numbers sufficient to change the situation in the West, but in sufficient numbers to permit an attack upon Italy. This attack being made, and ending in a great immediate victory with the

possible elimination of Italy as a military factor, Germany can hope to conduct a new peace offensive, like that of last year, but having far greater chance of success because of the growth of war weariness and the extension of pessimism in Allied populations due to one more postponement of the decision in the field.

Such a manoeuvre, it seems to me, the Allies might have expected and prepared for. Yet there was no outward sign that Italy was not capable of taking care of her front, despite the whisperings of domestic disorders and the loud Italian pleas for munitions and coal. That it failed to guard against the German strategy seems to me a clear evidence of the weakness of Allied strategy, one more proof of a lack of coöperation, which has been the besetting sin of the present as of all other coalitions fighting against one great and completely united power, which was dominating the civil and military policy of all its own allies.

Since they failed to guard against it, the Allies have collectively suffered a great disaster, considerable but immaterial on the military side, incalculably great on the moral side. It is a clear fact, recognized by the Germans themselves, that the war cannot be won in Italy, however great the German success there, if the military considerations remain decisive. But will they? This is the main problem in the greatest crisis that has yet faced the Allied nations since the beginning of the struggle.

Not for days, perhaps for weeks and months, shall we be quite sure whether the Allied populations are prepared to go on to another year of sacrifice. If they rebel, if they refuse, it will be because of the German success in Italy; because of the moral effect of this success, reinforced by an exaggerated value attached to the Russian events.

Still, so far as one may judge, both in France and in Britain the decision to go on is taking shape. The selection of Clémenceau to succeed Painlevé in France is a step in the direction of even more determined French effort. There is no trustworthy evidence that Britain, whatever her domestic political crisis, is ready to give up the war; and we have the President's word spoken at Buffalo to prove that all the influence of this country will be cast for still more vigorous prosecution of the military efforts of the Alliance. Finally Italy, on the surface at least, has rallied to meet invasion in a spirit which gives promise of Italian endurance.

I am going to take up the Italian disaster in a moment, and discuss its purely military aspects. As for the Russian situation, it has no military aspect and requires no further treatment, since as my readers know, I told them in June that Russia was done. But before going to the discussion of the military operations I am anxious to make clear the far more serious moral problems raised by the German success in Italy.

Neither the French nor the British armies can be conquered in Italy; and unless the French and British armies are conquered—I mean the millions on the Western front—Germany cannot win the war and her chances of winning it will diminish regularly as our troops arrive. But it is possible that Germany may conquer the British and French publics by a campaign in Italy; that the brilliance and magnitude of German success, in this local and subordinate field, may acquire a false value among war-weary and disappointed civil populations in the nations fighting her; while it creates a new and greater confidence among her own populations a few weeks ago unmistakably discouraged.

We went all through this in the Civil War, and no man could say before the election of 1864, whether the North, whose victory on the battlefield was assured, if it hung on, would elect Lincoln or McClellan and thus decide for war to victory or for a peace by negotiation. When the results of the election of 1864 were published, the doom of the South was written. In the present struggle we are now to pass through a crisis like that of 1864 in the Civil War. The Marne and Verdun were just as logical and inescapable steps toward German defeat as were Antietam and Gettysburg great landmarks on the road to Appomattox. The Somme and the present Ypres campaign are no more serious and—comparatively speaking—no more bloody disappointments than the Grant checks from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor.

Let anyone who has doubts look to the statistics of the population, wealth, resources immediate and eventual, of the Central Powers on the one hand and of the British Empire and the American and French Republics on the other, without counting Italy, or that contribution in German and Austrian casualties made by Russia before she quit. Let him bear in mind also what the command of the sea means to the Allies, and lack of sea communication to the Central Powers; and

there should be a clear conception of the mathematics of the war problem. Napoleon had a better chance than William II, and he lost; Louis XIV faced a far weaker and more disorganized Europe than the German Kaiser, and failed because his own people wore out first. To-day the Allies face a crisis of palpable gravity, but it is moral, not military.

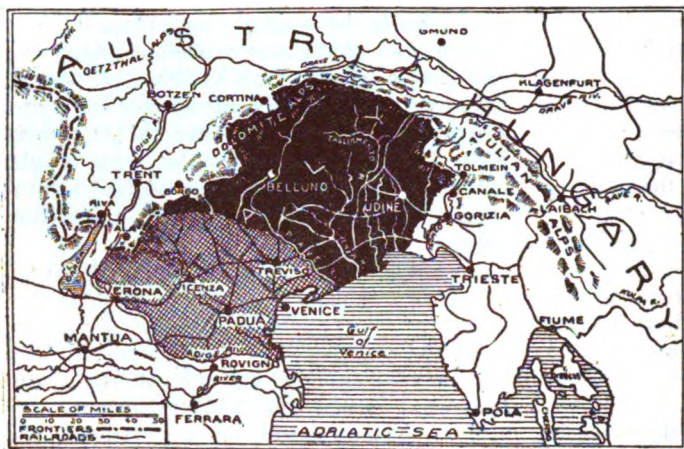
IV. THE GERMAN BLOW

At the moment when the German blow fell upon Italy the position of the main Italian forces was this: The main mass was being driven forward on a relatively restricted front of perhaps a dozen miles north of Gorizia on the Bainzizza Plateau. This mass had forced the crossings of the Isonzo River, pushed up over the Western and highest rim of the plateau and practically cleared the Austrians off this ground, save just north of Gorizia about the slopes of Monte St. Gabriele. The complete capture of this hill would have broken the whole of the Austrian defensive position along the Isonzo, and opened the road to Laibach.

While the main Italian force was thus thrusting eastward, its flanks were covered along the Upper and Lower Isonzo by troops of unequal value and dissimilar missions. The troops along the Upper Isonzo from Tolmino to Flitsch were only territorials and were charged with a defensive purpose. It was their duty to protect the flank of the Bainzizza army. The troops on the Lower Isonzo, from Gorizia to the sea, on the contrary were first line veterans and were actively engaged in pushing forward along the Carso, as the advance of the main mass on the Bainzizza Plateau gave them the opportunity. Once the Austrians had been pushed off the whole of the Bainzizza Plateau, this southern force was prepared to take up the road toward Trieste again.

In the course of the year's campaign the Italian front along the Isonzo had taken on the familiar outline of a salient or wedge with the point driven into the enemy's lines on the Bainzizza Plateau. Now the classic defense to such a thrust is an attack upon one or both sides of the wedge or salient. If one of these sides is broken, then the position of the troops in the salient becomes perilous because their rear and communications are threatened, and they are in danger of envelopment and capture.

The present war has supplied several par-



THE ITALIAN FRONT ON NOVEMBER 20

(Black area represents what the Italians had surrendered, to the Piave River line. Shaded area shows what would be given up should the Italians be forced to retire to the Adige River.)

alleys for the operation of which the Dunajec is the most familiar. In April, 1915, the main Russian armies were across the Carpathians about the Dukla Pass and were pushing onward into Hungary, while their flanks were covered by the army of Dimitrief along the Dunajec River and of Lechitsky on the crests of the Carpathians south and east of Dukla. When Mackensen attacked Dimitrief and destroyed his army, the position of the main Russian masses under Ivanof was instantly critical, and there were some days before it was clear whether the Russians would escape or suffer a Sedan. They did get away, but they left prisoners, guns and flags in the German possession; and so great was the dislocation of their front that they were unable to make a successful stand until early autumn.

Now the German blow of November, 1917, was exactly similar to the thrust at the Dunajec in May, 1915. It was levelled at the portion of the Italian forces guarding the Upper Isonzo from Tolmino to Flitsch. Once this force had been crushed the Germans were able to advance southwest upon Udine, by the Cividale Valley and were actually nearer to Udine, the headquarters and base of the main Italian armies, than were the troops of Cadorna on the Bainzizza Plateau. The explanations of the Italian collapse along the Upper Isonzo are many and varied, but it is clear that they were overwhelmed by a superior artillery concentration, as were the Russians at the Dunajec.

There was cowardice—Cadorna has told this; there was surprise, although Italian headquarters certainly had a suspicion of

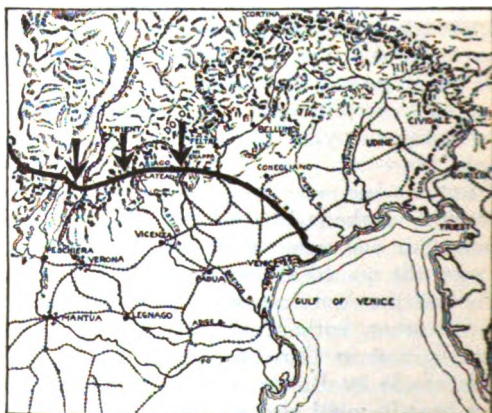
what was preparing. Yet, in the main we seem to have to deal with something like what was successfully attempted at the Dunajec and less successfully at Verdun. Under the blow the whole of one side of the Italian wedge collapsed, and on the morning of the disaster the first problem was whether the main mass of the Italian armies from the Carnic Alps to the sea could escape or would have to surrender because enveloped.

In all this period, which lasted several days, there was obscurity in the minds of observers in the outside world.

It was not clear how badly Italy had been beaten nor what the ultimate extent of the dislocation of the Italian front would be. It was clear that if the Italians did not lose their main forces, the River Tagliamento, some twenty miles west of Udine, offered a rallying place, coming down as it did in a straight line from the mountains to the sea. Behind this line the Austrians had rallied to meet Napoleon after their previous defeats of the campaign of 1797. But the Austrians had not been able then to hold the line permanently, and there were immediate doubts as to the prospects for the Italians as the extent of their defeat began to be disclosed.

V. FROM THE TAGLIAMENTO TO THE PIAVE

As was suspected the Italians were not able to make a long stand behind the Tagliamen-



THE LINE OF THE PIAVE RIVER

(Arrows show direction of possible German thrusts from the Trentino)

to. Precisely as the Russians had slowed down their retreat after the Dunajec at the San River, the Italians began to collect themselves behind the Tagliamento. But it was only fighting by rear guards to delay the pursuit of the Austrians and Germans which ensued. Within a brief time Rome conceded that the Tagliamento could not be held.

The next position was behind the Livenza River, which parallels the Tagliamento a few miles to the west. But this is an insignificant stream, and the fighting here was less considerable than at the Tagliamento. By the second week in November the Italians were back behind the Piave. They had evacuated not merely all of the Venetian plain east of this stream, but also all of its upper valley from Feltre to Belluno, including the eastern slopes of the Dolomites, familiar to all Alpinists. The Italian front now stood from Lago di Garda, along the hills followed by the old frontier as far as the Piave and thence behind the Piave to the sea, twenty miles east of Venice.

The position was the last which covered Venice. Were the Italians compelled to retire from this they would have to go behind the Adige, abandoning Vicenza, Padua and Venice to the enemy and bringing the Austro-German guns to the forts of Verona. Such a retreat would surrender practically all of Venetia to the Austrians, and restore the situation, in large part, which existed before the War of 1866 had gained Venetia for the House of Savoy, then in alliance with the Prussians, who were now foes.

And as I write these lines on November 18 the problem still remains, whether the retreat will go to the Adige or stop at the Piave. The weakness of the Piave position is patent and the German efforts have already disclosed the Italian perils. That portion of the Italian lines behind the Piave, from the point where the stream enters the Plain to the sea offers an admirable defensive position, the southern end rendered almost impregnable owing to the flooding of the marshes. But the northern half, between the Piave and the point where the old line rested upon Lago di Garda just west of the Adige at Ala, is weak.

Going back nearly two years it will be recalled that at the same time the Germans were attacking Verdun the Austrians undertook a great offensive from the Trentino to the Venetian Plain. Their operative front was between the Brenta and the Astico, a

few miles northwest of the Piave. At that time they reached the Asiago Plateau, took the towns of Asiago and Arsiero, and almost succeeded in forcing their way into the Venetian Plain, itself, near Bassano, the scene of a Napoleonic victory.

Two things combined to check the Austrians: their terrific defeat in Galicia, and the counter-attacks of Cadorna. But although they were compelled to give over the enterprise, they still held much of the conquered ground, just as the Germans, repulsed before Verdun in 1914 and 1915, captured and clung to ground of immense value to them in 1916 when they returned to the charge. As they held St. Mihiel, the Austrians held the hills north of Asiago; and from these hills they are now able to launch attacks upon the Italian flank along the hills.

Now, if the Italian line between Lago di Garda and the Piave should collapse, all the Italian forces along the Piave would be in exactly the plight of those Italian armies along the Middle and Lower Isonzo a few days ago, when the flank guards along the Upper Isonzo collapsed. Coming down the Brenta, and Astico valleys the invaders would be nearer to Treviso than the Italian masses on the Piave. They would threaten a new envelopment; and to escape this the Italians would probably have to make another precipitate retreat, which would cost much in guns and prisoners, and might end in the permanent disintegration of the army, even if it escaped capture.

On the other hand, should the Italians, after stiff rear-guard fighting, retire behind the Adige, they would then be free from all real danger of a flank attack, for their flanks would rest upon Lago di Garda and the sea; and the Germans would be practically condemned to frontal attacks with their consequent losses. Moreover, such a retreat would insure not alone the arrival and concentration, but the active participation of the Allied reinforcements sent by France and Britain, which have not as yet taken any real part in the fighting, and cannot for some days yet.

VI. THE ISSUES

I am closing this article at a moment when the whole issue of the campaign hangs in the balance; and I am anxious to make clear the various possibilities. The Italians may hold at the Piave. The position is strong, save to the north; and the Italian resistance

may suffice to check Austro-German advance, impeded as it is by bad communications, until the French and British troops arrive and change the balance. In such a case we may look for a new front along the Piave, or (less probably) a thrust eastward against the Austrian armies, who make up the bulk of the invading forces. In other words we may see both sides dig in at the Piave; or, we may see the Italians, aided by the French and British, undertake a new offensive comparable to the Marne effort of Joffre.

By contrast, we may see an ultimate Italian withdrawal behind the Adige with a final stand there, or an offensive launched from this line against the invaders, now far from their communications, just as we saw a French offensive after initial disasters in Lorraine and in Belgium in August and September, 1914. If the offensive takes place, the Italians may win back much of what they have lost. If the defensive is all they can measure up to, then they will have lost most of Venetia, a quarter of a million men in prisoners, and vast amounts of munitions and guns. But they will have saved their armies, and will have prevented the invasion of Northern Italy west of the Adige, which is the seat of the Italian industry, and the source of all Italian munitions.

Finally there is the third possibility, now unmistakable. The Italians may be unable to stand either at the Piave or the Adige, and their armies may collapse as did the Russians in their offensive in Galicia this past summer. In such case, Northern Italy will be conquered, and Italy will follow Russia out of the firing line, ceasing to be a real factor in the war, whether a separate peace be made or not. Such a complete disaster as this can only take place if Italian morale has broken down, and if Italy is on the verge of a revolution resembling the Russian conflagration. This is unlikely, but possible. It represents the extreme of German hope, and the maximum of Allied apprehension.

Personally, I expect to see the Italians go behind the Adige, just as the French went behind the Marne. It seems unlikely that they can recover from such a severe dislocation of their front as they suffered at the Isonzo in the time they have had allowed them. Moreover, if they contemplate an offensive, it is more likely to be successful from the Adige than from the Piave, because their own flanks will be safer. Remember how Joffre retreated until his imperilled flank rested upon Paris, and the analogy will be

clear. The imperilled Italian flank will only be safe when it rests upon the Lago di Garda; and from this river an offensive would have greater chance of success because the French and British would be better able to join in.

So much for the strategy of the Italian campaign. To deliver the decisive blow the Germans have drawn troops from the Russian front—not large numbers, not many more troops than we now have in France, probably—and, in addition, guns and munitions no longer needed against Russian armies more intent upon domestic than foreign enemies. The Italian disaster was made in Russia. Could it have been avoided? Conceivably; but so could the Marne have been avoided, so could every defeat. Napoleon, master of war as he was, lost Waterloo because Grouchy failed to hold the Prussian army away from Wellington. The Italians have been defeated because the Russians abandoned the task of holding the Germans before them and away from the Italian front.

Was the Italian failure due to too great interest in selfish territorial ambitions? Were the Italians so engrossed in getting Trieste that they forgot their flanks? Possibly; yet a year ago we passed such sentence upon the Rumanians, alleging that they rushed into Transylvania only to invite disaster in the Dobrudja; and a little later we discovered that the Rumanians had done exactly what the Russians had directed them to do, and that the Dobrudja disaster was due to Russian betrayal, and that the Germanophile Sturmer had deliberately conspired with the Germans and had withheld the army promised to protect the Rumanians' flanks in the Dobrudja.

Finally, Cadorna has told us that the troops charged with the duty of defending the exposed flank displayed cowardice, and openly neglected their duties. German propaganda and anarchistic agitation had potentially destroyed the value of that wing of the army as soldiers. Certainly there was no protection against this known to military science. Had the Italians had more guns and more munitions, these would not have gone to the Upper Isonzo, because there was no chance in that field for a useful Italian offensive. At best an attack there would only have been like Napoleon's operation in the same field a century ago, for the purpose of protecting the main effort to the south.

No, it seems to me that the Italian defeat must be ascribed to circumstances against

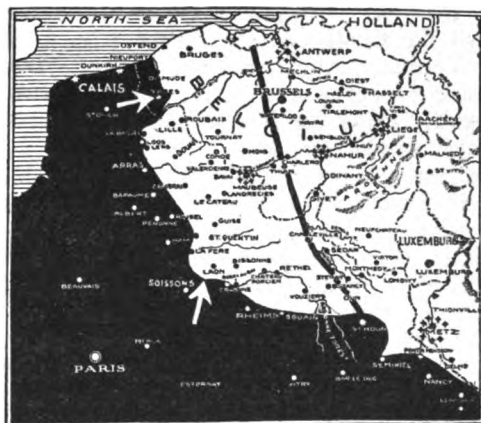
which the Italian general could not guard; to the Russian desertion, and to the disorganization in their own forces due to German and anarchistic propaganda. Germany was forced to attack Italy because the Italian assault upon Austria had brought Austria to the edge of final disaster. Having to support her weaker ally, she performed the duty in a brilliant fashion, made the best of necessity, and endeavored to win so great victory in this subordinate field and against a minor foe as to upset the moral balance of her principal enemies.

How far she has succeeded in this purpose time alone can tell. That she has achieved great military success is plain; that she may put Italy out of the war is manifest; that she may break the nerves of her greater foes is open to grave doubt. But unless she does this, it is plain that her great offensive will have had only restricted defensive values. It will have saved Austria at a cost of men and munitions needed on another front. In the Balkans, the Allied operation was a total loss, from the larger view, because it wasted men and guns against Turks and Bulgarians, which might have been used against the Germans, otherwise. For political reasons the loss had to be borne. And in the Italian peninsula, the German operation is the same.

If the war goes to a military decision, this decision will be had on the western front. If it goes to a military decision, the decision will be in favor of the Allies because they have the numbers, the resources and the control of the sea. But if the decision be not military, if the moral effect of Germany's successes in Italy or elsewhere than in France or Belgium breaks the Allied nerve, then it may be that Germany will win the war; and to such a result the Italian adventure would be a mighty contribution.

VII. IN BELGIUM, CHAMPAGNE AND LORRAINE

I have devoted so much space to the Italian operation that there is left to me little opportunity to comment upon other events. Along the Aisne the French have at last terminated that battle which began on September 13, 1914, with a considerable success which has driven the Germans off the last position taken at the end of the retreat from the Marne. Eight thousand prisoners, eighty guns and a large booty were gathered in this most successful French operation of the year, which put the French close to Laon, and



FRENCH FRONT AND LINE OF POSSIBLE RETREAT

seriously threatened the strong German position on the Plateau of St. Gobain, the key-stone of the whole German arch in France.

Yet, at most this victory had a purely local value. It indicated a vast improvement in French morale, since the failure of Nivelle on the same ground in April and May. It was a fine illustration of the Pétain method of coördination of artillery and infantry, with the attainment of a local objective at a small cost to himself and a far greater loss to his opponent. It gave the French high ground all along their front north of the Aisne and marked the definitive failure of the German attempts to regain what was lost in the spring. But it aimed at only local objectives, and it attained only minor advantages. It will require new advances toward Laon to flank the German position north of the Ailette and east of the Oise.

Much more important has been the progress of the British. They have taken Passchendaele, and almost all of the main ridge between Messines and Passchendaele, which was the bulwark of German defense in Flanders. While a few isolated positions on the ridge are left in German possession, the main task set for his army by Haig last summer has been achieved. The British are now masters of the hills about Ypres, as they were masters of the Albert Ridge at the close of the Battle of the Somme last summer. Already British artillery is playing upon Roulers, and German newspapers are preparing their public for another strategic retirement.

Such a retirement may be limited. The Germans may fall back only a few miles now. But it is clear that any considerable withdrawal will involve the abandonment

of the whole Belgian coast and also imperil the whole German salient from Lille to Verdun. Any smaller retirement, now, would be but a step in the eventual withdrawal behind the Meuse and the Scheldt, which would clear most of France and the western quarter of Belgium. In view of their Italian successes, and their hope of pressing a successful peace offensive this winter, the Germans are likely to run great risks to avoid a retirement in Belgium and France, which would encourage their enemies and give their actual situation away. But if the peace offensive fails, as did that of last winter, then a retirement next spring seems inevitable.

Several readers of my articles have lately asked me one of the familiar questions: If it takes the Allies a summer to advance six miles, how long will it take them to get to the German frontier, still a hundred miles distant from the Flanders front? The answer is fairly obvious. A six-mile advance at the Somme last summer compelled the Germans to retire over twenty miles on a wide front, and give up more than a thousand miles of French territory. Another six-mile advance in Flanders would almost certainly compel them to abandon all their hold upon the Belgian coast and upon industrial Northern France. Finally, once such a retreat had taken place, it is probable that the whole of Allied effort would be shifted to the Franco-German frontier in Lorraine, where the present front straddles the frontier and any considerable advance would bring with it the transfer of the operations to German soil. Once France has been freed from the invader, it is improbable that the Allies will waste time trying to hack their way through Belgium, when a better road is at their hand in Alsace and Lorraine, where they are either at the frontier or even across it.

This involves one other comment. Our War Department has steadily refused to give any intimation of the position of the first contingents of American troops to enter the trenches. The Germans, on the other hand have been less reticent. They promptly discovered where our troops were and quite as promptly announced the capture of prisoners, together with additional details, which, if accurate, disclose the position of America's first troops to fight on a European battlefield.

We have thus the anomalous situation growing out of the characteristic policy of the War Department, in which the Germans inform the American public as to the whereabouts of American troops. Now I do not pretend to any secret information in the matter, but the Germans have announced that they have taken American prisoners at the point where the Rhine-Marne Canal crosses the firing line. If this be truthful, then the American troops are in Lorraine, and at least some portion of their numbers have occupied the village of Parroy, which is situated where the Rhine-Marne Canal crosses the firing line.

Look at any standard atlas, and find Nancy and Luneville, near the old frontier between France and Germany, south of Metz and west of Strassburg. Parroy is half a dozen miles north of Luneville, and twice as far east of Nancy. It is not more than two miles on the French side of the old frontier. If the German statements are accurate, our troops are holding the Lorraine gateway to France. They are occupying positions fought over in the great battles for Nancy in August and September, 1914, and the road and canal they are covering were followed, first by French troops marching to defeat at Morhange and later by German troops rushing westward to their defeat before Nancy.

I visited all this ground in the spring of 1916, getting within two or three miles of Parroy. It is a country of rolling hills, clear, swift rivers, considerable forests (one of the largest of which is close to Parroy). In a wide circle about Parroy the villages were destroyed by the Germans in the invasion. It may be that the Germans are lying about the American position. It may be that the assignment is only temporary, and purely for the purpose of training our green troops on a relatively quiet front. But at the least the presence of Pershing's army in Lorraine, if it be there, must suggest interesting speculations. Would it not be a strange turn of the wheel if American troops should by their campaign win back for France those provinces lost in 1870? Such a repayment by Pershing of the debt that Lafayette laid us under, would supply one of the romances of all history. At all events we have the German official declaration and the atlas to fall back upon, even though the War Department fails us.

CLÉMENTEAU TAKES HOLD

THE GOVERNMENTAL SITUATION IN FRANCE

BY MAURICE LÉON

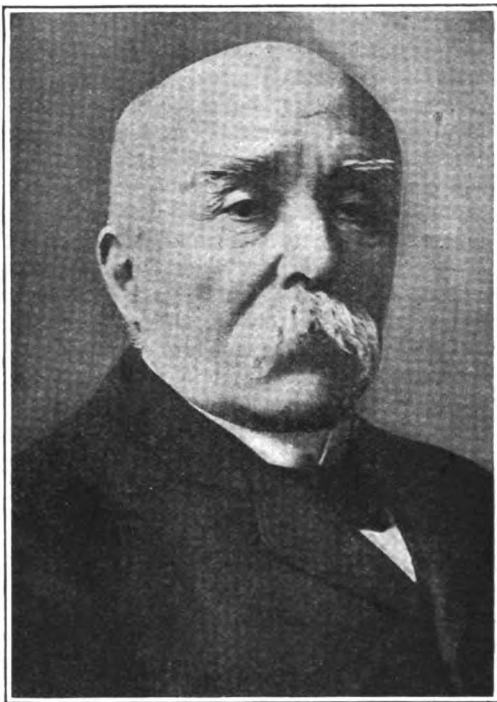
GEORGES CLÉMENTEAU is again at the helm in France—a political event which may properly be described as the most important which has occurred in the Republic since the beginning of the war. The change of ministry this time does not imply merely that a group of men selected from among the membership of the French Parliament, having lost the support of a legislative majority, make way for a new group of parliamentarians having such a majority behind them and who take their places as political heads of the departments of the government; for often such changes are meaningless, often they are brought about merely by unimportant differences between the government and the majority.

Under the French system, the continuity of the work of each department is assured by the fact that it is in the hands of permanent officials who remain despite ministerial changes which merely supply new political heads for all the departments when the change is complete or for some of them when it is not, as is the case in the present instance: the ministries of commerce, munitions, and transportation remain in the able hands of Messrs. Clémentel, Loucheur, and Claveille, their incumbents since the days of the Briand cabinet of 1915-1917.

What gives the change this time a superlative interest is that France has called to the post of governmental leadership not merely a new Premier, but that one among her statesmen who is generally and deservedly recognized to be, above all others, her strong man.

That he is possessed in a marked degree of each of the qualities which have distinguished his predecessors among the war premiers, he proved during his earlier premiership, 1906-1909.

Clémenteau's incisive eloquence makes him the peer in debate of René Viviani, France's first war premier, who being also Foreign Minister, received from the hands of the German Ambassador on August 3, 1914, the tissue of mendacious falsehoods



M. GEORGES CLÉMENTEAU

concerning pretended French aggressions against German territory by which Germany declared war upon France, falsehoods which having thus fulfilled their purposes were promptly retired to the crowded museum of German fabrications, in which they have rested ever since. When Clémenteau became the head of the Government in 1906, Jaurès, the socialist leader, was the great orator of the Chamber of Deputies. A series of debates between the two men over the Socialist program, labor disorders, Morocco, increased Clémenteau's oratorical stature and decreased that of Jaurès.

Viviani was succeeded as Premier by Briand, the persuasive. Briand is a diplomat of the Old World, while Clémenteau achieves his great results by resort to what is generally called "American diplomacy." Take, for example, the Casablanca incident

for which Germany demanded an apology in 1908, backing her demand with a threat of war. From the platform of the Chamber of Deputies, Clémenceau defied the German Government. He declared that France would apologize if and when an arbitration showed her to be in the wrong, and not before; that Germany wanted an apology before she would consent to an arbitration; that Germany could not have such apology. Well, Germany did without that apology, and the subsequent arbitration showed convincingly that, far from being entitled to one, she owed one to France.

When Briand relinquished the premiership to Ribot in March, 1917, the direction of the government was confided to France's grand old man, a leader of tried wisdom and sagacity, the senior of French war premiers. Whoever has seen Ribot and Clémenceau finds it hard to believe that they are contemporaries, the latter only a very few years younger than the former. At seventy-six Clémenceau is still the embodiment of youthful alertness in mind and in bearing. But that he is a sage has been proved by hard tests during his previous Prime Ministership both as regards external and internal matters.

From his medical training he has retained the surgeon's gift. Some call him a destroyer, and he is in the same sense as the surgeon who quickly cuts out disease instead of nursing it. He is an outspoken hater of all humbug, and has the faculty of effective impatience in dealing with it. In word he is like lightning and so he is in act. He typifies as much as any man, and more than any other public man, France's will to win; he is the very embodiment of will power in action, as he showed again in the circumstances of his return to power.

When the war broke out, France responded to the call for a sacred union of all elements and parties before the enemy. To mark that sacred union the succeeding cabinets included representatives of all groups in Parliament from the extreme right to the extreme left. Ultra-conservatives and ultra-socialists sat together to devise the means of national defense.

Louis Malvy, a prominent member of the so-called Radical group headed by Joseph Caillaux, was Minister of the Interior in August, 1914. Caillaux had forfeited public confidence and was looked upon generally as Germany's man in French politics, that is to say, as a political manipulator whose

influence, backed by cosmopolitan financiers (whose operations extend to all free countries where they are assisted by immunity from exposure), has been on the whole an asset for Germany in peace and in war. The reality of the spirit of sacred union was proved strikingly by the retention of Louis Malvy as Minister of the Interior despite his relations with Caillaux. Malvy remained Minister of the Interior, as such in control of the secret service and of the press censorship until scandal after scandal occurred showing that German money was being expended in France for the purposes of pacifist propaganda without any effectual opposition by the proper authorities.

Clémenceau's denunciation of Malvy in this connection forced him out of the Ribot Ministry and led to the fall of that Ministry in mid-September last. The public is too familiar with the main incidents charged to Malvy, such as the Bolo affair, involving the expenditure of German funds upwards of a million dollars via New York for the purchase of control of a Paris newspaper, *Le Journal*, from its proprietor, Senator Charles Humbert; the case of the *Bonnet Rouge*, a pseudo-revolutionary sheet published in Paris and heavily subsidized by Germany, whose editor, one Almereyda, committed suicide in jail; that of Turmel, a French deputy, who received large sums of money in Switzerland at about the time when Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg announced in the Reichstag that he had a full account of the proceedings of secret sessions in the French Chamber of Deputies concerning France's war aims; that of Leymarie, Malvy's own appointee at the head of the French Secret Service, charged with receiving "graft" and exacting blackmail in connection with his failure to suppress German propaganda plots. On one such transaction a charge is pending against him jointly with Senator Humbert and one Ladoux, a subordinate in the French Secret Service. These instances are illustrative of the limits within which Germany was forced to conduct in France that war of corruption which she wages everywhere alongside her war of devastation. France's resolute resistance against both should prove an inspiration to Russia, to Italy, and to us who have shown such indulgence toward Germany's friends in our midst.

Mr. Clémenceau has had the courage and good sense to decide that court martials would deal with all crimes against the pub-

lic security in time of war. The success of this move, which may be discounted, should provide a salutary example to be followed elsewhere, particularly in Russia, Italy, and the United States.

These scandals were handled with seeming half-heartedness by Paul Painlevé, who succeeded Alexandre Ribot. Painlevé, in fact, seemed anxious to extricate his colleague Malvy from the embarrassments in which the latter had involved himself through his own acts and omissions. It was this weakness on Painlevé's part which led to the downfall of his Ministry. Painlevé had just returned from Italy bringing back a new watchword for the Allied cause: "A single front, a single army, a single nation." The Chamber of Deputies formally approved his work in Italy on the evening of the day when he spoke these words in the acquiescing presence of Lloyd George and a member of the Italian Government, words which have since been approved in effect by President Wilson's message to Colonel House, our chief representative in the Allied War Council sitting in Paris, in which the participation of the United States has been expressly declared to contemplate unity of action. But when Painlevé asked the Chamber to go further and express like approval of his conduct of the internal problem, the Chamber balked and he fell, making way for Clémenceau, who succeeds him as premier and war minister.

Just before his fall Painlevé succeeded in committing to the capable hands of General Foch, who stopped and hurled back the Germans at Fère-Champenoise, where the decisive phase of the Battle of the Marne was fought, the task of coöperating toward a similar result in Italy.

By a happy coincidence, Foch is the man whose indomitable spirit and infinite resourcefulness appealed so forcibly to Clémenceau during his previous premiership that he appointed him at the head of France's war college, for which post Foch was not a candidate. Much of the brilliant work done by the French Army in this war is directly traceable to the spirit which Foch instilled into it, through his work in the war college and later in the field at the Marne, at Ypres, and elsewhere. If the United States and their Allies are able to carry unity of action to its right conclusion by agreeing on a commander-in-chief of all the Allied forces, Foch is the man.

It is true that Clémenceau has a host of

enemies. All the time-servers and compromisers, all those inclined to put selfish or sordid considerations above patriotism, the many whose weaknesses and incapacities he has denounced in the course of a long career, are against him. But the country is with him.

When President Poincaré summoned him to the Elysée to entrust the organization of a new government to him, he did so at the behest of the nation, and as he did so even the time-servers and compromisers were hushed, so general was the feeling that the hour of France's strong man had struck.

The writer has in mind a scene he witnessed in the French Chamber of Deputies in the summer of 1909. Jaurès was speaking. He was scolding the government for what he called its provocative attitude toward Germany in Morocco. Premier Clémenceau sat at the bench of the ministers listening with obvious impatience to the resonant sentences of the Socialist tribune. Next to him sat Stephen Pichon, the Foreign Minister, who has just returned to power as such under the same chief. As Jaurès elaborated the fancied, manufactured grievances of Germany, the German Ambassador of that day, Prince Radolin, sat in the front row of the diplomatic gallery. Finally, Pichon could contain himself no longer; he arose and queried of Jaurès: "Has Germany asked you to tell us these things?" Pandemonium broke loose on the extreme left, among the ultra-Socialists. Obviously the thrust had knocked some of the wind out of Jaurès. He went on, however. Meanwhile, Prince Radolin's face was a study—so was Clémenceau's. As Jaurès regained his seat, Clémenceau arose and, looking quietly at his antagonist, said simply this: "M. Jaurès, you may criticize our policy, but you cannot explain yours." These words fell with the sharpness of the knife of a guillotine. Nothing remained of the effect of the oratory of Jaurès after that.

France is fortunate in having been able to call upon her strong man to take the helm just as the Allied War Council gathered in Paris, at which time these lines are being written. That Clémenceau will have proved to be the dominating figure of that Council the writer confidently predicts. Added to the endowments which have already been described are his sympathetic understanding of Great Britain and the United States. We in this country have special reason for satisfaction in the fact that the new French

Premier knows us from the inside, having spent three years in our midst in days gone by. His knowledge of our language, of our ideas and ideals, his friendships among British statesmen and his strength as a human dynamo, his indomitable courage constitute

a quick asset of incalculable value on which his country and her Allies are about to realize. His success will make it difficult for any country to keep her strong man on the shelf at this time. There is only one such country left in the group of Free nations.

CHANCELLOR VON HERTLING, STATESMAN-PHILOSOPHER

BY EDWARD T. HEYN

COUNT GEORG VON HERTLING, the new German Chancellor, is a Bavarian citizen, but was born in the Grand-Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt, in 1843. He is descended from a noble family. One of his progenitors was Johann Friedrich von Hertling, a chancellor and minister of state of the Hessian Palatinate, the Kurpfalz. Hertling's father was a court chamberlain, of Hesse-Darmstadt, and his mother, Antonie von Guaita, belonged to a Portuguese banker's family which had settled in Frankfurt-on-the-Main. Hertling is married to a Countess von Biegelben, of one of the orthodox Catholic families of Hesse-Darmstadt.

Hertling, when twenty-four years old, was appointed a "*privat docent*" at the University of Bonn, and professor in 1880. In 1882 he was called to the Munich University to fill the chair of philosophy, and held this position until 1912 when he was appointed Bavarian Prime Minister. Hertling became a member of the Reichstag in 1875 and was repeatedly reelected. While in the German Parliament he had the opportunity to see the tremendous growth of the "Centrum," the German Catholic party, now represented in the Reichstag by ninety-nine members. Hertling, for many years, was the able assistant of the noted Centrum leader, Dr. Lieber. Lieber, a democratically-inclined politician, was a man of learning, a skilled tactician, and a worthy successor of Windhorst, the great Centrum leader, Bismarck's adversary.

After Lieber's death Hertling was made party leader. He was always one of the hardest workers in the Reichstag. To him, more than to any other deputy in the German Parliament, was due the passage of the epoch-making social-insurance legislation which extended protection to the German

working people in case of sickness, disability and old age. Hertling displayed similar activity in bringing about the passage of the *Buergerliche Gesetzbuch*, the remarkable Civic Code which established uniform laws for the whole German Empire—a problem still unsolved in the United States. Hertling on several occasions supported the bills increasing the size of the Germany army and navy, as well as the legislation which fixed high tariff duties, especially on agrarian products.

As a member of the Reichstag Hertling spoke rarely, but when he did so always delivered carefully prepared and scholarly speeches. His attitude was usually diplomatic and conciliatory and quite different from the aggressive tone frequently used by other Centrum members, notably the two Wuerttembergers, Groeber and the fiery Erzberger. Hertling, indeed, was the only member of the Center party who defended Chancellor von Buelow's Morocco policy. At the same time it should be said that, following the usual Janus-face policy of the Center party, Hertling did not hesitate to take the very opposite position when Buelow fell in disfavor with the Center party.

HERTLING BAVARIAN PRIME MINISTER

Hertling, at the age of seventy, became Bavarian Premier. Two important questions, always burning in German politics, received his early attention, namely, social reforms and the admission of the Jesuits into Germany. Addressing the Bavarian landtag on the subject of social reform, Hertling declared that Germany should spend more for this purpose, rather than on larger armaments, for the German people, he added, could no longer stand these increased bur-

dens. He asked the Socialists to propose definite social reforms, instead of opposing everything in that direction proposed by the Bavarian Government.

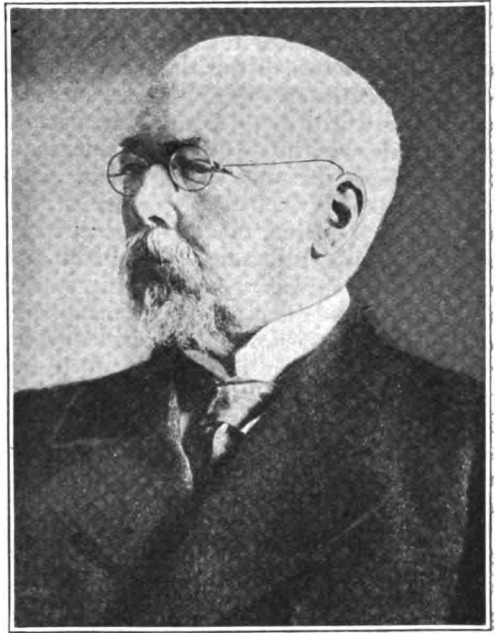
As a result of Hertling's speech the Bavarian landtag passed a bill appropriating 75,000 marks for workmen's unemployment insurance. With regard to the obnoxious anti-Jesuit law, passed in 1872 and a bone of contention in Germany for over forty years, the Hertling cabinet decided that the law did not prevent Jesuits from attending social conferences or making public addresses. The Bavarian Government next called on the Bundesrat to suspend the Jesuit law. The Reichstag, with the support of the Socialists, in three readings passed a bill for the abolishment of the law. However, as so often in German political affairs, the Bundesrat declined to obey the mandate of the parliament. Only since the war the anti-Jesuit law has been taken from the German statutes.

A similar subject which has always troubled the Center party has been the Polish question, for most of the Poles living in Germany are Catholics. Since the war the Poles of the Province of Posen have obtained more liberty, due in large measure to the support in that direction received in the Reichstag from the Center party.

HERTLING, MEMBER OF THE BUNDES RAT

Hertling as Bavarian Prime Minister was no longer a member of the Reichstag; still he wielded considerable influence in German national affairs, owing to the fact that he had been chairman of the foreign relations committee of the Bundesrat. As war cannot be declared in Germany without the consent of this federal committee, von Hertling and his royal master the King of Bavaria, with the other rulers and governments of Germany, are equally responsible with the Kaiser for the world cataclysm. Hertling, in an address made over a year ago, said:

We hold that the war must now in all circumstances and by all means be brought to a decision. Field Marshal von Hindenburg recently stated that theoretically the war could be continued indefinitely, as our losses were considerably smaller than our increases in men; that our frontier walls on the east, west and south were unshakable and that our economic life was continuing as formerly, although on a smaller scale than in peace time, yet in a reliable, safe fashion. We desire to bring the war to an end because we are shocked by war's sorrows. Our adversaries wish to con-



COUNT GEORG VON HERTLING
(Chancellor of the German Empire)

tinue the war because they are terrified by the horrors that peace would bring.

Hertling also said to an American correspondent:

We are not fighting for the same avowed objects as England and France. We are all fighting for our homes and fatherland. We will, we must fight on as long as England pursues the avowed object of crushing the German people, and proposes to dictate how and by whom the German people should be governed.

It is only fair to say that since the Pope's peace offer Count von Hertling and the members of the Center party as good Catholics have changed their attitude and now are very much in favor of peace. Hertling hurried to Vienna immediately after Foreign Minister Czernin's second statement that Austria was prepared to make peace with Russia. On May 9 of this year Hertling aroused a stir when, through the Bavarian *Staatszeitung*, the official organ of the Bavarian Government, he stated that Germany did not expect to obtain war indemnities, and that the principal features of her peace must be an agreement with her enemies to obtain raw materials, permission to develop her foreign trade to her utmost capacity, the return of all captured German ships, and of her lost colonies. This, the Bavarian *Staatszeitung* added, would be an

equivalent to an indemnity of many millions.

Again in October of this year, addressing the chief committee of the Bavarian Chamber, Count von Hertling discussed Bavaria's separate answer to the Pope. He denied that Bavaria was following an independent policy distinct from that of the rest of Germany, and the very contrary was true. The aims of the Imperial Government had received Bavaria's full support. "Nothing could be further from the aim of the peaceful German nation and her government than the thought to attack other countries and to attempt to widen her territory by force of arms. For neither a victory nor extension of territory could compensate Germany for the fearful horrors of war and the resulting destruction of all ethical and economic values."

HERTLING AS CHANCELLOR

Hertling is not the first Catholic Chancellor. The late Chancellor Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingfuerst was a Catholic, but not a member of the Center party. Hohenlohe had a leaning towards "Old Catholicism," and politically held liberal views. Hertling, on the other hand, is a decided Ultramontane. On a number of occasions he was entrusted by the Prussian Government with important missions to the Holy See. For it should not be forgotten that although Prussia nominally is a Protestant state, before the war it maintained a minister at the Papal Court. Hertling has always enjoyed the confidence of the Vatican, and it is no diplomatic secret that throughout the war he and the Bavarian Government have been in touch with the Pope.

Hertling, last July, was offered the post of Chancellor, but the "old fox," as he is called in Bavaria, wisely declined the position, and supported Michaelis. He realized that his time had not yet come. Hertling fully enjoys the confidence of the Kaiser, and it is said on numerous occasions the German monarch recommended his entourage to follow Hertling's suave and diplomatic conduct of public affairs.

HERTLING AND ALSACE-LORRAINE

The question what to do with Alsace-Lorraine will be a serious problem for Hertling to solve. He has repeatedly changed his attitude on this question. At one time he favored the division of the provinces between Bavaria and Baden. Lately he has been in favor of granting them political au-

tonomy. In an important utterance Hertling recently said:

To give up Alsace-Lorraine is not to be thought of, and the majority of the population of the two provinces would not welcome such a measure. A decision as to the kind of government which Alsace-Lorraine shall receive cannot be made in a hurry. An independent federal state cannot be shot out of a pistol.

HERTLING AS PRUSSIAN MINISTER PRESIDENT

Students of German affairs are now wondering what Hertling will do as a Prussian minister, for it should not be forgotten that he is both Imperial Chancellor and Prussian Premier. What will Hertling do to give Prussia universal suffrage? The Center party has always opposed the reform of "the most rotten electoral franchise," as the Prussian suffrage was once called by Bismarck. Hertling has already said that he does not favor a decided ballot reform, and also has refused to change Paragraph 9 of the national constitution enabling a member of the Reichstag at the same time to be a member of the Bundesrat.

HERTLING THE PHILOSOPHER

Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg was greatly interested in philosophical subjects, and this is also true of Hertling. The present German Chancellor has written numerous philosophical books. He is one of the foremost living authorities on Aristotle and on Albertus Magnus, the famous schoolman of the Middle Ages. Hertling's book, "The Principles of Catholicism and Science," has been translated into sixteen languages. Strange to say, his name does not appear in the "Britannica," in the American "Catholic Encyclopedia" or in similar American books.

In all of his writings Hertling shows himself a most devout Catholic. In his work on "The Principles of Catholicism and Science" he says there can be no contradiction between science and the revelation as taught by the Catholic Church. Through Hertling's activity the Vatican was induced to establish a Catholic theological faculty at the Strassburg University. For some years Hertling was the president of the Goerres Society, a Catholic scientific organization which aims, to employ the words of the Center leader Windhorst, "following the example of the famous Catholic historian Jansen, to aid historical research and to purge history from the Protestant legends and forgeries, with reference to the events which caused the Reformation."

HOW RED CROSS MONEY IS HANDLED AND SPENT

BY IVY LEE

WHEN the War Fund drive was conducted, last June, the American people subscribed a little over \$100,000,000 for the purposes of the Red Cross. It was an act absolutely without precedent. The world had looked upon the United States as a great, powerful nation, but as inclined to be mercenary and selfish. Our stupendous Liberty Loans, plans for great armies and navies, and great munition outputs, merely confirmed the view the outside world had had of the greatness and power of America. But that we should subscribe a fund of \$100,000,000 at the very outset of the war for the relief of humanity, gave the world an entirely new vision of the essential meaning of American life and character.

Up to date approximately \$85,000,000 in cash has been collected. Of this amount, a little over \$40,000,000 has been appropriated. The demands, however, in Europe are increasing with great rapidity. And the \$100,000,000 fund cannot last on the present basis of expenditure much beyond the spring.

The American Red Cross is the greatest humanitarian agency in the history of the world. The War Council, appointed by President Wilson and headed by Henry P. Davison, is conducting the affairs of this great organization on the theory that it should contribute to these great aims:

First, to be ready to care for our soldiers and sailors whenever and wherever that care may be needed.

Second, to the shortening of the war by relieving the sufferings and bolstering up the courage and morale of the civilian populations as well as the armies of our Allies.

Third, through carrying a message of relief and mercy, as an expression of the sacrifice and sympathy of the American people, to let our Allies know that this is not a mere money-making nation, but a great money-making nation—and thus, through promoting a better understanding between ourselves and all the Allied nations, lay foundation for an enduring peace after the war.

The most important work the Red Cross is doing at the present time is in its efforts to strengthen the morale of the Allied peoples and armies, especially those of France. General Pershing's army cannot attain full effectiveness in France for many months to come, and in the meantime the French army must hold a great part of the western line. If the French line should give way, Pershing's army would have to fill the gap no matter what its state of unpreparedness.

France has been bled white. Her people are suffering as few peoples have ever suffered. Some 500,000 people have contracted tuberculosis as a result of the war. Last year 1,100,000 people in France died and only 300,000 babies were born; and France all this time has been fighting *for us*, and is to-day holding the line for us while we get ready.

The Red Cross War Council therefore feels that the greatest service it can render to suffering humanity is at this very moment to do everything in its power to buck up the French, thus shortening the war, and saving the lives and limbs of American soldiers. That is why such large sums are being expended by the Red Cross among the civilian population of that country.

For our own soldiers and sailors, everything that can be done will be done. Of course, Red Cross work is only supplementary to the work of the Army and Navy, and during the period of preparation for actual service must devote itself primarily to getting ready to respond to emergency calls. For the moment, everything is being done that we are called upon to do in the cantonments and camps in this country, as well as for the troops of General Pershing in France.

The work of the Red Cross is being conducted with an economy and efficiency almost without precedent in any organization, and this primarily for the reason that it has been enabled to have the volunteer services of an exceptionally large number of the important business men of America. It is en-

joying the devoted service, without pay or expense of any kind, of some of the most experienced and successful of our business men and social workers. Its operating expenses are more than met by its membership dues, so that every cent contributed to the War Fund goes for relief.

All expenditures of the Red Cross are being subjected to the constant and continuous scrutiny of auditors under the direction of the War Department, so that every dollar contributed will be carefully accounted for. Reports in great detail are being constantly made to the people, and it is the policy of the War Council to conduct all the affairs of the Red Cross during the war as an open book.

Commissions representing the American Red Cross are to-day at work in France, England, Russia, Serbia, Rumania, and Italy. These commissions have been composed of some of the ablest and most suc-

cessful American business men and workers along lines of Red Cross activity. They are advising the War Council as to the means by which the Red Cross can most effectively extend relief to peoples and armies in those countries, and after their recommendations have been acted on by the War Council, these commissions are executing the work of relief carefully and efficiently and with the purpose of making their activity an expression of the fine friendliness and desire to help on the part of the American people as a whole.

The Red Cross is not seeking to compete with any existing relief organization, but aims to coördinate the relief activities of all organizations for a common purpose. It is the ambition of those who are conducting the Red Cross in this war to make its emblem a symbol of the heart and soul of the American people in their efforts to extend a helping hand to a bleeding world.

WHAT OUR RED CROSS IS DOING IN FRANCE

BY MARION G. SCHEITLIN

TO a recent news cablegram sent by the American Red Cross Commission in France to the War Council in Washington there was appended this sentence:

If the American people could only get a picture of the misery among those daily driven out of their homes and dumped in poverty among other parts of the country—oftentimes terribly sick or mutilated—they would gladly do all in their power to help.

This was not an appeal for aid; it was an involuntary expression—aye, prayer—of unselfish men drawn from them by the picture on which they had gazed since the War Council sent them to France. A ghastlier picture was never limned by the brush of Verestchagin. This picture—a panorama of France and Belgium created by the insensate and insatiate savagery of the Hun—is in a great measure dimmed by distance to most of us in America. The pictures of Serbia, Rumania, Armenia—any spot where the super-Goth has wielded his weapons of destruction, torture, and death—are equally shocking, albeit even dimmer to us than the canvas depicting the misery of France and Belgium.

It has taken Prussianism nearly three and one-half years to create this picture. If peace were to come to-day it would take ten times three and one-half years to erase it; and there would still remain some ineffaceable blotches. But while the paint is still fresh and the blood-red coloring still vivid, let us try to visualize it as best we may. Perhaps the best way is to take some pages from the archives of the Red Cross in the form of communications from its workers afild. These offer a series of "close-ups" from which the picture may in a measure be reconstructed this side of the Atlantic. The film in its entirety must be left to the historian.

In reflecting the high lights of this gruesome picture, with Red Cross reports as the mirror, there are reflected at the same time the efforts of that organization to tone down the scarlet in the composition and, ultimately, to wash the canvas clean.

All in the day's work a Red Cross official sends this report:

There arrived last week at Evian, where the repatriates from France and Belgium are received

back into France, a train loaded with Belgian children. There were 680 of them—thin, sickly, from four to twelve years of age—children of men who refused to work for the Germans and of mothers who let their children go rather than to let them starve. They poured off the train, little ones clinging to the older ones, girls all crying, boys trying to cheer. They had come all the long way alone. On the platform were the Red Cross workers to meet them. Those children who could walk at all marched along crying, "Meat, meat, we are going to have meat." Their little claw-like hands were significant, but a doctor said, "We have them in time; a few weeks of proper feeding and they will pull up." Thirty per cent. of the older repatriates die the first month from exhaustion. The children can and must be saved.

HELPING FRENCH AND BELGIAN REPATRIATES

Two such trains pull into Evian every day. They are laden with the too-young and the too-old—unfit grist for the Prussian industrial mill. Kultur weighs its victims only in the scales of possible usefulness to the Vaterland. The humans in its power are reduced to terms of thaler, mark, and pfennig. The grandchildren too young to work and the grandparents too old to work for Germany are cast into the discard and loaded for France. Germany needs its food. It cannot afford to reduce the rations of its fighting men by feeding, however meagerly, useless children and equally useless old people. If they have to starve it were better they starved in France. And starve many of them unquestionably would were it not for Evian, Troche, and the Red Cross.

At Evian the Red Cross took over a public building, and at Troche, twenty miles from Limoges, it turned the famous monastery of *La Grande Chartreuse* into a haven of rest and recuperation for the very young and the very old repatriates. At these two stations from 1500 to 2000 haggard, hopeless little children and aged persons arrive daily. And 30 per cent. of the older ones die during the first month in spite of all the tender mercies of the Red Cross can do!

THE STORY OF GASTON

On their arrival the repatriates are registered, washed, given fit clothing and food and then put to sleep in clean beds, the first they have seen since they fell into the hands of the Germans, probably months ago.

Tens and probably hundreds of thousands, before Prussianism is driven from the earth, will bless the Americans who made Evian and Troche possible and who sent to stricken France the white-robed, gentle-voiced wom-

en from whose raiment there blazons the Red Cross.

One of these thousands will be Gaston, aged seven, who walks with a crutch. Gaston is a type. He has thousands of little brothers and sisters. Gaston's father had gone to fight the Boches. His mother managed to keep the home until a certain day when the siren blew. That day Gaston and his sister were playing in the yard and ran to the cellar when they heard the first blast. They had been told to do so. When the siren ceased they went back to play in the yard. Then something happened, and for days after he came out of the hospital Gaston couldn't for the life of him remember what it was. The thing that dropped in the yard tore away one leg and mangled his sister. While he was in the hospital his mother disappeared. So they put Gaston on a train for Evian. The Red Cross nurse into whose care Gaston happened to fall was helping him along the road—he handled his crutch awkwardly as yet—when a woman shrieked and gathered the cripple to her bosom. Few mothers and children among the repatriates are so blessed of fortune. Tens of thousands of them will never know the bliss of such reunions.

At Evian and Troche the Red Cross, after relieving the physical needs of the sufferers, set straightway to reuniting families or such fragments of them as are left. This giving of children to parents and parents to children is one of the least spectacular, but withal one of the sweetest charities the war has developed.

THE WRECKED PRISONER OF WAR

But there is another class of repatriates—the military prisoner. He is sent to France through Switzerland by the trainload daily; and nowhere in its campaign for world domination has Prussianism displayed its marvelous efficiency in so graphic a way. Without exception these repatriates won their release from Germany by toiling under duress until not one ounce of energy was left in them.

As has been pointed out, Germany weighs enemy man-power to the gram. She has many prisoners; why conserve their strength when she has such numbers on which to draw? It is higher efficiency, argues Kultur, to draw a prisoner's life-blood quickly by working him at top speed on bran and water until the emaciated form and glassy eye tell the medical efficiency expert that the prisoner's

can be of no more use to the Kaiser. Then he is sent to France to die. And an alarming proportion of them do. Red Cross workers report that there is no sight more terrible in all this war than the trainloads of wrecked repatriates.

RAVAGES OF THE WHITE PLAGUE

A big percentage of them—strong men when the war started and they went forth to do battle for their homes—return to their beloved France in an almost hopeless stage of tuberculosis. The burden of these victims of German efficiency has been taken up by the Red Cross and the Rockefeller Foundation working in conjunction with each other. First, the tubercular among them, as well as among all repatriates, are sifted out and sent to the special tuberculosis hospitals. According to conservative reports sent to headquarters by Red Cross workers in France, 500,000 civilians in France have fallen victim to the white plague as a direct result of war conditions, aside from the repatriates; and the hideous monster is stalking through the land with an increasingly rapid stride. Dr. Hermann Biggs estimates the number of men who have fallen victim to tuberculosis in the trenches at 150,000.

CONSERVING THE FRENCH POPULATION

Of the problem of conserving human life and usefulness there is a multiplicity of ramifications. Consider these figures as a part of the picture: In France alone, in 1916, there were 1,100,000 deaths outside the battlefield, and the death toll in 1917, when compiled, will in all probability greatly exceed that figure. Two specialized efforts to check the depletion of French population, as developed by the Red Cross, are the care of infants and the re-education of the seriously crippled and blind. As against 1,100,000 deaths in 1916 there were 312,000 births, or a net loss of 788,000 of population. Facing these figures, the Red Cross set out not only to save the babies and young children, but to instruct French mothers in prenatal hygiene and scientific feeding and care of babies. And as to the care of young children, the following report to headquarters is illuminating:

We have established a temporary children's shelter at Toul, a city in the section of the war zone recently bombarded by the enemy.

Gas bombs are being used by the Germans, and the inhabitants of the nearby villages were obliged to wear face masks to escape asphyxiation. This

mode of protection, however, is not feasible for children, and it was found necessary to send the children away at once.

The prefect of the department telegraphed to a worker in Paris that 750 children had been suddenly thrust upon his hands and that he needed immediate assistance.

The next day eight workers left the Red Cross Headquarters—a doctor, an experienced nurse, two auxiliary nurses, a bacteriologist and an administrative director and two women to take charge of the bedding, clothing, food, etc.

They found that twenty-one of the children were infants under one year, and the remainder were under eight years. They were herded together in an old barracks, dirty, practically unfurnished and with no sanitary appliances. Sick children were crowded in with the well, and skin diseases and vermin abounded.

Within two days the children had been thoroughly cleaned and transferred to a new and clean barracks. Medical care had been given and nurses secured for the babies, suitable food provided and a classification of all the refugees made to prevent the separation of members of the same family. The organization of an institution for the care of these children has been worked out . . .

REEDUCATION OF THE WOUNDED

In this war's vocabulary the word "re-education" covers one of its most interesting and humane phases. Jean, who was a teamster, had his leg blown away by a German shell. He has a wife and children. He leaves the hospital borne down by that which he believes to be his helplessness and the vision of his faithful wife having to work for him and the children. Perhaps, he thinks, he can learn to be a cobbler. Nearly all the *poilus* who have lost nether limbs look to the cobbler's bench. Then Jean learns that the Red Cross, and some other organizations, are fitting such as he with artificial legs that bend at the knee and act almost like the one he lost. He is fitted, finds that he can climb on and off his cart and goes back to his former modest sphere of usefulness. Jean is lucky—he does not have to be reeducated.

But Jaques, whose eyes were pierced by bits of shrapnel, must perforce start life all over. Jaques was a mechanic of the better sort. Without the eyes he gave for France he cannot go back to his trade. So he is taken in hand by the Red Cross, taught basket-weaving or one of a dozen other trades adaptable to the blind, and placed on a self-supporting basis. Jaques is happy to think that he can take care of himself and the state is spared the expense of a dependent. There are thousands of Jeans and Jaqueses in France and Belgium and not one of them is

to be a charge of the public who has not been mutilated beyond possibility of reëducation.

HUMAN SALVAGE

A big section of France must be rehabilitated. German shells and German wantonness have razed more than 1000 French villages and towns. A Red Cross worker in a report illustrative of the utter devastation cites this instance: In company with a man who had owned a mill in a town of about 2000 inhabitants, this worker returned to it after it had been evacuated by the Germans. The miller had lived his life in the town and knew every street, lane, and house in it.

"When we reached the place," said the Red Cross worker, "my miller friend had to get a surveyor to locate the site of his mill, so complete was the razing of every building in the town."

The Red Cross is not going to undertake the task of rebuilding the villages of France. But it has initiated on the human side a comprehensive plan of giving a fresh start to those who have been left destitute by the ravages of the Germans, but who are able to work. This is the plan: To begin by reconstituting sixty families of five members each in each of four villages. The hope and expectation is that they can be made self-supporting and that the movement will spread.

CARING FOR SOLDIERS' FAMILIES

The War Council's emissaries found France so sick last summer that they were appalled at first. But, the longer they studied the picture, the more resolute they became. To-day Red Cross activities run in no fewer than twenty-five distinct channels, too many to deal with in detail here.

There is the canteen where the *poilu* coming out of or returning to the trenches may rest and smoke and get a square meal at cost—13 cents. And there is the care of the families of the soldiers, one of the most vital services rendered. It has been found that the only thing that takes the heart out of the fighting Frenchman is the fear that his wife and children suffer for lack of food and the coarse comforts they are used to. So the Red Cross looks up his family and sees to it that they do not want. With that assurance, the *poilu* goes into the fray with fresh courage and a light heart. This care of the families of soldiers has been found to be an invaluable military asset.

Not the least of the problems of war and civilian relief has been that of transportation. The railroads were found choked. After the quick-fire American fashion, the Red Cross established a system of motor-trucking between warehouses, hospitals, canteens, children's shelters, and other centers of activity that relieved the organization largely from the use of the railroads.

What has gone before bears largely on the relief of civilians. The experience of three years teaches that the time is at hand for the cessation of big offensives until spring—unless both the Allies and the enemy shall radically change their methods. The campaign during the winter will have to do largely with the care of the civilian population—housing and feeding soldiers' families, saving the babies, fighting tuberculosis, building up the warehouse and hospital service, and a score of other activities of similar nature. In short, barring the smashing of three years of precedent, this winter's is to be largely an economic campaign on the West front.

SURGEONS AND AMBULANCIERS

Certainly in no war, and probably in no other service, have there ever been enlisted so many men of renown in the medical and surgical world. Nor has there ever been equaled the effectiveness and daring of the ambulance service. Hundreds of the most distinguished surgeons of the Allied countries have given up their practices to serve the Red Cross in the saving of the wounded. Entering the service with all the knowledge their profession offered, these surgeons, through their devotion and the large number of cases of all kinds that pass under their knives, have, it is admitted, not only added volumes to the world's knowledge of surgery, but have saved lives by the thousand. One of the marked achievements, according to returned surgeons, has been the proficiency acquired in building up the face of a man who has had half of it perhaps blown away by exploding shells.

The Red Cross has made possible the success of the surgeons working under its auspices by furnishing the best equipment and supplies. One of the heaviest drains on the war fund has been along surgical lines. Before the organization got into action in Serbia, sawdust was being used to dress wounds. That has been remedied.

When the honors are finally paid in this war, none will come in for more than the

Red Cross ambulancier. He has run the same risk of death as the man in the trench. He has driven his ambulance through deluges of shells to the spot where he heard the moans of the mortally wounded and raced against death with his wounded to the nearest hospital. The ambulancier, perhaps, because of the suffering he has seen, has made the successful conduct of the war his religion. His motto is, "Unto the End."

HELPING "ANTILLES" SURVIVORS

Amidst the conflagration of war there flare up at unexpected times and places shafts of flame that for the moment rivet the world's attention. Such was the sinking of the transport *Antilles*, the first naval disaster to the United States since we took a hand in the biggest game of all history. The Red Cross is organized for the unexpected as well as for that which can be foreseen. In the *Antilles* matter it proved its alertness in coping with the unexpected. The ship went down five minutes after a torpedo tore away her side. Sixty-seven men went with her. The other 170, nearly naked, floated three hours on life rafts and were half-dead when they made port.

Instantly after the news reached Paris, a Red Cross agent sped to this "port in France." He wired the names of the survivors to Washington. He provided funds for those who had lost their money and could not get home. With the American consul and the commanding United States Army officer at the port, he saw the survivors comfortably placed in hospitals and hotels. Everything possible was done for the convenience and comfort of the 170. To the Red Cross it was merely an incident in the day's work.

WORK FOR THE AMERICAN SOLDIER

Upon the entry of the United States into the war—with the prospect that not the smallest part of the job of obliterating Kaiserism will fall to us—the burden of the Red Cross was heavily augmented. In a general sense the primary purpose of the Red

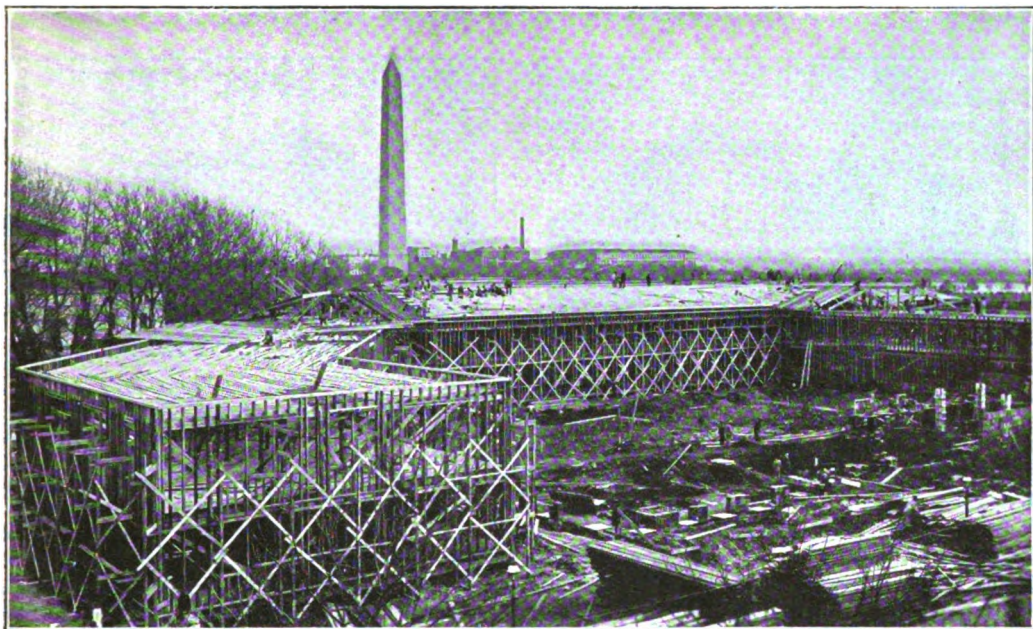
Cross is to care for the men of our own Army and Navy, supplementing the work of the Government. Three American soldiers have fallen in action and have been buried with unusual honors in French soil. How many young Americans will fill graves in foreign lands before the hour of Prussianism shall have struck God only knows. But at all times, no matter how long the struggle, the supreme object of the American Red Cross will be to safeguard the comfort and welfare of our fighting men on land and sea.

The initial work of the organization after troops began to move to camp in this country was the establishment of canteens at railway stations, supplying excellent lunches to the soldiers. As the boys leave for France they are supplied with comfort kits. And at Christmas every man in the United States Army and Navy, at home and abroad, will receive a parcel intended to convey to him the God-bless-you of all Americans. The clicking of hundreds of thousands of needles in the nimble fingers of Red Cross knitters is a familiar sound.

In the United States the Red Cross follows the soldier and sailor to the pier; in France it greets him the instant he sets foot ashore. It looks after the soldier in the coast reception camps; provides him with dispensary and rest-station service, treats his aching tooth, and in innumerable other ways makes his new life happier. At the base camps it supplements the work of the Army in making him comfortable.

And when the American soldier is captured—there are more than 100 American prisoners in German hands now—he will know that his Red Cross mother has followed him right into the prison camp, for arrangements have been made to get to him from Switzerland the same rations given to the man in the trench.

Thus, from his military cradle to his grave, if must be, the Red Cross is an omnipresent help, working for him with the effectiveness born of long experience, efficient administration, and unselfish devotion.



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TEMPORARY OFFICES FOR THE ORDNANCE CLERKS OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT

(Other temporary structures are being erected for The Council of National Defense, Food Administration, and Fuel Administration)

WASHINGTON EXPANDING

THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AS THE VISITOR OF 1918 WILL SEE IT

BY ERNEST KNAUFFT

WASHINGTON to-day is a human ant-hill of activity. As you pass the public buildings you hear the impetuous click of hundreds of typewriters. The sound is *staccato* and *vivace*. A generation ago our forebears heard only the large ticking of the grandfather's clock; the *tempo* was slower then, there were but two whole notes to a bar, but with the typewriters to-day there are sixteen quarter-notes; and in their rapid percussions we seem to hear the quickened pulse of the nation.

The eye, too, detects an accelerated movement throughout the city.

Public servants, men on commissions, dart hither and thither with a nervous step; the very pivotal storm-doors of administration buildings seem impediments to these khaki-clad emissaries.

Washington is awake.

And it is evident that the citizens are assembled to do, and not to talk. Conversation is laconic and pitched in subdued tones. On every visage we read plainly signs of determination; every man's bearing signifies responsibility. Chicagoans bring with them

their air of "I will," and the young men from other parts, when asked if they will serve here or there, are quick to respond with the vernacular affirmation, "Sure!"

It is inspiring to see all these alert and ready citizens assembled in the national capital, quite at home in its streets and buildings, testing the hospitality of the city to its utmost. And the sight suggests the question, "What part does the material city, the silent stones, and static bronzes—public buildings and statues—play in the hurrying pageant of preparedness?"

It is the adaptability to the nation's business which is being developed at the present moment in the new buildings in Washington that so few people know.

A GREAT BUILDING DRIVE

If the visitor finds himself in the heart of the city, at Sixth and B streets—the part of the Mall known as Henry Park, Reservation No. 4, the site of the old Pennsylvania station—he will witness an activity that may stir him as he has never been stirred before by a similar event, save perhaps when as a



NEW INTERIOR DEPARTMENT BUILDING

(Rawlins' Square façade, between 17th and 18th Streets)

(On the corner of F and 18th Streets)

(Designed by the Government architect. An act of Congress of March, 1913, provided for "a fireproof building of modern office-building type of architecture of sufficient area to afford . . . office accommodations for the entire organization at Washington, D. C., of the Geological Survey, Reclamation Service, Indian Office, Bureau of Mines, and such other offices and bureaus of the Interior Department as can be accommodated therein," at a cost of \$2,596,000. Later, arrangements were made for the offices of the Secretary of the Interior to be in this building. It is 85 feet in height, the maximum height permitted in the District of Columbia.)

small boy he saw the pitching of the circus tents the morning before the performance.

Here a battery of hammers is rattling against acres of pine timbers, as a lively corps of carpenters are putting up a long row of temporary offices for the War and Navy departments. They work with break-neck speed, for the contract, which calls for 1,055,000 square feet of space, demands its completion in one hundred days!

And this is all being done on a site almost opposite to the old Smithsonian Institution with its machinery of yesterday and its fossils of eons past! Thus does the Washington of the moment, the Washington of urge and action, rise cheek by jowl beside the Washington of the passive—of conservation!

Further up the Mall, behind the Pan-American building, other Aladdin-like car-

penters are also hammering away at rapid-fire pace putting the finishing touches to the temporary offices for ordnance clerks.

A block or two north are the just-completed executive offices of the National Red Cross; a row of well-lighted symmetrical buildings that look very tidy and orderly—the neatness of the Red Cross nurse symbolized in terms of architecture.

Up E street, a stone's throw away, we see a tall office building, consisting mostly of windows, that, amply illuminated in the evening, give the impression of a nest of fiery dragons wide-eyed for adventure. It is one of the many new office buildings that have been rented by the Government and turned into executive offices, in this case for the Ordnance Department—or the "Audience Department" as a street urchin told us.



NEW NATIONAL MUSEUM

(In the Mall, opposite the Smithsonian Institution and the old National Museum: designed by Hornblower and Marshall; the George Washington Memorial Hall will be erected, to align with this building, on the east)



WASHINGTON CITY POST OFFICE

(Adjoining the Union Station, both buildings designed by D. H. Burnham and Company)

Directly opposite we find another new building occupying an entire square; this, however, was built by a Government architect, and is used to house the Interior Department. It is the largest of the recent Government buildings, since the U. S. Post Office. While it is to be regretted that it does not conform more strictly to the Colonial spirit of early Washington architecture, it has much to recommend it as an executive headquarters, of the "office-building" type, as will be seen by our illustration.

COMMERCIAL WASHINGTON

Commercial Washington, too, is breathing hard.

The inrush of visitors calls for greater housing facilities and more hotels.

On the corner of Fifteenth street and Pennsylvania avenue, opposite the Treasury, is a very desirable site that should have been secured by the Government for a public building, but private enterprise has acquired it, and to-day one of the busiest spots in the

city is made doubly perturbed by steam derricks and acetylene riveters, working on a skyscraper steel frame, while the masons are laying its tiled floors, veneering its façade with grey marble. This is the New Washington Hotel—and, if steel, fictiles, and stone count for anything, will be, beyond all dispute, a fire-proof edifice.

Within half a mile of the Treasury in every direction, save southern, the business city has developed by leaps and bounds during the past decade. Anyone who has not been to Washington since the Cuban War will hardly recognize this skyscraper area; insurance companies, newspapers, automobile firms, department stores have erected clean-cut metropolitan-looking buildings that compare well with similar establishments elsewhere in the United States. Office buildings have been completed in all directions, the Government having leased a dozen of them, since the war began, for temporary quarters.

THE UNION STATION, THE POST OFFICE AND THE PLAZA: THE APPROACH TO WASHINGTON

Having considered Washington of the new office buildings, let us take up another recent improvement of the city—The Union Station, the new Post Office next to it and the Plaza, with its Columbus monument, connecting the Capitol with the station.

If these notes were prepared with Bædecker-like precision this Union Station should be the first improvement to be studied, for the entrance to a city is really the key to its artistic arrangement, as all civic planners are aware—Mr. Arnold W. Brunner has said, "The railroad station has generally taken the place of the city gate, and is usually the only approach to the modern city." But as a matter of fact few travelers, except inveterate globe-trotters, enter a city with such nice discrimination as to let their observations "begin at the beginning."

It should, however, be allowed that this view of the case is the right one, and no improvement in Washington deserves our greater consideration than this matter of the first impression made upon the visitor when he enters a city.



Photograph by Jarvis

"HOUSE" OFFICE BUILDING

(Designed by Messrs. Carrère and Hastings. A "Senate" Office Building of exactly the same design is situated north of the Capitol; see the next page)

Hence it is that when arriving in Washington for the first time the visitor, passing through the great Union Station, must, consciously or unconsciously, get an impression of "bigness" from the proportions of Mr. Burnham's massive architecture.

The scale seems to match the scale of the Capitol building, the Treasury, and the Washington Monument, and thus the visitor is properly prepared to receive the right impression of what is best in the entire city. This spacious building is 760 feet in length and 343 feet in width.

After passing through the station one stands facing the Columbus monument, designed by Lorado Taft, of Chicago, and one looks up the Plaza to the Capitol. There are still some old buildings left upon the plaza, and these must be removed, and some grading and parking must be done; but when this is completed there will be an uninterrupted view of the Capitol from the Union Station, making one of the finest approaches to a city that America can show.

All this was made possible by the plans of the Park Commission of 1901, and while now it seems as simple as A, B, C, it was not effected without a great deal of tribulation on the part of Congressmen, railroad officials, and the Park Commission board, consisting of Messrs. Burnham, Olmsted, McKim, and Saint-Gaudens.

Some day there should be placed in this



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VIEW FROM THE CAPITOL

(Looking down Delaware Avenue to the Union Station, the new City Post Office to our left on the corner of New Capitol Street. The three-winged building on the right is the "Senate" Office Building)

Our illustration on this page really gives a lesson in civic planning, and drives home, as no words can, the lesson of the intelligent designing. From the site of the Capitol building we look down Delaware avenue upon the Plaza and see at the end of it the Columbus monument, the Union Station behind that, then to the left the city Post Office, and to the left of that North Capitol street.

As the spectator thus gets a clear vista of a typical Washington view, when looking down, so conversely, when looking up, either the Plaza, North Capitol street or Delaware avenue, he gets a clear, typical view of the Capitol. And that is all there is to it! But fundamentally it is correct, while most of the entrances from

cities by way of railroad stations, *where no vistas are obtainable*, are fundamentally incorrect, and are wasted opportunities.

The new Washington asserts itself about the Union Station in more ways than one. The visitor not only grasps the spirit of impressiveness about the Columbus monument, but as he walks up to the Capitol he finds



WEST WING OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE BUILDING

(In the Mall at 14th Street; the east wing, a portion of it may be seen in our photograph, extends to 12th Street, a higher building will probably be erected, in the near future, between these two wings. Designed by Rankin, Kellogg and Crane)

Plaza a memorial to these great designers. For what they have done is not limited to local and present-day benefits, but is of national potency and of future advantage, for visitors from all over the country, interested in civic improvement, will in time to come make a pilgrimage to Washington to see this well-planned "approach."



CONTINENTAL HALL OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(Edward Pearce Casey, architect. Preserves the spirit of Colonial or Georgian architecture in a very happy way)

on Delaware avenue the new marble "Senate" office building, and on B and First streets, S.E., he finds a duplicate of it in the "House" office building.

THE TEMPLE OF SCOTTISH RITE

As the stranger hurries along avenues away from the Capitol and the White House district he is confronted from time to time



LINCOLN MEMORIAL

(Nearing completion in the Mall, on the banks of the Potomac. Designed by Henry Bacon. A Memorial bridge typifying the reunion of the North and South will connect this Memorial with the Memorial Amphitheater in Arlington Cemetery. Within this building will be placed a shrine containing a statue of the Great Emancipator by Daniel C. French)

by new buildings that startle him into the realization that the municipality is expanding on the same big scale that L'Enfant, the

planner of Washington, adopted in the beginning.

Such a building measured to a big scale, greets one on the corner of Sixteenth and S streets, a place where one would hardly look for a structure so fine in proportion, so balanced in detail. It is the white marble Temple of Scottish Rite, designed by John Russell Pope. Perhaps never before in the history of American architecture have a few city lots been made to carry so impressive a structure.

In the same neighborhood is found The Carnegie Institution of Washing-

ton, of graceful Ionic design, by Carrère and Hastings, while not far away is the Carnegie Public Library, built by Ackerman and Ross, a well-balanced marble edifice, placed back from the curb of a shady street.

It is in such buildings as these that one sees evidence that the new Washington of good taste is not going to be limited to the area near to the White House, but is expanding slowly but surely in every direction.

PAN-AMERICAN, D. A. R., AND RED CROSS BUILDINGS

It is to be hoped that the best of marble has been selected for the treads of the stairs of the new Red Cross Memorial Building on Seventeenth street, opposite the Executive Grounds, for the number of people that will pass in and out of it, during the coming year, will test the durability of the hardest stone.

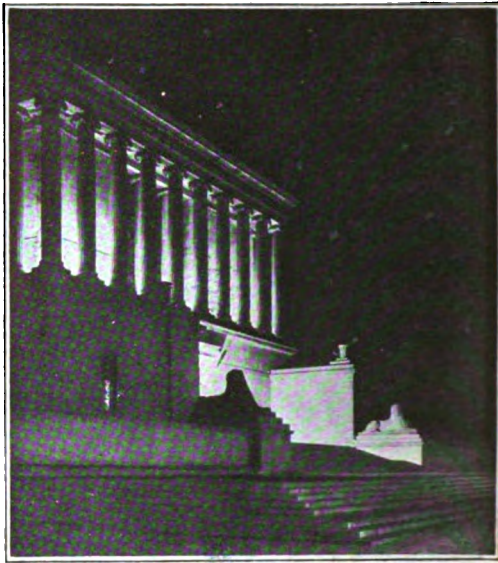
This is one of the recently completed buildings that take their places approximate to the Mall, on Seventeenth street, according to the plans of the Fine Arts Commission. The others are the Continental Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Pan-American Union headquarters.

These three buildings are of white marble, are uniform in placement, standing well back from the roadway, and though the Pan-American building is slightly Renaissance, and the other two Colonial, the buildings all harmonize, as they are well designed with proper regard for their location, and are all of about the same size and height.



THE CAPITOL ILLUMINATED

(A noble contour, impressive from any viewpoint, under all circumstances, but especially so at night. The reflection is seen in a basin of a fountain placed in Capitol Park. The designers of the Capitol were Thornton, Latrobe, Bulfinch, and of the dome—added 1851-63—Thomas U. Walter. What would Washington and Jefferson have said could they, of candle-light times, have seen this splendid effect of electric illumination!)



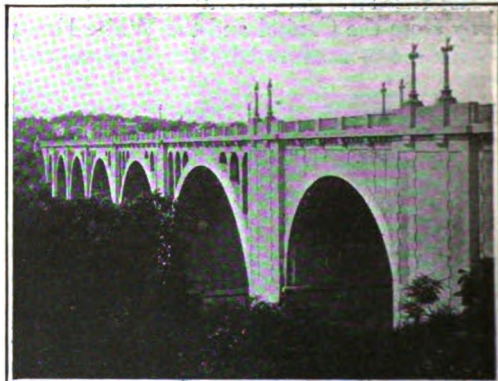
TEMPLE OF SCOTTISH RITE

(Designed by John Russell Pope. This temple cost \$1,500,000; its 33 Ionic columns are each 33 feet high, out of compliment to the 33d degree Masons, whose shrine it is; the steps are arranged in the order of sacred numbers, in groups of 1, 2, 5, 7, and 9. The sphinxes were hewn out of stones weighing, respectively, 109,000 and 110,000 pounds, the largest ever quarried in America)



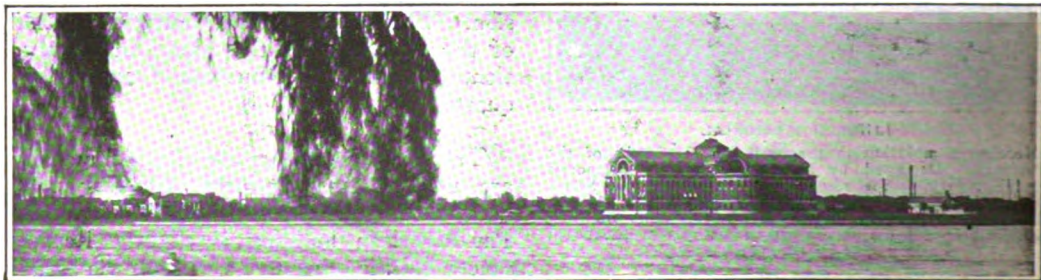
VISTA FROM POTOMAC PARK ACROSS THE TIDAL BASIN

(Showing the Washington Monument, 550 feet high)



CONNECTICUT AVENUE BRIDGE

(Said to be the longest concrete bridge in the world. Designed by Edward Pearce Casey)



ARMY WAR COLLEGE

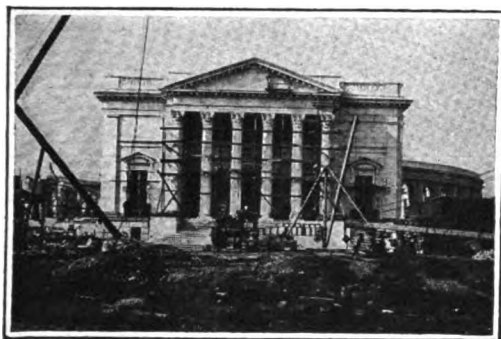
(Designed by McKim, Mead and White, seen across the water that forms the confluence of the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers. The shore line of this water is being parked and ornamented with boat landings, and swimming pavilions. There is an extensive plan for making a recreation center worthy of the National Capitol here)



PAN-AMERICAN UNION BUILDING
(Albert Kelsey and Paul P. Crex, architects. It houses the Bureau of American Republics)



CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON
(At 16th and P Streets, designed by Carrère and Hastings. A dignified building of white marble)

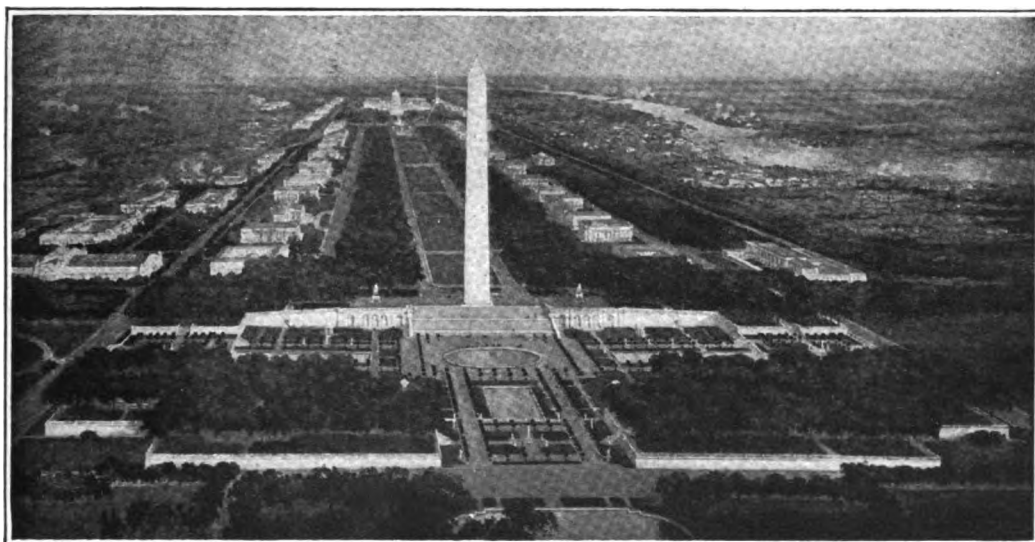


Photograph by Commercial Photo Co.

ARLINGTON MEMORIAL AMPHITHEATER
(Designed by Carrère and Hastings. Our photograph shows but a portion of the uncompleted edifice, and gives no conception of the imposing mass that, as a part of a monumental landscape composition, will dominate the already beautiful Arlington Cemetery)



AMERICAN RED CROSS BUILDING
(A Memorial to the Women of the American Civil War, designed by Trowbridge and Livingstone. One-half of the expense of the construction was borne by the United States Government, the other half by friends of the Red Cross Society of America. The building, well proportioned and good in detail, will look very impressive when the grading is completed, and trees surround it)



Photograph by Commercial Photo Co.

MODEL OF THE MALL
(Made for the Park Commission. Looking from the site of the Lincoln Memorial, up eastward, to the Capitol, showing future parking, and the proper alignment of public buildings)

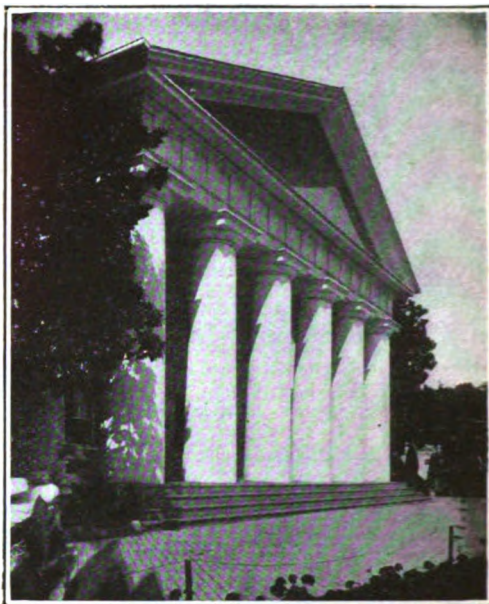
Inside of the Pan American Building is a *patio* with a sliding roof to open in summer and be closed in winter; back of the garden is a loggia ornamented with colored tiles—a striking piece of designing that brings home the lesson to architects and builders of the value of color, and especially ceramic color, in building surfaces. Similar lessons in the use of color are found in the decorations of the Congressional Library, and in the warm buff tints of the new Q Street bridge, designed by Mr. Glenn Brown.

THE LINCOLN AND ARLINGTON MEMORIALS

After the visitor has received his first impressions of Washington the active—Washington of the new executive buildings, hotels, and temporary offices—he will become aware that while the city has given paramount attention to the welfare of the present population, it has not been unmindful of its duty as the National Capital in erecting proper memorials to its heroes of the past.

There are indications that a very short time will see completed two monuments that will be the crowning glory of the new Washington—the Lincoln Memorial in the Mall and the Memorial Amphitheater on the heights of Arlington Cemetery.

Neither of our illustrations gives any idea



LEE MANSION IN ARLINGTON CEMETERY

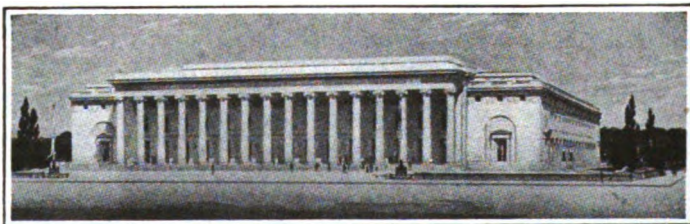
(A fine example of the Colonial, or Georgian, domestic buildings found in the District, in Virginia and Maryland, that are now serving our best architects as models for modern villas that are being built in the suburbs of Washington to-day)

of the Lincoln Memorial. The Greek-like simplicity of the monument and the quiet serenity of the accessory landscape remind one of some Doric temple of Zeus on the plains of a Mediterranean shore.

THE CAPITAL CITY OF TOMORROW: URGENT NEED FOR NEW DEPARTMENT BUILDINGS

The new Washington is part of an evolution that is to go on into the future.

The war has given a sudden quietus, it is true, to many projects, but these will be resumed as soon as the crisis is

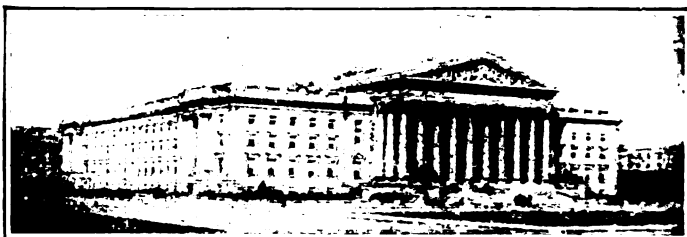


ACCEPTED DESIGN FOR THE GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL HALL

(Designed by Tracy & Swartwout. It will occupy the site on the Mall of the temporary War and Navy offices—see illustration, page 631; will cost about \$2,000,000—contributions are now being received of from 10 cents upward to complete the building fund; it will contain an auditorium seating 10,000 people)

of the stupendous impressiveness of these masterpieces of architecture when viewed under favorable circumstances, and viewed, not each as a single building, but each as a part of a landscape composition.

As one stands in the Mall late in the afternoon, his back to the Washington Monument, and gazes toward the setting sun, one sees outlined against the Virginia hills the classic contour



WINNING DESIGN IN A COMPETITION FOR THE NEW BUILDING FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

(Arnold W. Brunner, architect. The type of building that will take the place in the future of the temporary offices now being erected)

over. The temporary offices will be superseded by permanent realizations in stone of such Department Buildings as are existing at present only in designs; as for example the plans that were selected a few years ago after an important competition—the awards

having been made to Mr. Donn Barber for his Department of Justice Building; to York and Sawyer for their Commerce and Labor Building, and to Mr. Arnold W. Brunner for his Department of State Building. One of these designs we reproduce.

WASHINGTON IN WAR TIME

BY THEODORE TILLER

WITHOUT a gold mine, an oil well or a factory the National Capital at last has come upon boom times. War has brought fifty thousand new faces to Washington, filled its streets with hundreds of automobiles bearing strange license tags, crowded its hotels and apartment-houses, and produced a semi-monthly Government payroll beyond the peace-time dreams of the city's shopkeepers and souvenir venders.

A few weeks ago workmen hammered away upon a half-completed apartment-house in the residential section of the city. An official of the War Department went to the builder and said: "The Government wants that building as soon as we can get it. We are ready to sign the lease to-day and wish you'd rush construction."

This building was a dozen blocks removed from downtown Washington, where one would go ordinarily to find a Government bureau. Despite its comparative isolation, however, the building to-day is occupied by several scores of officers and nearly a thousand clerks. Rooms that were designed for reception halls, bedrooms, and kitchens are filled with long rows of typewriter desks, with a young woman at each, while here and there sit generals, colonels, majors and captains.

Uncle Sam moved into this building before it was completed. The rooms are still unpapered, and refuse of the carpenters is seen about the entrance-ways. Furthermore, the Government told the builder that if he would get busy and erect a similar apartment-house across the street another branch of the War Department would move in immediately. Ground has been broken and the United States has pen in hand to sign the lease.

This is merely one illustration of what war has meant to Washington. The easy-going old town must almost pinch itself to

realize that the changes are actually real.

"Wartime Washington" is quite unlike the Washington of a year ago. The entire atmosphere of the city has changed. Pennsylvania Avenue and F street, thoroughfares where the city's residents strolled listlessly in 1916, remind one to-day of the bustle of Fifth avenue and Broadway, New York. The throngs move with alacrity, traffic policemen can have no more day-dreams, and the general congestion puzzles and disturbs the oldest inhabitant.

Literally thousands of men in khaki or Navy blue may be seen nowadays upon the streets of the capital. It has become a "city of salutes," for each soldier salutes each sailor as they pass, or vice versa, and the crooked elbow is everywhere seen.

The visiting warrior, too, receives his homage. Since the war came to America Washington has been host to a half-score of foreign commissions and the uniformed representatives of all of the allied nations. The invalided Canadian, en route to his home, comes by the capital of the greatest democracy. The Briton, in uniform much like our own; the Scot, in his kilties; the Frenchman, in his stiff little cap and war suit of light blue, and the Russian, with black trousers and coat of drab, parade the business and residential sections of Washington and lend a picturesque touch and an element of war's realism to the capital of the Nation.

Until the war declaration the officers of the Army and Navy were hardly to be distinguished from the civilian in Washington. With war came the order that all officers of the Army and Navy must wear their service uniforms and this has brought a curious and visible mingling of official and civil life at the seat of Government.

It is difficult to approximate the number of officers of the Army and Navy now on duty in Washington and thereabouts. There

is a steady flow in and out of the departments. Regular and reserve officers report for staff work, only to be sent to a command, in many cases, within a few days or weeks. Others take their places and the war machinery never stops.

Camp Meade, with its population of about 25,000 soldiers, is within twenty miles of the capital. Quantico, where 12,000 marines are training, lies just down the Potomac. At Fort Myer there are some 1200 student officers; and several hundred engineers are training at the American University on the outskirts of the city. All these camps at intervals pour uniformed visitors into Washington, cause the theaters to hang out S. R. O. signs, crowd the trolley cars and overrun the restaurants.

When one adds the visiting delegations of citizens, contractors seeking Government work, promoters, politicians, men who want to get into or out of the Army, would-be concessionaires, and the families of men who have been called here on war work, it is easy to understand why Washington hotels require reservations far in advance and the boarding-houses and business establishments are enjoying an era of unusual prosperity.

The centers of war-time activity, of course, are in the Government departments. Approximately 20,000 civilian employees have been added to the Washington payroll of Uncle Sam since April 6. This figure does not include the hundreds of volunteers who are working without pay, or for the nominal sum of \$1 per year. War-time necessity has brought to the capital many such volunteers—men of large affairs in the industrial world—for instance, Julius Rosenwald, Daniel Willard, Bernard M. Baruch, Howard E. Coffin, Walter S. Gifford, Edward Chambers, J. Leonard Replogle, Theodore Whitmarsh, G. Harold Powell, Dr. R. L. Wilbur, Judge Lovett, and so on.

The Civil Service Commission is certifying additional civilian employees at the rate of several hundred per day. There is still a paucity of good stenographers and typists and experts who can assume executive positions in certain technical branches of the Government service.

The last issue of the Blue Book, which lists biennially the classified employees of the United States, showed slightly more than 43,000 employees were engaged in the executive departments. Inclusive of the new bureaus, such as the Food Commission and the

Fuel Administration, there are now more than 62,000 employees on the payroll in Washington.

Assuming that the average salary paid is \$1000 per annum, the addition means that the new employees will receive—and to a large extent spend—about twenty million dollars a year in the National Capital.

The roster of the War Department shows the largest increase. When this article was written (in the middle of November) John C. Scofield, chief clerk of that department, furnished figures showing that 5138 names have been added to the department's rolls since war came.

There has been practically a 100 per cent. increase in the clerical force of the Navy Department. About 2500 employees have been added, this number including nearly nine hundred "yeo-women." These "yeo-women" receive the initial salary of the yeoman, which, with allowances, runs their salary up to about \$75 per month.

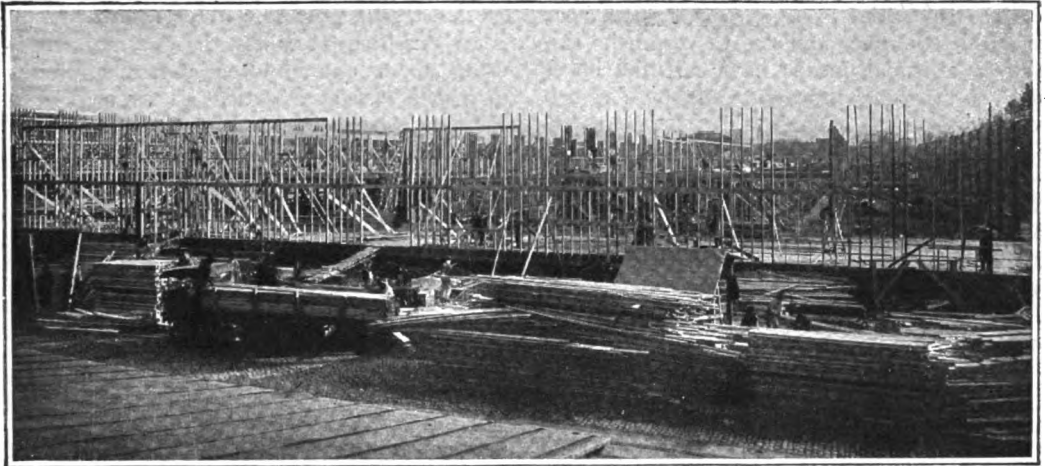
Herbert Hoover's food administration now employs approximately 700 clerks. The number of clerks engaged since the war began by new and old departments and bureaus include the following, the figures being approximate:

Council of National Defense, 650; Exports Administration Board, 750; American Red Cross, 700; Shipping Board, 425; Fuel Administration, 100; Bureau of Efficiency, 50; Treasury Department, 2000; Department of Commerce, 400; Department of State, 150; Agricultural Department, 500; Government Printing Office, 1000; Department of Labor, 75.

These figures do not include thousands of field agents engaged by the several departments, nor the civilian and enlisted employees of the Washington Navy Yard, nor various bureaus where the increase has not been marked.

Moved by a country-wide call for assistance in the operation of the war-time machinery, the Civil Service Commission within the past six months has certified for employment, "including both the Field and Departmental service, approximately 120,000 to 125,000 persons." This large number embraces prospective appointments in all branches of the Government service and in all sections of the country.

The Commission is aware of the housing problem in Washington. On the bulletin board in the Commission's offices there is posted this notice:



© Harris & Ewing, Washington

TEMPORARY OFFICE BUILDINGS FOR THE WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS

(At 6th and B Streets, being erected from plans prepared in the office of Colonel Ridley, Superintendent of Public Buildings and Grounds, by the George A. Fuller Construction Company. These buildings will contain 1,055,000 feet of space, and must be completed in 100 days. They are of wood frame construction with exterior walls of stucco, either on metal lath or terra cotta tile, giving fireproof qualities as far as possible)

The Commission desires to maintain in its office a list of persons who have desirable rooms for rent and a list of those who are willing to furnish both rooms and board. This list is primarily for use of new employees of the Commission, but it will be available for the employees of any of the departments.

A companion notice invites the newcomer to Washington to apply to the Chamber of Commerce for aid in obtaining lodgings.

It is with difficulty that a visitor to Washington now finds hotel or boarding-house accommodations. A lawyer from a small town in Georgia, who neglected to make reservation, recently visited five hotels before he obtained a place to spend the night. At last he found a room in a "family hotel" which caters to Congressional patronage during the sessions of Congress.

For years the national convention of the Rivers and Harbors Congress has been held in Washington in December. Its headquarters have been a large hotel, now filled to the last room by well-paying guests. Indications as this is written are that the Rivers and Harbors delegates must postpone their convention, or go to another city, because of the lack of accommodations in Washington.

With all the influx of Government workers and wealthy volunteers Washington real-estate agents and boarding-houses have arrived at a state of complacency and independence. A year ago "For Rent" and "Rooms and Boarding" signs hung from the windows of hundreds of empty houses and family residences. To-day there are few desirable houses or apartments for rent and

scarcely any unfilled chairs about the boarding-house tables. When complaints are printed that rents in Washington have advanced almost to a prohibitive figure denials are forthcoming from the renting agencies. Nevertheless, conversation with the home-hunters reveals that rents have increased anywhere from 10 to 50 per cent., according to the location of the property, and in many instances families have sub-rented their homes and apartments, so choice are the opportunities for turning a profit.

At a card party recently one of the feminine players observed that: "Marie has rented her house, furnished, to an Army officer. He offered her such a fabulous sum she simply couldn't refuse."

This is the popular conception of one phase of war-time Washington.

Furnished houses and apartments bring substantially any price that may be asked, and unfurnished apartment-houses are rented in their entirety before the buildings are well under way.

One frequently hears of instances where wealthy residents, called here by war duty, have paid far in excess of normal rentals—and have been glad of the chance, so crowded has the city become. It is claimed by some who have made the rounds that furnished apartments bringing \$75 in rent a year ago are now commanding from \$125 to \$175.

These conditions are due in part to the large number of volunteers who are now serving the Government here and the presence also of many reserve officers suddenly

called to active service. But both the wealthy volunteer and the Government employee of small means have felt the effect of Washington's prosperity and high prices.

The general expansion of the Government's machinery is illustrated by the increase in officer personnel of the Ordnance Bureau—which must spend about three billion dollars during the first year of war. Last April the Ordnance Bureau claimed just 97 officers. On November 1 it had a few short of 1800 officers, many of them reservists. Its officer personnel eventually will approximate 5000.

The construction-and-repair division of the Quartermaster Corps consisted of Brig.-Gen. Isaac W. Littell, a handful of officers and comparatively few clerks seven months ago. It was confronted with the job of building sixteen National Army cantonments—each a city of 40,000 population. To-day General Littell and his force occupy the apartment-house at Fifteenth and M streets, spoken of in the beginning of this article, and they could use more room.

Within the past few days practically an entire office building was taken over by the new War Trade Board. Pending completion of its own structure the Food Administration has been quartered in a tourist hotel hurriedly dismantled for office uses. Persons having business with the War or Navy departments are apt to find the desired bureau in an old residence or near skyscraper (Washington has no very high structures) blocks away from the massive State, War, and Navy Building.

The Capital went "dry" on November 1; and even abandoned saloons are being in-

spected with a view to conversion into offices.

In Washington to-day the Government is using about one hundred rented buildings in widely separated sections of the city. Co-ordination has been possible in everything except the housing of Government workers.

Buildings—not unlike the low, squatty cantonment structures—are now being erected for the Council of National Defense, certain branches of the Red Cross, and the Food and Fuel administrations.

Altogether "Washington in War-time" is passing through its greatest adventure. The Spanish-American war was of such short duration that the Capital barely emerged from its sleepiness. President McKinley's total war budget was \$50,000,000 and Washington had barely begun to spend it when Dewey won his victory at Manila Bay. During the Civil War the Capital was little more than a village. Blue-clad soldiers trod its unkempt streets and there was plenty of excitement, but the stage setting was entirely different from that of to-day. There were no visiting foreign commissions to entertain, no airplanes in demonstration flights, no motor-trucks loaded with supplies, and no thoroughfares dotted with the automobiles of millionaire volunteers and the vari-colored uniforms of allies.

It is estimated that the war already has brought 50,000 strangers to Washington. It has taxed the Capital—from telephone service to street-cars and restaurants—to take care of them. However, when the war is over it may safely be predicted that Washington will retain much of the "pep" she has taken on and will be a still more interesting Mecca for the tourist in years to come.



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TEMPORARY QUARTERS FOR FOOD AND FUEL CONSERVATION BUREAUS

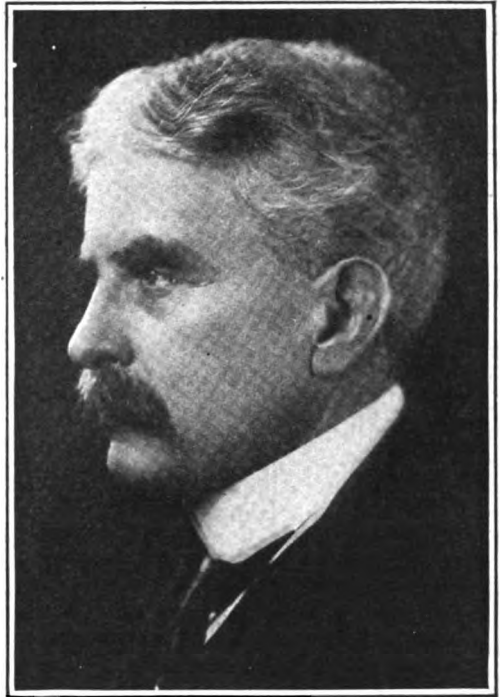
(This temporary housing was completed in fifty days at a cost of \$500,000, and is one of more than a dozen similar groups of buildings)

THE CANADIAN ELECTION

BY P. T. McGRATH

ON December 17, Canada will have a general election, in some respects the most notable the world has ever seen. A union government will appeal to the constituencies for an endorsement of a policy of conscription to maintain Canada's armies in the field, while a War Time Election Act, recently passed by the Ottawa Parliament, will enable the taking of the votes, not alone of the Canadian soldiers and nurses overseas, as far as possible, but also those of the wives, widows, mothers, and sisters, residing in Canada, of the men of the fighting forces; for the franchise has been granted to such women for this occasion. The principle of soldiers voting was recognized a year ago in the Australian plebiscite on conscription, and it has been claimed that, strangely enough, the majority of the votes of the soldiers in the trenches were cast against that policy, but the granting of votes to the women relatives of soldiers is a new one, and has provoked much bitter controversy in Canada.

When the measure was enacted, the union government had not been formed and the bill was stubbornly opposed by the opposition party (the Liberals), both because the franchise was not granted to *every* woman, and because male residents of Canada of alien enemy extraction, not naturalized more than fifteen years, were also denied a vote in the pending election, and these represent a substantial proportion of the population of the Western Provinces. The government (Conservatives) defended the disfranchising of these men on the ground that Australia had previously done so, and justified the enfranchising of the women relatives of soldiers by the argument that the services of their menfolk warranted this concession. The Liberals retorted that this was a "gerymander" measure to ensure the government's reelection, and the Conservatives, while repudiating this contention, professed expectation of a substantial majority—not in favor of their own party, but in favor of the principle of Canada's continued participation in the war, which they claimed the reelection of the Borden Admin-



Photograph by Press Illustrating Service

PREMIER BORDEN, CHAMPION OF CANADIAN
CONSCRIPTION

istration would represent, in the eyes of the world.

The Canadian Parliament, which is now about to be replaced, was elected on September 21, 1911, when the issue was Reciprocity with the United States, advocated by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in power up to that date, but repudiated by the country at the polls by a decisive majority through the election of the Conservatives under Sir Robert Borden. The life of a Canadian Parliament is five years, but early in 1916, owing to the war still being in progress, both parties at Ottawa agreed to a resolution inviting the Imperial Parliament to pass an act extending the life of the Canadian House for another year—the prescribed procedure in such a case. The past spring, however, when a similar proposal was made by Sir Robert Borden for a further extension of twelve months, it was opposed by the Lib-

erals, who insisted upon an appeal to the country, believing, in the opinion of many, that there was such disaffection throughout the Dominion with the rule of the Borden Ministry that they could overturn it and secure control themselves. That this would have been the outcome very many people believed, and point to this so-called "gerrymander" enactment at Ottawa as the best evidence of that; but some far-seeing observers of Canada's political situation consider the Liberals made a great mistake in not agreeing to continue the Parliament for at least another year, seeing that the war situation had not materially improved and that a long struggle, calling for the undivided effort of every portion of the British Empire, was still in prospect.

The seriousness of a political complication wherein the energies of Canada would be divided along the lines of partisan warfare profoundly impressed itself upon large sections of the people, and insistent demands for a coalition government—such as prevails in all the Allied nations of Europe, and in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and even little Newfoundland, of the British self-governing Dominions—were voiced in Canada, with the result that in October Sir Robert Borden contrived to effect an arrangement whereby leading Liberals in all the Provinces entered his Administration, and enabled him to appeal to the country at the head of a union ministry seeking the electorate's endorsement on the policy of an unabated participation in the war.

Some among the Liberal chiefs, however, remained with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the leader of that party, and will face the country under him, but the consensus of opinion is that his party has no chance of success, and is unlikely to carry many seats in any of the Provinces, except Quebec, where his French-speaking compatriots may roll up a substantial majority in his favor; thereby creating the regrettable but seemingly inevitable outcome of an English-speaking government and a French-speaking opposition, or lining up the two nationalities in opposing camps with consequences in the future not to be lightly disregarded.

The Canadian Parliament, like the American Congress, revises its membership after every decennial census, Quebec being the pivot, with sixty-five members, and the other Provinces gaining or losing in the ratio thereto. The next House of Commons will have fourteen more members than the last

one. The new representation, compared with the old, will be as follows:

	Last House	Next House
Ontario	86	82
Quebec	65	65
Nova Scotia	18	16
New Brunswick	13	11
Prince Edward Island	4	4
Manitoba	10	15
British Columbia	7	13
Saskatchewan	10	16
Alberta	7	12
Yukon	1	1
Total	221	235

The increase is wholly from the West, due to the large growth in population during the last census decade from 1901 to 1911. The Western Provinces gain 22 members, while Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick lose 8. All the Western divisions—British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba—have Liberal provincial (corresponding to the American State) governments. So have Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, while in Prince Edward Island the Conservatives have only a bare majority in the Legislature. Ontario, alone, of the nine Provinces, therefore, is Conservative, so that the chances of a Liberal sweep under normal circumstances would seem to be unusually good. Consequently, it argues the most robust patriotism and strongest sense of duty, that representative Liberals in these Provinces—premiers, opposition leaders, and prospective premiers—should forsake their own chieftain, Laurier, and rally to Borden's standard. The reason is that they fear Canada's part in the war would not be as energetically pursued under Laurier, with a Parliamentary following largely French-speaking and from Quebec, as under Borden, with a following mainly English-speaking, and from the other Provinces.

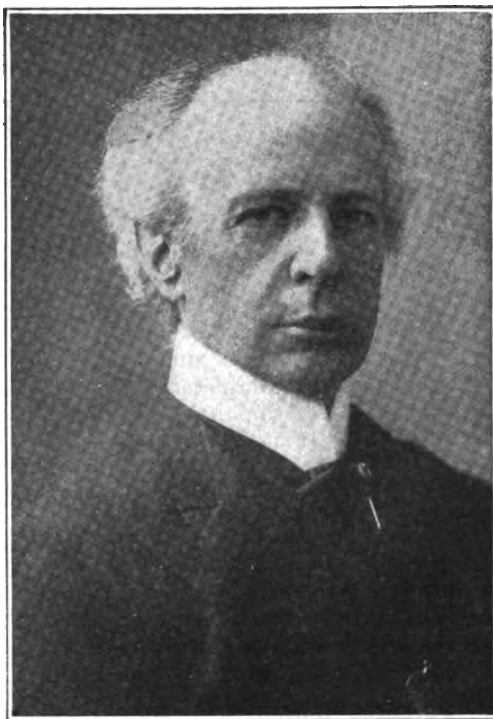
Of course, the Liberals who follow Laurier maintain that they are as sincere in desiring Canada's fullest participation in the war as are the Conservatives, but they contend that voluntary effort can supply the needed men, whereas the Conservatives argue that the possibilities of voluntary effort have been exhausted, and that conscription became absolutely necessary. Hence, the feeling that a Laurier victory would be followed by only a lukewarm enforcement of the Military Service Law, if, indeed, it was not actually repealed as some Quebec speakers insist, so that the win-the-war Liberals have

allied themselves with Borden, because of their belief that Laurier's success, though his loyalty and honesty of purpose are not questioned, would be regarded by the outside world as an evidence that Canada was faltering in her purpose, and could no longer be relied upon to remain in the war to its finish.

One of the chief reasons compelling this conclusion is the attitude of Quebec, perhaps the most extraordinary and inexplicable of any part of any Allied nation today, counting Canada, with a population as large as Belgium, as a nation, for the purposes of this article. To the ordinary observer the attitude of Quebec passes all understanding. French by tongue and descent, she will not raise a finger for her Motherland. British by conquest in bygone days, and by subsequent acquiescence in the creation of the Canadian Dominion and in its progress so far, enjoying full liberty of language and laws, without any grievance as to misgovernment such as Ireland has, or such as "Boerland" might be expected to exhibit, she remains to-day absolutely cold and untouched by the seriousness of the struggle now being waged, by the ideals for which it is being waged, or by the menace to these ideals which German militarism implies.

Various reasons are assigned for this attitude of Quebec—racial, religious, social, and the like, but none of them seems adequate. To the writer's mind, one of the most potent causes of Quebec's attitude towards the war is the displacing of Laurier in the Canadian Premiership six years ago, and the loss of the privileged position she had enjoyed for the fifteen years during which he had guided the destinies of the Canadian Commonwealth. Unlikely, again, for many a year, to see another of her sons in this outstanding position, realizing that the destiny of the Dominion is to be English in speech and development, reflecting bitterly on vanished greatness and aims now manifestly impossible, she has magnified molehills into mountains and refuses to form one among the noble band of Imperialists and Colonists who are to-day winning the admiration of the world by their exertions in the cause of freedom.

The factors, therefore, in this election are expected to be—for the union government, the soldiers overseas, their womenfolk at home, the enlightened patriotic citizens who feel that Canada cannot fall short hereafter of her splendid record thus far, the men whose sons have gone voluntarily and



SIR WILFRID LAURIER, THE VETERAN CANADIAN LIBERAL

who would see slackers forced to join them, the men who have no sons to send, but who would gladly offer them if they had, and the rank-and-file of the Conservatives, voting for the party ticket as heretofore; for the Liberal opposition, the section of the party standing by Laurier, the anti-conscriptionists in both parties (for there are such), the slackers and their relatives, and the soldiers with grievances and their womenfolk with others, of whom there are said to be great numbers—so great, indeed, according to some commentators, as to possibly prove an element which will set at naught the calculations of many. The reason is that the soldiers' votes will be taken and counted overseas, and the polls will thus not be finished for days, if not for weeks.

Still, though, a former Canadian Premier has said that "nothing is as uncertain as an election, except a horse race," it would be difficult to conceive of a better prospect for a union ministry than that which attends the Cabinet led by Sir Robert Borden. That its success will help to cement the greater union of the Allied nations in the hours of trial and tribulation which must be their portion ere victory smiles upon their cause, goes without saying.

DENVER'S MUNICIPAL COAL BIN

BY EDGAR C. MACMECHEN

UNIQUE among war relief measures in this country is the action of the City of Denver, which, for over two months, has been selling a good grade of lignite coal to its citizens from its own mines at a price more than \$2 below the local retail market.

Municipal ownership has been surpassed by this epochal municipal innovation, for Denver has no overhead charges in this connection, no permanent investment, and the people receive coal at absolute cost.

Primarily, the power of the city was invoked in the interest of people in poor or moderate circumstances; the wage-earner, day laborer or man on salary.

There is a degree of permanency in the Denver plan that is significant. The city administration contracted with three independent mine owners to take their entire output for three years. Three well-equipped coal yards were leased and a contract made for delivery. Thus, not one cent was added to the taxpayer's burden.

The idea originated with Mayor R. W. Speer, and is typical of his administrative motto: "Do something new, something better."

Last August local coal dealers advised Denver citizens to expect an advance in coal prices, because of labor scarcity and poor transportation facilities. Immediately thereafter, upon the Mayor's suggestion, the city council passed a sweeping ordinance authorizing him to utilize all powers of the city necessary to relieve widespread and general distress caused by increased cost of living.

Mayor Speer ordered an investigation by the municipal industrial bureau, the only department of its kind in America. Mr. George A. Levy, formerly chief of efficiency standards in Pittsburgh, was sent into the lignite coal fields and closed contracts for three mines.

The operators had threatened an advance in the price of lignite to \$7.50 or \$8 a ton, but the city's action effectually stopped this talk. At first the dealers showed fight, but, quickly realizing the futility and the danger of combating the municipality, they changed tactics and volunteered to supply 50,000 tons

at the city's contract price, in the event the municipal supply proved inadequate.

On September 15 the city opened its office in City Hall, selling selected lump to citizens at \$4.15 a ton, delivered in the bin, the retail price of the dealers on the same coal being \$6 and \$6.50 a ton.

Production from the city's mines opened at 600 tons a day, but soon advanced to 1000 tons, a very important factor in the total coal consumption of Denver. In addition, the city supplies city buildings and institutions with run-of-mine and slack at a cost \$1 per ton below that previously paid to dealers. This means a saving to the taxpayer of \$17,000 or \$18,000 a year.

Purely an emergency feature is the sale of sacked coal to the very poor or the man caught unawares by a cold snap. Citizens may buy 50 or 100 pounds of coal at 10 and 20 cents, respectively, either at the municipal lodging or bath house. This coal is sold at less than cost and the purchaser must remove it. To secure sacked coal of the same grade from the retailer he must pay at the rate of \$10 a ton.

Denver's citizens have accepted the municipal coal service with universal enthusiasm, in hundreds of instances pathetic in its earnestness. Many a widow, or working man, with large family, fearful that the city coal will not last, comes to the coal office and says: "I haven't saved enough to buy a ton yet, but I will earn it by to-morrow." These are the people the administration delights in serving.

The trend of public opinion may be judged by an editorial excerpt from the *Rocky Mountain News*:

The decisive step taken by Mayor Speer in arranging for the supply of coal for delivery to the people who need it most during the winter months at cost price brings hope and cheer to a large number of families that already were wondering and worrying as to how the winter was to be passed with coal at a price already almost beyond reach. Such a movement as this by the city administration will have a most salutary effect upon the whole community at a time, too, when there was unrest and mutterings on all sides regarding the exactions of certain corporations.

THE PHILIPPINES AS AN OBJECT LESSON

FOR many years Judge Charles B. Elliott was a scholarly member of the Minnesota judiciary, a lecturer in the law department of the State University, and a writer of works in the field of jurisprudence. In 1909 he was transferred to a seat on the Supreme bench of the Philippine Islands, and soon afterwards became a member of the Philippine Commission with the portfolio of Secretary of Commerce and Police, in which position he served for about three years. If he had remained in the Philippine Government we might not have had from his pen the two remarkable volumes that have now made their appearance. His retirement four or five years ago gave him time to complete his researches and to prepare his valuable historical survey for the press.¹

His first volume purports to cover the period ending with the substitution of the Commission government for the military régime, July 4, 1901. But it is much more than a record of our military occupation and control for the period of three years from Dewey's victory at Manila to the beginning of the insular central government. This initial volume is a broad study in the field of comparative politics and the relationships of Western to Eastern peoples. It reviews the periods of colonization, gives us the history of Spain's experiences in the Philippine archipelago, describes the institutions that existed at the time of our occupation, and recites the story of the Philippine rebellion that was subdued by our army. There are notable chapters dealing with the peace protocol and the Treaty of Paris, and with the American policy of expansion, these parts of the volume having the greater importance by reason of Judge Elliott's thorough knowledge of international law, diplomacy, and public affairs.

Judge Elliott's second volume covers the period of administration in the Philippines under the Commission government during the period of sixteen years following July, 1901. Here we have a series of critical but sympathetic chapters dealing with the legis-

lative policies of the United States and the administrative problems of the archipelago.

Since October of 1916, we have seen a radical change due to the new Philippine Government law enacted earlier last year. The nature of the change is expressed by Judge Elliott when he says that a "government by

trained Americans with the assistance of Filipinos was replaced by a government of Filipinos with the advice and assistance of Americans." Our author doubts the validity of the assumptions upon which Congress moved so rapidly. He regards the Commission government as having been very valuable and well suited to the Philippine conditions, while he is inclined to the view that the Filipinos were not sufficiently prepared for the responsibilities that we have now thrust upon them. His review of Philippine finances, public order, sanitary progress, education, labor, industry, transportation, and agriculture is made in a series of chapters characteristically thorough.

The volume is ended with a critical but just survey of the independence movement that finally culminated in the passage of the Jones bill. Judge Elliott is of opinion that the very effort of the Filipinos to prepare themselves for independence may lift them to a sufficient height of intelligence to see how desirable for them it is to retain the oversight and protection of the Government of the United States.

His first volume has a prefatory note by Mr. Elihu Root, who in brief compass makes some striking observations on the various methods of dealing with dependent peoples who are acquiring the difficult art of self-government. Judge Elliott, in an extended preface to the second volume, compares and



JUDGE CHARLES B.
ELLIOTT

¹ The Philippines. By Charles B. Elliott. Bobbs Merrill Company. 1082 pp. Ill. \$9.

contrasts the American treatment of the Philippines, as respects the creation of nationality, with the colonial policies of the British and other European governments.

We have in these two excellent volumes one of the important by-products of America's experience in carrying on the government of insular dependencies since 1898. It would be an interesting thing to have a volume prepared upon the training of American public men in the larger fields of politics and administration through the responsibili-

ties assumed by us in consequence of the Treaty of Paris; and the bibliography of books produced in consequence of our expanded relationships would form a most creditable appendix to such a volume.

Judge Elliott's work is a permanent contribution to the history of the United States, and it represents America in an undertaking that has been carried out, upon the whole, with high motives, great ability, and unequaled success. Here we find an object-lesson for the framers of a new world order.

A. S.

A BASIS FOR EUROPEAN UNITY

BY CHARLES H. LEVERMORE

THE first great economic foundation for that continental league of peace called the United States of North America, was the cession of the western lands to the government of the Confederation. The creation of a vast public domain, which was to be held and developed* as a common property for the common welfare, finally bound the leagued States closely together, ensured freedom of trade and enterprise across the new continent, evolved new families of democratic States and evoked that mighty "West" that saved the Republic in the Civil War.

Might not similar policies contribute to similar results for the European family of nations? They have become claimants individually to great territories in Africa and Asia. Upon many of these territories they have brought, thus far, little else than trouble and confusion. But it is evident that, for good or ill, the development of these countries, practically all of Central Africa, Asiatic Turkey, and Persia, must be controlled from Europe.

This broad band of territory, extending across the center of the old world, contains or borders upon some of the principal bones of contention, over which this war has arisen.

CESSION OF COLONIES TO AN INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

From Morocco to Walfisch Bay the west coast of Africa has been the scene of a scramble between great Powers. Asiatic Turkey with the Bagdad railway is the shining prize at which Germany aims through the "Mittel Europa" scheme. Each power

has sought colonies and spheres of influence for the exclusive benefit of its own business interests. What better way can be devised to prevent the recurrence of these "wars of steel and gold," as Mr. Brailsford has termed them, than by substituting for the rival economic ambitions of each people an agreement for the economic advantage of all? Let the great colonizing states follow the example of the American States who ceded their western lands to the Confederation.

France, Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Italy, and Portugal would then vest in an international European Congress and its executive organs the title to practically the whole of Central Africa. The same Congress should assume the receivership for the bankrupt concerns of Turk and Persian. Russia, England, France, and Germany would then have the merit of yielding each a selfish advantage, in order to cement a European union and to promote the common welfare.

At once the European League of Nations would become the administrator of a great public domain of the world. It would derive therefrom a strength and importance at the moment almost incalculable. It would begin to strike roots, as under similar circumstances in North America, into a sentiment of unity and allegiance in a new brotherhood of States. It would establish complete freedom of trade for all nations throughout the whole extent of the common territory. It would naturally add to the administration of the new domain, the responsibility for the neutralized straits, canals

and other waterways in the old world, and for neutralized territories also.

The first administrators of the new territories should be chosen from peoples accustomed to self-government and not directly involved in the present war, Swiss, Dutch, and Scandinavians.

CONSTANTINOPLE AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER?

The seat of such an international administration, congress, court, council and all, might well be moved from The Hague to Constantinople, the historic capital of world-empire.

Such a plan would solve the difficult problem of the control of the Dardanelles in the only rational way. City, straits and adjacent territories would alike be neutralized, and owned, not by Russian or Turk or German, but by the whole continent in league. For such an opportunity to do business freely in undeveloped parts of the earth, the great States might gladly surrender their mortgages on savage and half-civilized nations in Africa and Asia, and their extravagance of armament on both land and sea.

With the great objects of political exploitation thus safely removed from the grasp of ambition, at least one of the serious obstacles to the transformation of national armies and fleets into an international police force of moderate size would also disappear. With standing armies and war-fleets reduced to the lowest possible terms, England might eventually be content to place not only the Suez Canal, but also Egypt and Arabia, under the protection of the European Union.

It is true that the international organism thus created, and thus dowered with an imperial estate, would become the abiding-place of a new sovereignty, the germ of the United States of Europe, or of the old world, for doubtless Japan now and, at some future time, China and India must be included in this combination.

A CENTRAL POWER IN PLACE OF A "CONCERT OF EUROPE"

The history of the American Federal Union shows how inevitable is such an evolution, and also how desirable. Whatever the nations of Europe may think of the North American League of Peace, they will agree that it is and has been preferable to a group of discordant, mutually suspicious States, whether forty-eight or eight in num-

ber, that would have repeated on North American soil the bloody rivalries of Europe. The cession of territories and spheres of influence, here advocated, would establish in Europe, as in North America, a central sovereignty, supreme within the sphere of powers delegated to it.

Such a Central Power has become the logical successor of that Concert of Europe which the struggle for supremacy has now so badly wrecked. That Concert, weaker and more shadowy than was our Confederation, was usually paralyzed by a fatal formula called the Balance of Power.

That formula, which had kept the European Concert balanced on a see-saw for the greater part of a century went finally into the scrap-basket during the two Balkan wars. The Central Powers were the quickest to see that the Balkan Alliance of the first war and the aggrandized Serbia of the second war, were equally destructive of the pre-existent, precarious, continental equilibrium.

Either one side or the other of the dissolving Concert must win solitary domination, or both sides must be reconciled and united upon some mutually acceptable basis of agreement. No such agreement was forthcoming, and, as soon as possible, the Central Powers struck in the hope to insure what their note terms their own "liberty of national evolution."

But all this bloodshed and destruction were not needed to demonstrate the folly of asserting a national evolution which means national aggrandizement at the expense of other peoples. A European unity which takes the shape of unity in subjection to a single victor can never be permanent.

Witness the fate of Napoleon on the one hand, and, on the other, the invincible spirit of Poland and Finland, of Bohemia and Belgium. Caesarism is always fleeting. After unity in subjection has been tried and failed, there should come unity in the agreement of equals.

That unity will have a guarantee of permanence if it can be founded upon a common economic advantage.

A more fortunate age might live to see the Pan-American Union in the new world and the European Union in the old world, each proceeding upon similar paths of social and political evolution, merging their counsels, and finally perhaps even their responsibilities, in accordance with the needs of a united world.

TRAINING COLORED OFFICERS

BY LUCY FRANCE PIERCE

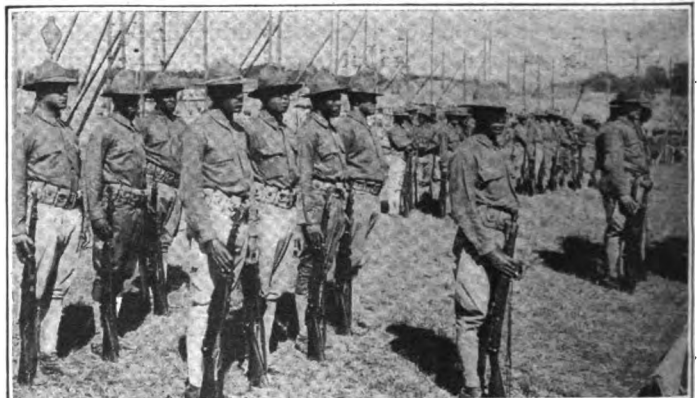
AT a special reserve officers' training camp established at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, exclusively for negro citizens, 625 men of the colored race have been commissioned as officers in the National Army. Of this number, 105 were made captains; the remainder were awarded the rank of first- and second-lieutenant. These especially trained colored officers will be assigned to duty with the full division of drafted colored troops, about to be mobilized in the various cantonments throughout the country. For the first time in the history of the United States Army, colored officers will lead colored troops. This the War Department deems a matter of justice in view of the splendid record of the black citizen as a fighting man.

The training camp at Fort Des Moines was opened on June 18, under the command of Brigadier-General C. C. Ballou, with Colonel Charles W. Castle as second in command and head of a staff of twelve West Point instructors. Twelve hundred and fifty men were enrolled for training, a picked body of colored citizens, representing every State in the Union, many colleges, and every profession in which the colored man has distinguished himself. Many lawyers, physicians, clergymen, college instructors, and successful business men were among the number. Tuskegee Institute alone furnished sixty men. Two hundred and fifty men from the four colored regiments of the regular army were accepted as candidates.

To the original three-months' period of intensive training was added an additional month and commissions were awarded on October 15, when just one-half of the original total enrollment received the cachet of military rank. The additional month of training devoted to drill and war games was

granted not because the black men were found to be deficient in grasping the technique of military science or less adaptable to military training than white men, but because it was not found expedient to mobilize drafted colored troops until November 1, and the newly made officers were not required for duty until that time. Under the able tutelage of Colonel Castle, an officer who has seen twenty years of grueling service in the Philippines and on the Mexican border, over one hundred captains have been turned out whom the commandant, Brigadier-General Ballou, views as most promising material for distinguished leadership.

The character of the training at Fort Des Moines has been identical with that arranged for the reserve officers' training camps for white men. The candidates were housed in the regular barracks of the post, which is one of the most modern in the country. They were furnished with transportation, uniforms, equipment, rations, and \$100 a month during the period of training. The units of the division of colored troops will be organized at those cantonments where the number of such troops is sufficient to organize a divisional unit. Only when ordered to France for duty will this body of troops be mobilized as a division, and it will then be the largest fighting unit of negro troops ever called to the colors.



COLORED SOLDIERS AT THE DES MOINES TRAINING CAMP, NOW OFFICERS IN THE NATIONAL ARMY

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

WHAT THE BOLSHEVIKI WANT



Photo by International Film Service

DEMONSTRATION IN PETROGRAD THAT LED UP TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE KERENSKY GOVERNMENT

(The photograph shows a procession of Bolshevik troops which successfully attacked the Winter Palace in Petrograd. For many weeks they had been gaining strength under the leadership of Lenine and Trotsky)

IN the comment that has appeared in the American press since the Bolshevik outbreak in Russia last month there has been more or less confusion regarding the cardinal features of the Bolshevik program, and especially concerning the relative stress that is placed by the leaders on particular points.

In an effort to clarify these matters the New York Times of November 18th publishes a translation of a sort of Bolshevik catechism prepared by Nikolai Lenine, the radical leader, for the purpose of formulating the platform of his party. The questions and answers included in this catechism make it clear that the Bolsheviks stand unequivocally for Socialism, for the conferring of all power upon councils of workmen, soldiers, peasants, and other classes of workers, and are opposed to a standing army. They also favor the immediate confiscation of privately owned lands. Their general attitude on the

war is indicated by the following questions and answers:

Q.—Are we against this war,

A.—Yes, we are. We are emphatically against this imperialistic war and the bourgeois government conducting it, our own provisional government included.

Q.—What is our attitude toward the predatory international treaties (about the dismemberment of Persia, China, Turkey, Austria, &c.) made by the Czar with England and France?

A.—We are against them. It is our task to make it plain to the masses that it is hopeless to expect anything in this respect from the capitalistic governments, and that it is necessary to transfer the power to the proletariat and the poorer element among the peasants.

Q.—What is our attitude toward annexations?

A.—We are against them. All the promises of the capitalistic governments to renounce annexations are false. There is but one means to expose the fraud, namely, to demand the emancipation of the people, oppressed by their own capitalists.

Q.—Should the fraternization at the front be encouraged?

A.—Yes. This is both useful and necessary. It is absolutely necessary immediately to encourage attempts at fraternizing between the soldiers of the two belligerent sides.

Writing in the *Nation* (New York) for November 15th, Mr. Simeon Strunsky analyzes the Bolshevik plan of November 8th, calling for (1) immediate democratic peace; (2) the transfer of landed estates to the peasants; (3) the transfer of political authority to the Councils of Workers and Soldiers; (4) the convocation of an "honest" constituent assembly. Considering this program in connection with the Bolshevik exhortation to the armies, which runs: "For peace, for bread, for land, and for the power of the people," Mr. Strunsky thinks that in the light of a fuller knowledge of revolutionary conditions and of the utterances of Bolshevik leaders, there is reason for reversing the avowed order of precedence, so that we might read (1) the power of the people; (2) land; (3) bread; (4) peace—if possible.

In other words, what we see now in Russia is the latest phase in the struggle, not between two foreign policies, but between two internal policies. It has been a contest between the moderate program of a political revolution preparing the way for the progressive realization of the socialistic ideal—Kerensky—and the immediate realization of the socialist commonwealth—Lenine. The Bolshevik conception—Lenine has virtually said it—is as follows: We had one revolution when the Czarism was overthrown. We have now put through a second revolution by deposing Kerensky and putting the powers of government into the hands of the "people." When we have given the

land to the peasants and the instruments of production to the industrial workers, we shall have put through the third, the final, *the Revolution*.

The *New Republic* (New York) for November 17th takes the ground that whatever may be the outcome of the present struggle between the extreme and the moderate parties in Russia the Russian Revolution will be in the long run not the accomplice of the German autocracy, but its deadliest enemy; that no Russian revolutionary party, whether Maximalist or Minimalist, will make a separate peace with the existing German Government, in spite of the fact that the salvation of the republic may depend upon early peace.

The one chance of a separate peace, in the opinion of the *New Republic*, hangs on the triumph of reaction in Russia. A reactionary dictatorship could not survive except in alliance with the German autocracy in hostility to the democracies of the West. It would need peace, not as the Revolution does, to organize domestic development, but to prepare for future violence at home or abroad.

In word, thought and deed Americans should, consequently, be loyal to the Russian revolution. They should be sympathetic with its difficulties, tender with its infirmities, patient with its confusion and apparent indecision, firm and discriminating in its support. The future peace of the world depends not only on uncompromising resistance to German militarism, but on the establishment of a basis for future coöperation between the Russian republic and the Anglo-American democracy.

THE FALLACY OF A GERMAN PEACE

PERHAPS the most noteworthy, clear-headed, and important exposition of the real meaning of Germany's amazing "pacifist offensive" that has yet been published, in America at any rate, is contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly* for November by André Chéradame, the author of that remarkable and illuminating book of last year, "The Pan-German Plot Unmasked." This exposition, printed under the general heading "The Fallacy of a German Peace," consists of three distinct articles entitled, "How Cheaply Germany Has Fought the War," "How Much Germany Has Won in the War," and "The Necessity for a Decision."

That the German formula, "Peace without annexations and indemnities," and such other phrases made in Germany as "drawn

game," "white peace," "*paix boiteuse*," have become current in the Allied countries and insinuated themselves into the general discussion is only because great numbers of the Allied peoples fail to understand the overwhelming advantages which Germany, by means of the war, has been able to assure to herself for the present and the future. And therefore M. Chéradame undertakes to show "just what these advantages are, and at the same time to brand the utter hypocrisy of the slogan, 'Peace without annexations and indemnities,' which, regarded even in the most favorable light, would allow Germany to make off with immense booty, leaving the Allies to face the incalculable losses incurred by them in a war launched by their adversary."

Many people are still ignorant of the vast advantages gained by Germany from the war because they do not yet realize that "the Quadruple Alliance of Central Europe is simply a great illusion, studiously fostered by William II, for by its means his plans are vastly facilitated. As a matter of fact, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Austria-Hungary are not the allies, but the vassals, of Berlin, and their influence with her is less than that of Saxony or Bavaria." The long-cherished dream of a Pan-Germany is to-day a realization, a fact accomplished; and Germany is fighting to maintain her far-flung dominion, and to extend it to the domination of the world.

By the creation of this Pan-Germany certain advantages have been assured which far outbalance all Germany's losses and expenses in the war. First, in order to understand the nature of those advantages, what has been the cost?

For six fundamental reasons, this writer points out, the conduct of the war has really cost the Germans far less than it has cost their adversaries: 1. *No experimentation*—Germany was prepared to produce a vast output of various types of guns and projectiles economically evolved in times of peace; the Allies were not so prepared, but had to improvise, as best might be, new types of weapons and new plants for their manufacture. 2. *Regulated Wages*—This problem, worked out at leisure in peace time, certainly allowed the Germans to obtain war materials at a lower net cost than was possible for the Allies. 3. *The Prevention of Waste*. 4. *Cheap Labor*—The Germans have forcibly enlisted the labor of about two million prisoners of war. Moreover, in the occupied territories deportation of workers (in violation of international law) has been a *general measure*. Now the Germans requisition labor from among 7,500,000 Belgians, 3,000,000 French, 4,500,000 Serbians, 5,000,000 Rumanians, 22,000,000 Poles, Ruthenians, and Lithuanians—a total of 42,000,000 slaves; to which labor they pay practically nothing. 5. *Free Coal and Iron Ore*—In addition to their own mines, the Germans have seized important coal and iron mines in France, Belgium, and Poland; a vast proportion of their ore and coal therefore costs them nothing. 6. *Economical Transportation*—Germany profits by a geographical situation which is far more advantageous than that of the Allies, as regards not only the speed, but also the cheapness of



CHORUS FROM THE "VASSAL STATES" BELOW:
"WHEN DO WE EAT?"

From the *American* (Baltimore)

war transportation. Taken together, these six factors involve a formidable difference in the totals of war expense as between Germany and her opponents.

Now, as to the advantages which Germany has reaped from the war. These consist of seven principal elements. And the last six of these depend solely on the existence of central Pan-Germany—that is, on the hegemony exercised by Germany over Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, the so-called vassal states.

The first element of German advantage considered by M. Chéradame is the booty acquired from the occupation of enemy territory. Germany is getting direct war profits from enemy lands amounting to a total of 500,000 square kilometres; and this plunder is itemized as coming from nine principal sources: 1. *Seizure of Human Material*—In the occupied territory the Germans have scientifically enslaved 42,000,000 human beings, who furnish a vast amount of labor—this labor being all the cheaper because the slaves are robbed in various ways. 2. *Seizure of War Material*—In Belgium, France, Serbia, Rumania, the Germans have taken possession of vast stores of cannon, rifles, munitions, wagons, locomotives, cars,

as well as thousands of kilometres of railway, representing several billions in value. 3. *Seizure of Foodstuffs*. 4. *Theft of Raw Materials*. 5. *Theft of Finished Products*. 6. *Theft of Personal Property*. 7. *Seizure of Works of Art*. 8. *War Imposts*. 9. *Theft of Specie, Jewels, and Securities*. The total of this plunder has mounted up into the tens of billions.

The second element of German advantage enumerated is the Pan-German loans. M. Chéradame says:

A portion of the approximate sum of 115 billion francs devoted by Germany, up to the end of July, 1917, to the carrying on of the war has enabled her to burglarize her own allies by taking advantage of the extremely bad financial situation which faced them at the end of the Balkan wars. As a result of this situation, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, in order to sustain the present long-drawn-out struggle, have been forced to draw on the credit of Berlin. The sum total of the loans made by Germany to her allies and secured by her own war loans cannot yet be verified, but there can be no doubt that it mounts up to a respectable number of billions.

* * * As this financial dependence of the three vassal states, with its tremendous consequences, is, as I have said, maintained simply by means of a printing-press and little slips of paper, which cost very little indeed; and since Germany receives in exchange for these slips of paper bearing her signature, men, foodstuffs, and supplies which, but for the action of the Allies, would enable her to establish Pan-Germany as mistress of Europe, we may safely say that the Pan-Germanist loans floated by Berlin at her allies' expense constitute a powerful element of military advantage, which, if one only examine the conditions of its origin, must stand out as the most

profitable and extraordinary swindle ever perpetrated.

The other elements of German advantage discussed in detail, but which can only be named in briefest summary here, are: 3. The value of a monopoly in exploiting the latent resources of the Balkans and Asia Minor. 4. The value resulting from the creation of an economic Pan-Germany—"The seizure by Berlin of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, all essential elements of Central Pan-Germany, was accomplished in three ways: *militarily*, by the supremacy acquired by the German General Staff over the troops of the vassal states; *financially*, by means of the paper loans granted by Germany; and *diplomatically*, by the treaties signed in Berlin on January 11, 1917, establishing the strongest sort of German protectorate over the Ottoman Empire. This done, the consolidation of Pan-Germany was quickly undertaken by Berlin in a great number of ways"—(by control of customs, ethnographic control, agricultural control, banking control, economic control, railway control, canal control, etc.). 5. The value of military Pan-Germany. 6. The importance of the vast economic profits which accrue to Berlin at the expense of Russia through the establishment of Pan-Germany. 7. The transfer to Germany of at least twenty-one billion francs of French credit (the funds owed to France by Russia and by Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey).

A DEMOCRATIC ARMY TO FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

REPORTS now coming from the great army cantonments, north and south, tell of the new spirit that is animating the men—those of the National Guard regiments, as well as the National Army. Writing in *Collier's* for November 17, on "A New Idea and a New Army," William S. McNutt emphasizes the marked contrast existing between the attitude of the men towards the officers, as shown in such a military "melting-pot" as Camp Upton, where the National Army regiments of New York City are in training, and the old attitude of enlisted men in our regular army towards the commissioned officers. Indeed, when Mr. McNutt spoke to one of the Camp

Upton officers (a Plattsburg graduate) of the "officers and men" of the camp, he received a mild rebuke for the expression and was told that all the inmates of Camp Upton are "men" without any distinction other than what each wins by his own merits. In concluding his article Mr. McNutt says:

I had seen that learning submission to proper discipline did not necessarily mean abasement; but that the administration of necessary authority is not necessarily autocratic. I had seen the American boy learning how to work and obey and endure restrictions for the accomplishment of a national and a humanitarian end. I had seen the man of lower degree learning that the man of education and money is capable of unselfish sacrifice, and I had seen the man of educa-

tion and money learning that the man of lower degree—the man but recently accredited as an American citizen, the peddler, the buttonhole worker, the common laborer, typical of what we have become accustomed to refer to in our vocabulary of snobbery as the lower classes—is willing and eager to serve, once he “gets the idea,” and that he is ready and willing to receive the idea when it is properly presented to him.

I had seen men of all degrees and conditions of life coming to know and trust one another in the common brotherhood of American citizenship in service. In the national army cantonment at Camp Upton I had seen the beginning of a new heaven and a new earth; a heaven of devotion to a common ideal wherein all men strive as one for the accomplishment of a common purpose, and a new earth of absolute democracy where Jew and Gentile, rich and poor, native and foreign born, start absolutely at scratch and gain their places in the race according to their individual capacity and nothing else.

The editors of *Collier's* print in the editorial columns this appeal of Mr. McNutt to the officers of the New Army:

And, oh, you men of the national army who have been commissioned by the President of the United States to serve as officers, as leaders, as educators, keep alive within yourselves the cleansing flame of idealism. Don't let the monotony of custom dim its glow. You are making the world safe for democracy, there in camp, as much as you ever can by fighting the enemy. You have not only the opportunity to fight and whip the enemy, but you have the opportunity now of licking the spirit of antidemocracy, the spirit of class, the spirit of the hatred of man for man in these United States.

You are not only defending democracy against assaults from without, but against assaults from within as well. You have the opportunity now to forestall any future possibility of the infliction upon this, our democracy, of that blight of

anarchy which is deadening Russia. You have started right. In the name of your God and His humanity, keep up the work in the splendid spirit with which you have begun it. For that spirit is the power which can make possible the continued existence and ultimate complete triumph of absolute democracy, safe from autocracy on the one hand and anarchy on the other.

“A National University”

Mr. Joseph H. Odell, a former chaplain of a Pennsylvania National Guard regiment, gives in the *Outlook* for November 14 an account of his recent visit to Camp Hancock, near Augusta, Ga., where the men of his former regiment are in training. Mr. Odell was greatly impressed by the many things that are being done in the camps to make better citizens, as well as better soldiers, of the men. He says:

One evening I was sitting under the fly of Brigadier-General Stillwell's tent talking about the old and the new days of the army. I had told him of all the plans unfolded to me in the War Department by Mr. Raymond D. Fosdick for training-camp activities. The General is a man of few words, but of much thought, an officer always loved by the men who have served with and under him. Suddenly he turned, and, using the title that I bore for ten years on his staff, said: “Captain, Uncle Sam seems to be making a National University as well as a National Army.” That is almost literally true. There are academic subjects taught in the class-rooms of our universities which will not be provided for the soldiers, but if education means “to educate”—to draw out qualities of the mind, heart, and body by legitimate exercise—then the hundreds of thousands of men in our National Armies will receive an education such as not one in a hundred would have obtained in civil life.

PUBLIC HEALTH IN WAR TIME

IN an address at the University of North Dakota, which is published in the *Quarterly Journal* of that institution, Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale, defines certain ideals of public health which he believes should be held before the nation in time of war, with a view to the radical changes that will inevitably follow the close of hostilities. In this country, as Professor Fisher points out, we have thus far seen only the beginning of a public-health movement. It is for the educated men and women of the country to take up and carry forward the reform.

Our first effort, according to Professor Fisher, should be to establish in America what every other civilized nation has, a sys-

tem of complete registration of deaths, births, and marriages. At present there is no area in the United States in which reliance can be placed upon the statistics of births and marriages, and as to deaths, only two-thirds of our population has registration which is correct within 10 per cent., and therefore allowed by the United Census Bureau to enter into its statistics. “One health officer in the South said of his own State, ‘We bury dead people as we bury dead dogs, without any record; and though we have just had to register men between twenty-one and thirty-one, we have not in this country any real means of knowing whether a person is within these ages or not.’”



Photo by American Press Association

PROFESSOR IRVING FISHER

The chief reason that Professor Fisher advances for vital registration, aside from the legal importance of determining one's correct age, is that "we never can thoroughly economize in human life until we keep account of human life, any more than we can thoroughly economize in our personal expenditures, if we do not keep accounts of money." Sweden, the modern nation which has made the greatest progress in hygiene of all nations, has kept these books of life and death for 150 years and has been able to ascertain what diseases were increasing or excessive, and therefore to apply the requisite remedy. The Swedish people are noted today for longevity, for progress against alcohol, for progress in dietetics, for progress in school hygiene and gymnastics. If the United States is to make progress in these lines, we must first of all have full registration of the population, and in Professor Fisher's opinion we should also have a National Department of Health such as England is apparently about to have, that is, a department of health with a cabinet officer at its head who will have the ear of the President directly and who will have the same prestige as other departments.

We need also a universal system of health insurance modeled on that of Germany.

Professor Fisher is convinced that not only would universal health insurance for workmen improve public health by enlisting the financial motive of the employer as well as the employee and the State to save human life, but that it will also go far to prevent poverty. It is claimed that the most important single cause of poverty is disease. Every workman is subject to the risk of having an illness longer than his savings can stand. Health insurance, says Professor Fisher, by taking this gamble out of the workingman's life, prevents this standing threat of poverty. Hence it is that Germany, before the war, in spite of the fact that the regular wages there were lower than in England or in this country, had less poverty than England or the United States. At present there are millions of American workmen who, when sick, cannot avail themselves of necessary medical, surgical, and nursing aid. When they most need it, they cannot pay for it.

Next to health insurance for workmen, Professor Fisher emphasizes health development for school children, and strongly commends the legislation in New York State for the obligatory military training of boys over sixteen and physical training of children of both sexes over eight years of age. "Whether for peace or for war, the nation must have strong men and women. Military and physical training in the public schools will lengthen the lives and therefore the productive ability, as well as increase the productive power per year of the children who will one day be citizens."

Professor Fisher warns against relaxing the safeguards which labor legislation has thrown around the workmen and women. This has been done in England during the war, to the cost of the nation. Investigations have shown that among the women, in particular, there have been excessive fatigue and physical injury.

The writer makes a strong plea for the prohibition of the liquor traffic and cites the experience of the Russian people since the prohibition of vodka went into effect. But speaking from his experience as one of the founders of the Life Extension Institute of New York City, he quotes approvingly from Dr. Fisk, the medical director of that institute, the startling assertion that bad teeth are doing as much harm to the people of the United States as alcohol is doing; all the poisons absorbed from the roots of the teeth when they are diseased are just as injurious, in the long run, as alcohol poisoning.

THE Y. M. C. A. ON THE WESTERN FRONT

ELSEWHERE in this number are several pages of striking photographs illustrating the activities of the Young Men's Christian Association among our own soldiers, the Allied troops, and in the prison camps of Europe. A graphic word-picture of what the organization is doing at this moment on the Western Front is presented in *Association Men* for November by Mr. Francis B. Sayre, who has recently returned from an official tour of the camps and trenches in France. He shows, for one thing, how the Y. M. C. A. is filling the idle hours of General Pershing's boys with wholesome amusement, at the same time stimulating mental activity. Within ten days after his arrival at a new camp one of the organization's secretaries had planned the following program of the week's evening activities at the camp:

Monday Evening.—Scotch stories and lecture by Dr. Freeman, of Pasadena.

Tuesday Evening.—Regimental Band concert.

Wednesday Afternoon (half-holiday).—Inter-company athletics.

Wednesday Evening.—Minstrel show arranged by a sergeant.

Thursday Evening.—Musical evening under the leadership of Jerry Reynolds—local talent, violin, harmonica, banjo and quartet discovered in the regiment.

Friday Evening.—Men busy with military night manoeuvres.

Saturday Night.—Moving pictures. Wild West and Charlie Chaplin received with a whoop of delight. They were the first movies the men had seen in France.

Sunday Morning.—Chaplain's Bible class.

Sunday Evening.—Evening service, good singing and a strong practical message.

Besides all this, the secretary had organized educational classes, had started study groups, had opened up Bible classes, and had held personal conferences with unsettled or discouraged men.

Mr. Sayre also touches upon one project of the Association of which little has been heard in the United States, as yet, but which bids fair to minister in a very real way to the health and vigor of the American troops in France. He says:

Few men desire to do evil, least of all the American soldier, who is, in the main, a splendid specimen of manhood; and our constant object, where we see a particular temptation staring a man in the face, is to provide counter attractions,

trusting the soldier to make the right choice. With that thought in mind we have undertaken to develop a resort in the French Alps for soldiers on leave, where snow-shoeing, ski-jumping, and winter sports can be developed, and which should prove far more attractive to the red-blooded man than the danger-ridden streets of Paris. With General Pershing's enthusiastic approval we plan to develop and maintain a great healthy playground for the American Army, where soldiers on leave can forget all about the horrors and nightmare of war, can get refreshed in mind as well as in body, and then go back to their work with new energy and spirit, far more effective fighters.

The intensely practical form of the Association's activities, especially in relation to the Canadian and English troops while in actual warfare, is clearly brought out in the following paragraphs:

The closer one gets to the front, the more religion must take on the form of service,—the giving of a cup of cold water, which in this case means hot coffee. I think of a typical dug-out on the crest of a hard-fought hill, which we came to one evening about sunset. It was a battlefield but freshly taken from the enemy; the stench of the dead was still in the air, and the ground was torn and churned. . . . Further and further we made our way up towards the front-line trenches; finally at a point under almost constant shellfire we found a little Y. M. C. A. dugout. It was very filthy and small, with almost no accommodations; and yet here we found a secretary unflinchingly sticking by his post, in spite of the fact that in this dugout twice during the preceding week an orderly was killed by his side,—living under shellfire so that he could serve hot coffee to soldiers returning out of the front-line trench and minister to their most immediate needs. No one but a half-frozen soldier coming out of the horrors of a front-line trench could suspect how much religion was contained in that simple giving of a cup of hot coffee. But to many a one it must have preached of Christ's love on earth and the meaning of true religion as they had never understood such things. Men do not soon forget such sermons.

When the Canadians stormed over the top of a certain famous ridge, and the battlefield was full of needy, suffering men, a Y. M. C. A. secretary appeared serving out hot coffee on the ridge within half an hour after it was stormed, before the line was yet consolidated. "Everybody else was lying flat in that rain of bullets," one of the officers said, "everybody except just that secretary; and the sight of him standing alone, forgetting everything except the men he was risking his life to help is what gave religion to me."

Our own boys at the front will doubtless value this form of service quite as highly as the Canadians did.

THE MASSACRED ARMENIANS

THE sad fate that has befallen the Armenians of the Turkish Empire is the theme of a paper in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome) by the Italian Minister of Finance, Señor Filippo Meda. He considers that one of the chief anxieties aroused by the Russian revolution concerns the future of the surviving Armenians in Asia Minor, which had seemed to be reasonably assured by the Russian victories.

He recalls the ringing proclamation of Nicholas II to the Armenians, in which the Czar tells them that after four centuries of oppression "the hour of liberty has at last sounded for you," and assures them that the Russian people will never, never forget its debt to illustrious Armenians, such as Laraseff and Loris Nelikoff, who fought side by side with their Slavonic brothers for the freedom of Armenia.

These fervent protestations were accompanied by an abandonment of the attempts to russify the Armenians in Russian territory by violent means, and by the institution of a more sympathetic policy toward them.

It is true that many of the more intelligent Armenians, especially those living in the centres of European civilization, were disposed to be somewhat sceptical as to the Russian promises, in view of previous experiences, after the Russo-Persian war of 1828, and the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. Nevertheless, the repeated declarations of the Allied powers as to their determination to satisfy the aspirations for liberty on the part of all oppressed peoples, seemed to justify the belief that the hour of Armenia's freedom had at last arrived.

Now, however, that revolutionary Russia boldly proclaims a policy of "no annexations and no indemnities," Señor Meda asks what is to be the fate of Armenia, into whose hands will she fall? The history of the past two years shows that unless the world is willing to see the Armenian race disappear entirely, it must be freed, once and for all, from Turkish domination.

The frightful sufferings to which this unhappy race has been subjected are briefly but convincingly presented by Señor Meda, who draws his data from the "Blue Book" of July 1, 1916, prepared by Viscount Bryce. The latter took every possible precaution to exclude from the recital any statements unworthy of acceptance.

In almost every case, the course pursued

by the Turks was to summon the male Armenians of a given district to present themselves without delay before the authorities. All who did not obey the summons were driven to the rendezvous by the Turkish gendarmes. On their appearance they were immediately arrested and cast into prison for a day or two, then they were bound one to the other, and driven out of the inhabited regions into the open country.

They were told that their destination was Mossoul or Bagdad, but as soon as the wretched exiles, snatched from their families without even taking a last leave of them, had reached a distant point where nothing could be seen of them from the road, they were all massacred. This was done at the order of the Minister of the Interior, Talaat Bey, in agreement with the Minister of War, Enver Pasha, who had charged himself with the task of exterminating that part of the Armenian population under his jurisdiction.

After the departure and the massacre of the able-bodied male population came the turn of the women, the children, the old men, and the infirm. Notices were put up in every village that they must prepare to leave in a few days. The women were nominally accorded the privilege of escaping exile, if they became Mohammedan converts. But the mere profession of a change of religion did not suffice, they must ratify it by espousing a Mussulman.

For the children the illusory promise was made that they could enter Turkish orphan-asylums, where they would be educated in the faith of Mohammed. However, in the greater part of the cities and in almost all the villages there were no such asylums in existence.

The miserable women were forced to march out into the open country. Under these conditions death by thirst, hunger, sunstroke, or infectious diseases soon reduced their numbers, and when they reached the mountainous district the old and infirm were massacred by Kurds.

The few exiles who finally reached Aleppo in a state of absolute destitution were assigned to the most unhealthy places, among enemies whose language they did not understand. It has been estimated that as many as 600,000 of the total population of 2,100,000 Turkish Armenians were in this way deliberately done to death by their Turkish persecutors.

THE BARNARD STATUE OF LINCOLN

THERE has been a considerable amount of public discussion of the merits of the George Grey Barnard statue of Abraham Lincoln, a duplicate of which has been sent as a gift to the British Empire to be set up in London. The adverse criticism of the work has proceeded for the most part from persons who had not taken the trouble to examine the actual bronze. Their judgment, that the Barnard statue did not represent Lincoln, was based upon the exceedingly faulty photographs which distort the surface planes of the figure.

Mr. Kenyon Cox says that Barnard has indeed done for Lincoln something of what Rembrandt did in his figures of Christ, but that his ideal is a democratic ideal, and one that is entirely comprehensible, inasmuch as Barnard wished to represent Lincoln the man of the people.

The position of the hands has been the detail of the figure that has received most criticism. In the bronze, they are clasped easily but firmly; there is no sense of pressure, neither in any way does their posture awaken the feeling that the person represented was in pain. This feeling in the photographs is wholly the result of the deepening of the shadows by the photographic lens which fundamentally alters contours.

The *North American Review* for December publishes the opinions of three men who are qualified to sit in judgment upon Mr. Barnard's Lincoln. They are: Mr. Frederic MacMonnies, the noted sculptor; Mr. Thomas Hastings, equally noted as an architect, and Mr. Richard Fletcher, art critic.

Mr. MacMonnies says in part:

In response to Colonel Harvey's request to write my view of Barnard's Lincoln, I feel called upon to say before doing so that I consider a nation-wide organized attack upon the serious work of any intellectual—whether scientist, musician, or artist—with the object of preventing its being carried out, is a dangerous precedent. Constructive criticism, based on logic, seasoned with sympathetic imagination, tempered with moderation, analyzing, illuminating,—never presuming to pass a final verdict, is wholesome. Destructive criticism, outgrowth of ignorance and prejudice, condemning wholesale and aiming at complete annihilation, stifles personal research and all true artistic impulse. The attempt to harness initiative to the push-cart of dullness is to hamstring the Pegasus of human ingenuity and genius, and limit personal vision to a uniform standard. Of all stagnations, standardization is the most sodden.

Mr. Barnard has given his vision of Lincoln;

personal, human, absolutely sincere; doubly interesting, as presenting another point of view than the majestic Lincoln of Saint-Gaudens. A distinguished committee has decided to present the statue abroad, as it conveys their idea of Lincoln, and they have a perfect right to do so, even if other American citizens, equally distinguished, prefer another statue.

Mr. Hastings asks critics to see the original before making judgment:

I must confess that the photographs which I have seen of Mr. Barnard's Lincoln were cruelly distorted,—as is often the case with photographic reproductions,—and gave me a completely erroneous impression of his work, which I discovered when I recently saw the original in bronze. In seeing the figure, however, as far as the question of propriety is concerned, I was much relieved, and think it has been grossly caricatured and misrepresented. No one should judge of it without seeing the original.

We have become so accustomed to the placid, steel-engraving representations of Lincoln that Barnard's statue invites criticism because he has followed with intense realism the Leonard Volk life-mask and the photographs of Lincoln that record the pose of his figure.

Mr. Richard Fletcher has eloquently interpreted the general feeling of those persons who have been sufficiently just to art and to Mr. Barnard to view the Barnard Lincoln before recording their opinions:

Standing in the presence of the Barnard Lincoln in the studio in a grim foundry, one is silenced and dumbstruck.

But, for him who will not wing to the boundless spaces of the artist's ether, there is everything one expects in Lincoln. The beardless chin gives us the indomitable will, the invincible firmness. The eyes and brows are aglow with benevolence and pity. The large hands folded across his torso (the target for the casual critic) express the innate modesty of the man, the self-forgetfulness which is the model for all of us. Squarely planted feet, large and unalluringly shod, reinforce the magnificence of strength, the uncompromising courage. The first impression is that it does not look like Lincoln—but it is Lincoln. Scrutiny confirms this belief, as the Presidency—even the history of the man—is subsidiary to the man himself. Falling beneath the spell of Barnard's miracle in bronze, one feels that the sculptor has wrought more wonderfully than even in investing the statue with the idealism and the faith and strength of this Friend of Man. He has interpreted the spirit of the War of the Rebellion—that schoolroom of our national education. Barnard has virtually translated an epoch into a figure in metal.

BELGIAN FARMERS UNDER GERMANY

THE powerful organization of Belgian farmers known as the Boerenbond, or Peasants' League, has not figured prominently in the press despatches relating to Belgian affairs published in this country during the war. Hence it is a pleasant surprise, to those of us who fancied we had formed an accurate conception of wartime conditions in Belgium, under the German régime, to read the optimistic report of the general secretary of the League for the year 1915, the substance of which is given in the *International Review of Agricultural Economics* (Rome). Whether this report has been edited by a Teutonic censor we are unable to say. The *Review* says:

Speaking generally it is true that everything founded by the Boerenbond before the war has survived, and moreover new plans have been realized. Thus, the general secretary's report notes the organization of two new agricultural guilds, one in the province of Antwerp, two in Brabant and one in East Flanders. Means of communication had hardly been reëstablished, in the last months of 1914, when the league's inspectors began once more to travel about the country in order to visit the rural associations and to coöperate, in the words of the report, "in reviving social and economic life in the rural districts." They were entrusted at the same time with the additional duty of collecting information and noting the most urgent needs in order to enable a directing committee to organize committees for relief and nourishment everywhere. Further, as soon as it was possible, the Boerenbond, in agreement with some influential personages in the agricultural world, undertook the defense of the interests of tillers of the soil and participated in the formation of an agricultural section of the national committee for relief and nourishment which came into being at the end of December, 1914. Two of its administrators are members of this section and have taken a large part in all its work. The coöperative society, Agricultural Assistance, which aims at buying food for livestock and all supplies indispensable to agriculture, was founded towards the end of February, and a delegate of the Boerenbond is on its administrative council.

Until the Agricultural Assistance should be able to maintain agriculture with foodstuffs, manures, and primary material of every kind, the Boerenbond itself undertook to fulfil this task and to reduce to the minimum the difficulties which the agricultural world had to meet.

The Boerenbond—or more accurately its counter for sale and purchase—bought in the first place, for the provinces of Antwerp and Brabant, the food for livestock which the German civil administration granted, at the first distribution, to agriculture in these two provinces, and remitted the food to the agricultural sections. Had there been opportunity it would have been equally zealous to render this service to the other

provinces. Soon afterwards it took over from the German civil administration a sufficiently important quantity of oilcakes of which it afterwards made grants in accordance with the instructions of the national agricultural section.

The League has taken a leading part in reconstruction work; aiding the peasants with small loans, and advising them as to methods of building. A special feature of this undertaking was the effort made to ensure the construction of more comfortable and more sanitary homes than the rural population has generally heretofore possessed.

A commission was nominated and it prepared in the two languages, French and Flemish, a small pamphlet, which was especially the work of Messrs. J. Giele and G. Van den Abele, and is called *Construction de l'habitation rurale et de ses dépendances* (*Construction of a Rural Dwelling and its Dependencies*). This is a collection, as concise as possible, of explanations and practical advice on the choice and use of materials, dimensions, the distribution of space, airing and ventilation, the means of obtaining good drinking water, of guarding against damp, etc. The pamphlet is written very simply so as to be within the comprehension of all.

The problem of feeding the people was dealt with especially through a branch of the association known as the Farmwives' League. Pamphlets were distributed, and numerous lectures given throughout the country on the economical use of foodstuffs.

One of the association's most active branches has been indisputably the Central Credit Fund. The year 1915 was one of the most important years it has had since its foundation. Not only was the number of affiliated local funds increased by forty-four, but the savings deposits were more numerous than ever, and hundreds of new small loans were made to cultivators in needy circumstances. Of 821 rural funds existing in Belgium at the end of 1915, 437 were affiliated to the central fund. At this date the number of the latter's subscribed shares was 8987, having increased by 420 since the preceding year. The capital in shares was thus brought up to 8,987,000 francs. The funds circulated in the year amounted to 63,009,921 francs, thus considerably surpassing their ordinary level. Twenty-one new credit accounts were opened for affiliated funds, the total credit thus accorded being for 363,550 francs, which brought the amount of the credit in force on December 31, 1915, to 4,904,450 francs. The total of the savings deposits was 22,723,841 francs, having increased by 6,202,311 francs since 1914 and by 6,613,469 since 1913, the last normal year. This considerable increase in the amount of savings deposits in the second year of the war is partly explained by the fact that cultivators have had partially to realize their invested capital.

A GERMAN LIBERAL'S ADVICE TO GERMANY

MENTION has already been made in these pages of the courageous stand against the follies of the Pan-Germanists by the well-known liberal leader, Professor Foerster of Munich, much of whose writings the German Government has been at great pains to suppress. It is encouraging to note that his voice is not yet silenced, though at present it may seem to be but as one crying in the wilderness. In an article contributed to the *Muenchener Post* (Munich), quoted in the *Mercure de France*, he gives the following sane advice to his country:

The question of whether after the war armaments shall continue in the same ratio as before and whether anarchy shall continue to exist in international relations does not depend solely upon our German volition or non-volition. France knows she cannot again risk such a war as this. England desires to suppress compulsory general military service. Russia has need of a tranquil Europe in order to solve her internal problem. America believes she cannot master the Japanese menace except by a universal pacific alliance.

For all these motives our adversaries are unshakably resolved not to allow the war to terminate until an international organization shall be assured which will render a second world war impossible. Either this organization will be established with Germany, or it will be established *without* her and *against* her. If we isolate ourselves anew, the Prussian Minister of War will be required to elaborate, from a financial and a military point of view, a plan of armament against the entire world, and to make that plan plausible to the German people.

But a continuation of armaments is already rendered impossible by the insurmountable difficulties which will be encountered if, after the war, there are no certain guarantees offering calculable perspectives to the spirit of enterprise. In short, all the best reasons urge upon our fantastic annexationists that they must hold their tongues unless they wish the German people to have forced upon them an isolation which might, after the war, have the most catastrophic results.

Unless the world markets are reopened to our national labor after this war, we cannot recover and acquit ourselves of our gigantic debt—we, whose population has lived for centuries upon our exports; and this connection with the economic life of the world cannot be obtained by frightfulness; far rather, each of the so-called guarantees which our annexationists are making such a hue and cry about, as well as all propositions of violent measures, can only provoke, on the opposite side, a corresponding policy of boycott.

Nothing remains for us but to direct our thoughts henceforth and unreservedly towards the idea of the union of peoples, and conse-

quently to talk of and to seek, in a pacific and juridical organization of the civilized world, the surest true guarantees for the vital development of our people.

Above all, the German people has need of *guarantees* against the tricks of the Pan-Germanist *provocateurs*. There will be documentary evidence to make known, after the conclusion of peace, what part of the responsibility for this war rests upon their aggressive written and spoken words. Neither does the German people suspect how much the foreign animosity for and distrust of the "Pan-Germanist element" contributes to the prolonging of this war. Foreign nations will refuse to consider peace so long as this element is not disavowed by the German people more loudly and forcibly than has heretofore been possible under the rule of censorship. A Frenchman said recently in Switzerland that if the German Government knew the virtue that lies in the extracts from Pan-Germanist and Nationalist proclamations for reanimating the war-spirit in France—they would take care to have them censored. • • •

Professor Foerster says further that there is much talk in Germany about the "will to destroy" displayed by their enemies, but that anyone who keeps track of the enemy press, by means of quotations in neutral papers, quickly perceives that this "will to destroy" is directed against "a certain political clique" whose credit and influence, he assures us, are rapidly declining. It is encouraging, too, to find this broad-minded publicist perceiving that foreign nations "react with almost explosive violence" against the policies of Prussianism, and declaring that the quickest road to peace lies in the discrediting of those policies by the democratization of Germany and the giving of more weight to the social influences opposed to Prussian domination.

The very influential *New Statesman*, which is nothing less than pacifist, wrote recently: "Every dove of peace coming from Germany and bearing with it a new popular mandate, will be received favorably by the Allies!" And the *Manchester Guardian* remarked: "There should be offered to a *democratic Germany* the possibilities of peace and of re-establishment which are refused to a *military and autocratic Germany*. Yet of course, every country must redeem itself."

It is to be hoped that these declarations of a very influential minority, which might very quickly become a majority if it succeeded in obtaining the support of genuine signs of German transformation, may cause the German people to do some deep thinking.

Aside from the content of this passage there is a certain significance in that it was allowed to appear in a Munich newspaper.

GENERAL PÉTAÏN

A HIGHLY interesting article upon the famous French general, in the October *Correspondant* (Paris), gives an elaborate analysis of his character and achievements. It is gratifying to feel that the supreme command of the French army is entrusted to a man so eminently gifted, brave, and devoted to duty.

The elevation of General Pétain to the chief command of the armies of the North and Northeast was, the writer observes, no surprise. His name shone out clearly after the great days of Verdun. We cannot, of course, reproduce here the military details of Pétain's career, but a fair idea of the man may be gained by citing some of the most striking characterizations of his personality and of his claims to distinction.

Physically: a countenance grave without hardness, energetic and cool, with clear-cut features, a heavy, drooping mustache, turning grey; a strongly molded chin; keen, grey-blue eyes; bald, but not unpleasantly so, owing to the powerful, well-formed brow; a voice strong, clear, incisive, capable of a terrible force; striking one at first as glacial, disconcerting the boldest soul; an impassiveness of countenance attained by a dominating will—the whole producing the impression of a superior personality.

Some have compared General Pétain, physically, to Lord Roberts; he rather recalls Lord Kitchener by his general bearing, calmness, absolute self-command—save in rare outbursts, quickly suppressed, of a passionate temperament. Well-built and above the average height, he is very erect and vigorous.

Appointed in 1913 to the cavalry training-school at Saumur, he won the admiration of his pupils by his remarkable lectures upon military science as well as by his mastery of horsemanship—altogether exceptional in an officer originally belonging to the infantry.

A horror of advertisement of any kind, as well as a disdain of outward display, is characteristic of the man. To give an example: although possessing many decorations, the only one he ever wore was that of the Legion of Honor. Not that he aimed at being specially modest; on the contrary, he has a very exact estimate of his own value;

but he detests "bluff," notoriety in any form.

Let us retrace his career in brief outline. His first experiences as officer were varied. He had to combat a natural tendency to indolence, which he frankly avowed. His service has been confined to France, distinguishing himself as chief of a battalion, whence he was brilliantly promoted to the Normal School of gunnery at Chalons. There he found himself in the company of noted technicians, doctrinaires of antiquated theories. Their teachings were law, and Pétain set himself to demolish the false gods, to the great displeasure of the pontiffs. These new ideas, maintained with an inflexible vigor, created for him powerful and violent enemies—some still scarcely appeased—that

explains the slowness of his advancement in peace times. Colonel Pétain paid little heed to these enmities, convinced as he was of the justice of his cause.

Later, professor of applied tactics in the War School, his instruction was epoch-making, leaving an indelible impress upon his pupils, and bearing the test of the great conflict now raging.

Despite such rare qualities, Pétain attained the rank of colonel only at the age of fifty-seven. We have traced what

he was as corps-commander; appointed subsequently the head of a brigade, he was sent to the mediocre garrison of Saint Omer without uttering a complaint.

It is there that the war found him, with a reputation which had not far transcended his army corps.

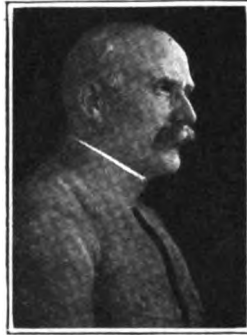
The writer goes on to describe the brilliant service rendered by General Pétain in the battle of the Marne, in command of a division of the 3rd army corps.

* * * *

And now we come to the finest page of this glorious career: Verdun, 1916.

At the outburst of the formidable battle General Pétain is stationed in the rear of the front line. There, on the night of Feb. 27, he receives an urgent order from General Castelnau to repair to Verdun, where the situation is grave. He starts at once, without the loss of a second. Is not his motto: "Always ready"?

The fate of the old citadel is entrusted



GENERAL PÉTAÏN

to his hands. Such a tremendous responsibility does not for an instant disturb the general's serenity. Calmly, simply, he sets to work; during five consecutive days and nights, it is said, he gives his orders, takes his measures—and upon these nothing less, perhaps, than the fate of the entire country depends.

He decides upon his general line of resistance: Vaux, Douaumont, le Mort-Homme; determines to fight there with all his resources, subordinating everything to that end. Thus, though fighting on the defensive, he succeeds in imposing his will upon the enemy by making them fight a losing battle: he has resolved that the German forces shall not cross the line he has chosen—and they do not cross!

Some weeks later, on April 9, after assaults of unequalled fury, but all victoriously repulsed, the French commander could issue the order of the day to the soldiers, echoed the world around: "The 9th of April is a glorious day for our arms. The furious assaults of the Crown Prince have been repelled everywhere: infantry, artillery, sappers, aviators of the 2nd army corps have been rivals in heroism. Honor to all! The Germans will, no doubt, attack anew. Let

each one work and watch to obtain the same success as yesterday! Courage—we shall get them!"

As to his personal valor, it shines with an incomparable prestige. The soldiers know that General Pétain never fears to expose himself in the thickest of danger. He is a leader who "goes there to see."

To sum up: Absolutely devoted to duty, a finished type of the perfect military chief, General Pétain presents an exceptional combination of talent and character. Since August 15, 1914, all the fights he has led have been successes. To the two dates: Carençy, May 9, 1915; Verdun, April 9, 1916, must be added that of August, 1917, when he headed the new and victorious offensive. The Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor—which the President wished to deliver in person to the commander-in-chief—has consecrated this new success, and the accompanying words are a fitting tribute: "An officer of the highest worth, whose rare character and qualities were attested as Commander-in-chief of the armies of the North and Northeast. He defended and saved Verdun."

General Pétain has not ceased to render eminent service to a grateful country.

THE WAR UNDER A GLASS CASE

IN the first days of mobilization in France, Monsieur Henri Leblanc and his wife began the collection of documents and other mementoes in connection with that event. Shortly afterward they set on foot a grandiose scheme of gathering objects of every description relating to the great war; they secured the coöperation of publishers, manufacturers, the public and the French Government; and to-day they are able to present to France a vast War Museum, containing upwards of 180,000 articles. The collection was formally taken over by the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts on August 4 last. It now fills a score of rooms at 6 avenue Malakoff, Paris, but it to be moved shortly to the Pavillon de Flore and thrown open to the public. Admission fees will, it is expected, provide an income of three or four hundred thousand francs a year, which will enable the collection to grow *pari passu* with the progress of the war, and provide for its maintenance.

A brief description by E. A. Martel, pub-

lished in *La Nature* (Paris) suffices to show what treasures of information this museum holds in store for future historians. Its unique value consists in the fact that it contains innumerable objects of a more or less fugitive character, which are worth preserving, because of the sidelights they throw on recent events. Many of them are already excessively rare. An example cited by M. Martel is the bulletin posted at Mülhausen, in Alsace, during the all too brief occupation of that town by the French in August, 1914, prescribing the use of French instead of German (Central European) standard time.

The contents of the museum may be classified conveniently according to the countries of origin. Objects produced in France include: Pottery and glass decorated with designs suggested by war-time events. Bronzes, statuettes, medals. Souvenirs of special "days," patriotic, benevolent, etc. War pictures of all kinds, including original posters by Steinlen, Forain, Renouard, Groux, Raemakers, etc. Military maps. Portraits of

rulers, generals, famous aviators, victims (e. g., Miss Cavell), etc. Placards relating to mobilization, orders, proclamations, etc. Military insignia. Small models of aeroplanes, cannon, tanks, projectiles, etc. Dolls and other toys made by the wounded and by soldiers at the front. Caricatures by French artists. Even miniature dressmakers' manikins, exhibiting the wartime fashions! Last, but not least, there is a huge mass of publications, including newspapers, reviews, pamphlets and books, which make the collection a comprehensive war library as well as a war museum.

The material contributed by the Ententist and neutral countries covers a somewhat similar range. A notable fact, not explained by M. Martel, is that Russia is hardly represented at all in the collection.

Material from Germany and her allies is voluminous and striking. Indeed, to judge from the article under review, the museum constitutes an amazing pillory of "Bochism," and to France and her sympathizers this will constitute its chief claim to interest. Here we may behold such examples of diabolical ingenuity as the incendiary pastille, and the explosive lead-pencil. Military Germany is further represented by portraits of her generals, aviators' despatch books, decorations, etc. Eloquent of conditions under which the Central Empires are

living in wartime is the great array of food substitutes; some genuine triumphs of Teutonic chemistry, and others more or less transparent frauds. Nuremberg Christmas toys mostly take the sinister form of bombarded villages and ruined monuments.

German publishers are represented by a profusion of books under the titles *Welt-Krieg*, *Volks-Krieg*, and *Ruhme-Krieg*. A gem of the collection is a certain "Grosser Bilderatlas des Welt-Krieges," which shows in photographs of quarto size the cities and monuments ruined by the war, before and after destruction! Picture post cards abound in horrors, and the infamous *Lusitania* medal is here as a permanent memorial of Prussian Kultur.

One of the most significant features of the collection is the series of German placards from the occupied territories of France and Belgium, in all their naïve and cold-blooded brutality; ranging from the proclamation in which General von Bülow tells the people of Liège how he has had the town of Andenne burned to the ground and 110 of its inhabitants executed, to an announcement, in another captured town, concerning the "voluntary" labor required of its citizens. Lastly, there is a proclamation issued in Belgian by General von der Goltz concerning a mythical epidemic of cholera among the Allies.

DEMOCRACY AND MUSIC

THE steadily enlarging numbers of people in America who are interested in the real meaning of music, its place and value in human life, will find not only interesting but also stimulating to thought Mr. Daniel Gregory Mason's contribution to the current issue of the *Musical Quarterly* (New York) entitled "Democracy and Music." Mr. Mason asks whether the important social transformations of the nineteenth century have reached so far in their influence as to the music of our time. "Has sociology any light to throw upon musical art?" The question raises a problem as difficult as it is fascinating; and the writer proffers his suggestions more as guesses and hints, "intended to provoke fertile thought," than as constituting a finished theory.

Ever since the French Revolution and the passing of feudalism the nature of the musical public has been undergoing a gradual but

far-reaching change. The essence of that change "is expressed by saying that at the end of the eighteenth century music was in the hands of the nobility and gentry, and that at the beginning of the twentieth it is in those of all the people." Mr. Mason says:

Under feudal conditions it was organized by the patronage system according to the tastes of the aristocratic few. . . . No doubt the patronage system had its faults and abuses, which have been quite adequately discussed by critics; the fact remains that under it was done the supreme creative work of the golden age of music. Greater than any of its material advantages was the spiritual homogeneity of the group who practised it. By excluding the lower classes, however unjustly, they achieved, though artificially, a unity of feeling that could not have been achieved otherwise; and as art is in essence an emotional reaction this unity of feeling provided a soil in which its seeds could grow.

But with the French Revolution and the passing of feudalism this old order perished. The

proclamation of liberty, equality, and fraternity, paving the way for individualistic competition, introduced the epoch of industrialism and capitalism, in which art, like everything else, was taken out of the hands of a privileged class, and made theoretically accessible to all. As the appreciation of art requires, however, mental and emotional experience, discipline, and refining, a process which takes time, what actually happened was that those gradually emerging from poverty through industrialism—the workers themselves and their children and grandchildren—availed themselves much more slowly and timidly of these spiritual privileges than of the material ones. There remained over from the feudal world a nucleus of cultivated people, sufficiently homogeneous in feeling to retain a standard of taste, sufficiently numerous to exert an influence on production: these were the guardians of the better traditions. They were gradually but steadily interpenetrated and overrun by the emergents. . . .

The situation was further complicated by the presence of a third class, the idle rich, becoming more numerous under capitalism . . . (who) regarded music either with complete indifference or else as an amusement, a plaything, a fad. . . .

We find, then, under democracy, not a fairly homogeneous musical public with emotionally a single point of view, such as existed under feudalism, but a division into a well-meaning but crude majority and two minorities, one cultivated, the other frivolous: all three, but especially the two extremes, held apart by profound differences of feeling. Despite the inevitability and the desirability of democratization as the only path away from slavery, such a disorganization, even if temporary, must evidently, while it lasts, work serious injuries to art. It is worth while to try, taking frankly at first the attitude of the devil's advocate, to trace a few of the more striking of these injuries as they show themselves in contemporary music.

The effect of the "emergents," the well-meaning but crude listeners who form a numerically overwhelming majority of our concert-goers, this critic holds, has been to put a premium on all that is easily grasped, obvious, primitive, at the expense of the subtler, more highly organized effects of art—on sensation as against thought, on facile sentiment as against deep feeling, on extrinsic association as against intrinsic beauty.

There seems to be something far deeper than accident in the coincidence of the rise about 1830, that is, about a generation after the French Revolution, under Berlioz and Liszt, of that program music which is generally acknowledged to be peculiarly characteristic of our period, with the invasion of concert-halls by masses of these child-like listeners, as eager for the stories that music might be made to suggest as they were unprepared to appreciate its more intrinsic beauties. They were drawn by the "program" before they grew up to the "music." Lacking the concentration needed to hold all but the simplest melodies together in their minds, pathetically incapable of the far greater range and precision of attention required to hear synthetically a complex work

like an overture or a symphony, they were puzzled or bored by Beethoven, and in their helplessness to follow a musical thread could only grope in the dark until they found a dramatic one.

And thence, in his self-styled role of devil's advocate, Mr. Mason proceeds to fight over again the lost battle of the fanatic partisans of "absolute" music against program music. That battle raged before Richard Strauss was born, before Liszt and Berlioz were born, before Beethoven was born; in days of feudalism's patronage system before any democratization of music was ever dreamt of. Mr. Mason's argument (too long for even an outline here) is an ingenious, but a plausible, and unconvincing piece of special pleading.

At the end, however, he sees a gleam of hope: "It may be suggested that, so far as these evils are fairly attributable to the social conditions of the nineteenth century, they may fairly be expected to be mitigated somewhat by those changes which already seem probable in those of the twentieth. The capitalistic era seems likely to be followed by an era of coöperation or communism; and in countless ways such a change must eventually be deeply revivifying to all forms of art." He takes encouragement from the large amount of preparatory work towards the formation of better standards of public taste that has been unobtrusively done, at least in our larger cities, by free lectures and cheap recitals and concerts; and from the recent enthusiasm for folk-songs.

Looked at in the light of these considerations, contemporary music presents a scheme of light and shade somewhat different from that ordinarily accepted. If some high lights are overshadowed, others seem to shine brighter. There is plenty of hopeful promise for the future. Leaving aside the sounder elements in Strauss and Debussy, in whom there is so much of the richness of decay, we shall find the chief centers of truly creative activity perhaps in three composers who in their differing ways and degrees carry on the great tradition: Rachmaninoff in Russia, Elgar in England, and d'Indy in France. Each of these men reaches back roots to the primal sources of musical life—Bach and Beethoven: Rachmaninoff through Tchaikovsky, the eclectic Elgar through Mendelssohn, Brahms, Wagner and others, and d'Indy through Wagner and Frank. Each, as we see in such modern classics as "Toteninsel," the A-flat Symphony, and "Istar," can create, in settings of modern opulence of color, nobly beautiful forms, melodies that live and soar in a spiritual heaven. All, too, though in varying degrees, move on as a creator should toward the unknown. Here the Frenchman has perhaps, with his characteristic lucidity and logic, something the advantage of the more sensuous Slav and the more convention-beset Anglo-Saxon.

AN INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF PATENTS

A SYSTEM of international patents, conferring protection throughout the world, or at any rate in all those countries agreeing to consider it valid, would have so many obvious advantages over the present method demanding the obtaining of a separate patent in every country where the protection of a given invention is requisite, that it seems strange, at first blush, that it should not long ago have been put in operation. The subject has, indeed, been agitated for some thirty-five years, having been proposed at the Vienna Exposition of 1873. Ten years later an agreement was signed at Paris by eleven countries, including France, Italy, Holland, for an international union for the protection of industrial property, with an international bureau at Berne. This agreement was revised at Madrid, and the aforesaid bureau finally organized in 1891.

Contrary to the hopes of the convention of 1883, however, this bureau was commissioned merely to take charge of the registration of trade-marks, it being provided that a member of any of the signatory nations could, after depositing such a mark with the authorities of his own country and fulfilling the prescribed conditions, demand the registration of such mark in the International Bureau and thus secure the same protection as if it had been registered in each country separately.

This movement grew in favor rapidly, so that it obtained twelve other adherents, including Great Britain, Germany, Austria, the United States, and Japan. The registration of trade-marks with the bureau at Berne is now so well-established and useful a custom in the commerce and manufacture of the twenty-three countries concerned, that it would be difficult to conceive of business without this convenience.

Why, then, has there been so long a delay in the formation of an analogous organization for the achievement of an international patent? There is a twofold reason, according to an authority upon the subject, M. Edmond de Laire, former president of the Chemical Society of France. In the first place, the questions of law and jurisprudence concerning patents are far more varied and complex than those concerning trade-marks. Secondly, in order to extend to patents pro-

tection similar to that guaranteed to trade-marks by the Berne Bureau, it would be necessary to provide that organization with a much more elaborate scientific and technical and administrative equipment. It would be necessary, likewise, to add a special department for the previous examination of patents, such as exists in the Patent Office at Washington and in that of Germany.

As regards the first difficulty, its nature was very clearly set forth by a delegate to the Congress of 1878 (Paris Exposition) in the following words:

It is not to be hoped that we can succeed in obtaining in every country laws concerning Industrial Property which shall have all points in common; that is a Utopian dream. All we can hope for is that the nations may agree to have common laws as touches the principal points, and I believe that it is the essential purpose of this Congress to determine these points. What renders impossible the passing of absolutely uniform laws touching these matters in all countries, is the close connection existing in every country between industrial law, commercial law, civil law and procedure, penal law, and criminal procedure.

Three years ago the twenty-three states in the above-mentioned agreement sent delegates to Washington charged with the revision of the articles of 1883, and the French representative brought up the question of the international patent, but the most that was accomplished was the passing of a vote for the undertaking of a study of some scheme looking to the simplification of the formalities involved in requests for patents.

In view of these considerations, observes M. de Laire, writing in the *Revue Scientifique* (Paris), it behooves the Conference of Allies (who have had under consideration an international patent for the benefit of the nations of the Entente) to have a care not to go too far, nor proceed too abruptly in the matter, but rather to make choice of a program of gradual advancement towards the desired end. He himself suggests a modification of the idea of an international patent, by proposing that it should be optional instead of obligatory, with the special view of furnishing protection in case of infringement involving a contest with a native of a different country. To this end he advocates the organization of an International Tribunal

before which all such issues should be tried. In this connection he says:

All this could be arranged without involving any change whatever in the internal legislation of any country, since the claim for an international patent would be entirely optional with the inventor. Moreover this international organization could not affect the operation of national patents.

Two individuals of the same country would have no more concern in regard to the international patent, than two residents of the same city would have as to a tribunal outside their own jurisdiction. Thus it might be made the rule, for the patent, as well as for the trade-mark, that the first claim should be registered in the country of the claimant. This done the inventor would be allowed to obtain, if he so desired, a new title covering international rights. . . . In practice such an international patent would concern only those inventions of sufficient commercial importance to be able to defray the expense of a foreign process at law.

The great advantage of the arrangement thus proposed would be that any patentee wishing to bring suit for infringement could do this before the aforesaid International Tribunal, instead of in the country of the alleged trespasser. The pleading before such a tribunal might be by means of depositions of the national advocates of the parties concerned, and the decrees of the tribunal should be operative, without other formalities in all the countries which had covenanted to accept such decrees. Thus the defense of patent rights in foreign parts would be immensely facilitated, and no longer so slow and so costly as at present.

In the same way, the second obstacle suggested above, the expense of creating elaborate administrative machinery for the preliminary examination of patent claims, could

be obviated, thinks M. De Laire, by making such examination optional. Two titles would be offered: the patent as it exists in France, *i. e.*, a certificate of deposit, with date, description of invendication, proof of use, etc.; and second, a certificate of examination similar to the American, British, or German patent, *i. e.*, the declaration (without absolute guarantee) of novelty, and validity of invention until proof of the contrary. The latter title, requiring much more labor on the part of the officials of the tribunal would naturally be charged for at a higher rate. The great expense of such examination in Great Britain, Germany, and the United States is mainly due to the enormous number of patents claimed which must be carefully winnowed to separate the grain from the chaff, whereas only patents already allowed in their own land, and of indubitable value, would be brought before the International Tribunal.

Thus understood, the Bureau of International Patents would not be a rival, or a replica. . . . of the Patent Office of Washington, or the Patentant of Berlin, but would represent a highly modern new idea meeting a genuine need. . . . With such an international bureau in operation national patent bureaus would tend to lose in force. Moreover, industrials of every country would inevitably be impelled to make use of this new organism of national defense.

While this proposal at the present time is put forward for the countries of the Entente and the neutral countries, it is to be hoped that eventually, when the Central Powers and their allies have reëntered the comity of nations, its benefits would be extended to them.

A BOOKSHOP FOR BOYS AND GIRLS

IT was Rousseau who said: "Childhood has its own ways of thinking, seeing and feeling." In synthesis, this is the slogan of the most successful experiments in education, and it is the underlying idea of the Bookshop for Boys and Girls, opened by the Woman's Industrial Union of Boston. A few years ago Miss Bertha E. Mahoney undertook for the Union a special study of children in connection with their presentation of juvenile plays. The result of her study was the suggestion, that a bookshop for the children be opened, inasmuch as the opportunity to read good books meant infinitely more culturally

to the child than the opportunity to see plays.

The response to Miss Mahoney's suggestions was immediate, and in October, 1916, the shop was opened under her direction, on Boylston street, in a long, well-lighted room overlooking the Public Gardens. The shop has the air of a comfortable living-room rather than that of a place where books are sold. Sunshine streams in at the windows. Low bookcases, specially fitted tables and shelves, bright pictures, bits of tapestry, cheerful hangings and growing geraniums and ivies give it a homelike and inviting atmosphere. At one end is a small mahogany



A GLIMPSE OF THE CHILDREN'S BOOKSHOP

("Alice Heidi," the bookshop doll, may be seen on the mantel over the fireplace)

chest filled with Mother Goose stories and fairy tales for the "littlest folks" to examine at their leisure. On the mantel over the fire-place is "Alice Heidi," the Bookshop Doll, who presides over juvenile councils.

Miss Mahoney says in an article in the *Publishers' Weekly* that the Bookshop exists not simply to sell good books to children, but to increase their *love for books*. The members of the Industrial Union believe that good books are so important as to be an essential part of life. Also they wish to get the idea of bookshops for children before the public in order that like service may be rendered children in other communities.

One aspect of the Bookshop in particular must not be overlooked. It serves as a kind of club for growing boys and girls. They may wander about at will and read quietly at the long tables. They may exercise their own judgment in regard to books, compare, criticize, and get ideas of the range of various groups. A series of story hours with expert story-tellers is given for little children from time to time and is attended regularly by the same groups of children.

Art exhibitions are frequently held in the Bookshop. One of these exhibitions was of the work of women sculptors whose work has a particular appeal to children.

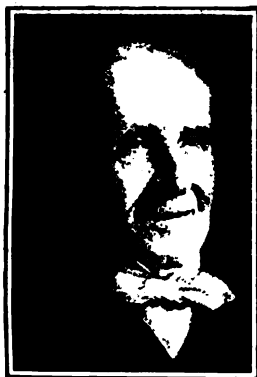
What makes work in the Bookshop for Boys and Girls so thrilling is that we feel we are working with something worth while. We take the greatest pleasure in helping those who are interested to find books written by persons of vision. This doesn't mean "high-brow books" and it doesn't mean exceptional children. We've found some very average children with unspoiled reading taste, who just naturally *like* history. One day when I was in the Children's Room at the Boston Public Library, two boys came to the desk and one said, "Miss Jordan, have you a book on the 'rigination of man?" These two boys had for several years been reading history almost entirely. And last summer they started to write a history of the world for 2,000 years. One was writing the ancient, the other the modern part, and the latter hoped to bring it down to President Wilson's administration and to get in something about the war. They "thought it would make a book of a thousand pages." Along toward September the huge size of their task began to dawn upon them—well, their history has not yet gone to press. Another pleasant feature of this story is that these boys were American boys—very average ones.

THE NEW BOOKS

RECOLLECTIONS AND BIOGRAPHY

Recollections. By John, Viscount Morley. Macmillan. 760 pp. Ill. \$5.

So swiftly do the years pass by that readers of the mature generation can hardly believe that it is fourteen years since John Morley—the foremost man of letters of the English-speaking world in our time—gave us his "Life of Gladstone," and that we have had no later book from his pen until now that his "Recollections" are published in two volumes. One of the chief regrets of the judicious reader is the fact that most of the men capable of writing books of the first order are drawn into the current of practical affairs, so that book-writing is largely done by people of second-rate or third-rate ability. It has not occurred to those who have followed Morley's career that he is growing old, although he will be seventy-nine on the 24th day of this month. Although he was in his seventy-sixth year, his



LORD MORLEY

retirement from the British cabinet at the outbreak of the war, in 1914, was not due to age or failing vigor, but to a firm belief that England ought not to enter the struggle. His "Recollections," however, do not deal with the present period. Morley was born in the north of England, the son of a surgeon. He was a brilliant student, gained all sorts of university honors in his youth, became a great literary critic, a master mind in the fields of philosophy and history, the close associate of the foremost thinkers of England. For many years he edited the *Fortnightly Review* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, entering Parliament in 1883, and accepting promotion to the House of Lords, with the title of Viscount Morley of Blackburn, in 1908. He belonged to the radical wing of the Liberals, was for many years a close associate of Joseph Chamberlain in politics, but adhered to Gladstone when Chamberlain broke away on account of the Home Rule Bill. For some years Morley was Chief Secretary for Ireland, while at a later period he was Secretary for India. Like his friend, Lord Bryce, he has maintained his place in the first rank of men of letters, as also in the field of scholarship, while making a great career in statesmanship. While his "Recollections" have much to do with his political experience, they are even more valuable as a study of British intellectual life and progress. Though lacking Bryce's acquaintance with

America, Morley has never been harsh or unsympathetic in his attitude toward our efforts to build up the American commonwealth. All the great writers and thinkers of modern times, and many of those of earlier periods, pass across these new pages of Morley's because his life has been so much spent in study that he has been as intimate with Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and the other notables of one past period and another, as with the Huxleys and Spencers, the Gladstones and Disraelis, of his own time.

Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln. By Gilbert A. Tracy. Houghton, Mifflin. 264 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

However interesting and valuable books about Lincoln may be, none of them could compete in value with a book making substantial addition to the sum total of what we had previously possessed of Lincoln's own utterances. It is, therefore, no slight matter that we have now a new volume entitled "Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln." There appeared eleven years ago what is known as the Gettysburg Edition of Lincoln's complete works, as a part of the observance of the hundredth anniversary of his birth. But from different quarters there have come to light a good many letters not then available. It would be a mistake to characterize this new collection as made up of things too trivial for inclusion in the two previous collections of Lincoln's works. A number of these new letters are of great historical and political importance, while all of them have biographical value. They begin as early as 1837, and the latest ones were written within a few days before Lincoln's assassination. Altogether in this collection there are several hundred letters, some of which have had scattered or fugitive publicity, while others have never before been printed. All the sidelights that these letters throw upon Lincoln's mind, character, and personality must wholly confirm us in our great admiration of this foremost American. He was thoroughly human, but in everything sincere and honorable.

The Life of Abraham Lincoln. By Ida M. Tarbell. Macmillan. Vol. I, 426 pp. Vol. II, 475 pp. Ill. \$5 per set.

Miss Tarbell's work has long been recognized as one of the most readable narratives of Lincoln's life that had ever been written. In the course of its preparation, which began more than twenty years ago, the author examined a great mass of documentary material and conversed with a large number of persons who had known Lincoln in life. Since the original publication, however, new material has come to light, and a summary of this is included in the present new edition. In these volumes, therefore, one finds an admirable picture of Lincoln as he appears to the modern world half a century after his death.



AUGUSTIN DALY

(Frontispiece of the biography by his brother)

"Honest Abe." By Alonzo Rothschild. Houghton, Mifflin. 374 pp. \$2.

The author of "Lincoln, Master of Men" attempts in this new volume a study of the first part of Lincoln's life, when his predominant quality of rigid personal honesty was noted by all who knew him. This volume, like its predecessor, is a good example of successful historical portraiture.

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. By Orton H. Carmichael. The Abingdon Press. New York, Cincinnati. 116 pp. 85 cents.

A concise, orderly statement of the leading facts bearing upon the writing, delivery, and revision of the famous Gettysburg address of November, 1863. The account is graphically written and is believed to be historically accurate.

Benefits Forgot. By Honoré Willsie. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 80 pp. 75 cents.

A story of a Civil War episode in which a soldier boy, his mother, and the President himself figure.

Joseph H. Choate. By Theron G. Strong. Dodd, Mead & Co. 390 pp. Ill. \$3.

This sketch of the eminent New York lawyer and former Ambassador to Great Britain differs from the authorized biography of the usual type in that its method is more informal, and in its allusions to topics of strictly personal interest it is less copious than such a biography might be expected to be. The author has chosen to treat Mr. Choate's long and distinguished career in four distinct phases—as New Englander, New Yorker, lawyer, and Ambassador. This method of treatment occasions some overlapping, but on the whole

detracts in no way from the interest of the narrative and has the advantage of presenting in separate chapters or sections those episodes in Mr. Choate's career which appealed with special force to distinct groups of readers. Members of the bar, for example, may find assembled within little more than 100 pages all the most interesting and important material of the book that has to do with its subject's relation to his profession. On the anecdotal side the volume throughout is very rich. As a whole it constitutes a fitting tribute to an American of international fame.

The Life of Augustin Daly. By Joseph Francis Daly. Macmillan. 672 pp. Ill. \$4.

Both during his lifetime and since his death, Augustin Daly has been accepted by common consent as the greatest of America's theatrical managers. Not only did he have the usual ups and downs of his craft, establishing theaters with varying success in New York and London, but it was he who took the first American theatrical company to Germany and France, and so far as American players won any recognition in the Nineteenth Century in Europe, such recognition was in no small degree due to the untiring efforts of Mr. Daly. On the American stage the famous Daly school is still represented by such actors as John Drew, and it is only a few years since Mrs. Gilbert and Ada Rehan were delighting American audiences. Judge Joseph F. Daly, brother of the manager, had been working for years on a biography of Augustin Daly. He died in August, 1916, leaving the manuscript completed, containing many references to facts in his brother's career of which he alone had personal knowledge. The printed volume constitutes an unequalled contribution to the history of the American stage, especially in the latter half of the Nineteenth Century.

My Fifty Years in the Navy. By Rear-Admiral Charles E. Clark, U. S. N. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 346 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

The transition of our Navy from the old wooden frigates of the *Constitution* type to the superdreadnought of our day is clearly pictured by Admiral Clark in this autobiographical volume. Perhaps nowhere else in our literature save in Admiral Dewey's autobiography, covering a somewhat more extended period, is this done so graphically and effectively. Now that our ships are again in active war service, this story of an American naval commander's actual experiences will be found doubly interesting, but especially will it be welcomed by all who are old enough to recall the thrill with which the news was flashed over the country in 1898 that the battleship *Oregon* had successfully made the voyage around the Horn from San Francisco to the West Indies during the Spanish War. The man who commanded the *Oregon* in that famous exploit was Admiral Clark himself, but in his book he prefers to leave the telling of the details of the voyage to a common sailor whose genuine and obviously sincere comments, naively expressed, make his log of the voyage one of the attractive features of the book.

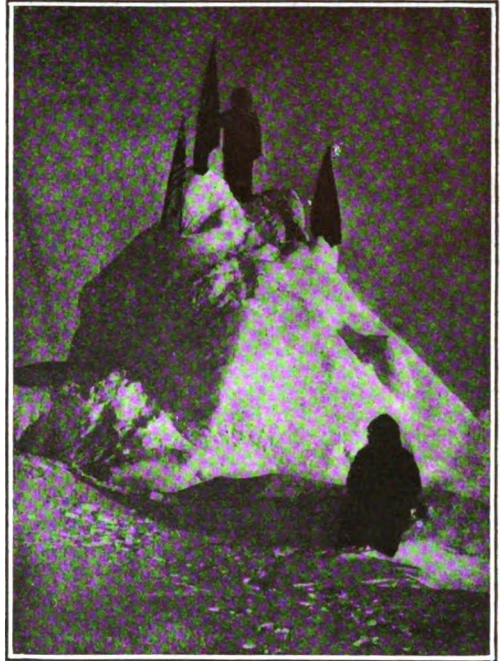
MEMOIRS OF GLOBE TROTTERS

The Secrets of Polar Travel. By Rear-Admiral Robert E. Peary. The Century Company. 313 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Eight years ago, when the discovery of the North Pole was announced, the public was more interested in the fact directly related to the discovery itself than in any account of the long and arduous process by which it was achieved. There has existed all these years a great body of information about Admiral Peary's methods of Arctic exploration, only a few hints of which have been published to the world. In the present volume Admiral Peary makes public many of the secrets of polar travel which culminated in the greatest American romance of our time—the attainment of the Pole itself. There are interesting chapters on the building of polar ships, on the selection of men for an exploring party, on supplies and equipment, on ice navigation, winter quarters, polar clothing, utilization of Eskimo and dogs, sledge equipment and sledge travel. All in all, it is a sort of handbook of Arctic travel which scientific expeditions might employ to good advantage and which contains many suggestions that might well be utilized by all who venture above the Arctic Circle.

American Adventures. By Julian Street. With pictures by Wallace Morgan. Century. 681 pp. \$3.

The same artist and author who produced "Abroad at Home," a delightful account of up-



THE STARS AND STRIPES FLYING FROM THE NORTH POLE

(Frontispiece of "The Secrets of Polar Travel," by Admiral Peary)



CHARLESTON, "THE LAST STRONGHOLD OF A UNIFIED AMERICAN UPPER CLASS"

(Drawing by Wallace Morgan for "American Adventures")

to-date American travel, give us another sumptuous volume of "American Adventures" devoted to a ramble through the South, and doing for Baltimore, Richmond, Charleston, Atlanta, New Orleans, Memphis and Vicksburg what the earlier book did for the cities of the Middle and Far West. Neither Mr. Street nor Mr. Morgan has missed the picturesque features of the subject, but the information that they present in this book is by no means confined to the ordinary, superficial observations of hurried travelers. Many serious topics too little understood by the American who has not ventured below Mason and Dixon's line are intelligently discussed in these pages.

Japan Day by Day. By Edward S. Morse. Houghton, Mifflin. Vol. I: 440 pp. Vol. II: 453 pp. Ill. The set \$8.

Professor Morse went to Japan forty years ago to take the chair of zoölogy in the Imperial University at Tokio. During his residence in Japan of nearly four years he kept a daily journal and made sketches. At that period Japan had emerged from her long state of isolation, had entered on the modern training of her armies, had founded a system of public schools, with government departments of War, Treasury, Agriculture, Telegraph, Post and Statistics, and, in short, had joined the family of modern nations. These changes, however, had not as yet made much impression on the larger cities of the country, and it was possible for Professor Morse to record a

great number of popular customs which have since become obsolete. It is this which gives peculiar value to his volumes. From the journal that he kept in those years, 777 sketches are reproduced.

Romance of Japan. By Elizabeth W. Champney and Frère Champney. Putnam's. 444 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

In this volume Mrs. Champney traces the ancient legends of Japan with a view to showing their relation to the history of the land and the people. There are many interesting illustrations, and a chapter on Japanese architecture is contributed by Frère Champney.

Persian Miniatures. By H. G. Dwight. Doubleday, Page & Co. 328 pp. Ill. \$3.

Mr. H. G. Dwight is one of the few Americans who have written acceptably within recent years on Oriental topics. Having spent much of his life in Constantinople, Mr. Dwight has come nearer than is possible for most Americans to acquiring the Eastern point of view. His new book on Persia, far from being a formal treatise or description, is rather a series of essays based on first-hand experience and attempting to convey to the reader the "feel" of the land rather than a compilation of dry-as-dust statistics.

The Old World Through Old Eyes. By Mary S. Ware. Putnam's. 565 pp. \$2.

A series of letters written to children during a three-years' sojourn in Oriental lands. Giving comparatively little space to description of natural scenery, the author is more interested in setting forth what she was able to learn regarding the results obtained in colonization and in the government of backward peoples by the Americans, English, French and Dutch.

The Elephant. By Agnes Herbert. Stokes. 284 pp. \$2.

An unusual and intimate account of the elephant's life in the African wilderness.

The Lure of Africa. By Cornelius H. Patton. Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, New York. 60 cents.

A summary of what Dr. Patton, as representative of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, learned during a recent extended journey in the Dark Continent. The promise of African progress makes a special appeal to Dr. Patton, and his book has been written largely with the purpose of stimulating a greater interest in African missions among the American churches.

HISTORY AND POLITICS

The Rebuilding of Europe. By David Jayne Hill. Century Company. 289 pp. \$1.50.

Dr. Hill's little volume—little only in quantity, great in its quality—is noteworthy for two characters, each of which it possesses in full. First, it is an essay in the philosophy of history by an eminent student of the development of Europe from the time of the Roman Empire to the present. Second, it is a contribution to the essential literature of the war, because it explains to thoughtful minds what the war is really about. Dr. Hill is at once the philosopher and the advocate of the cause of democratic internationalism. He shows us how the absolutism of the State has arisen as a conception, and how it must be modified and subjected to the common principles of right among men, in order that there may begin a wholly new era with a reconstructed Europe based upon an international law that is higher in authority than the particular States which are to become associated for the maintenance of peace based upon justice. No book of this season is better worth study. Behind it is Dr. Hill's scholarship in the history of diplomacy, and his exceptional experience as a high American official at Washington and at several seats of government in Europe.

A History of the United States Since the Civil War. By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. Macmillan. In five volumes. Vol. I: 579 pp. \$3.50.

This is the first of five volumes to be devoted to the past half-century of our national development. Inevitably more than half of this volume, covering the years 1865-68, is taken up with issues

that formed a legacy of the Civil War itself—the specific problems of Southern reconstruction and the attendant difficulties of President Johnson's administration. For the rest, the economic life of the North and West, particularly the Pennsylvania oil discoveries, the building of a transcontinental railroad to the Pacific Coast, the westward rush of settlement across the plains, the purchase of Alaska, the opening of Rocky Mountain mines, is treated at length.

Early Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Japan. By Payson J. Treat. Baltimore. Johns Hopkins Press. 459 pp. \$2.50.

By far the best account of official dealings between the United States and Japan in the early period is to be found in a new book just issued from the Johns Hopkins Press (Baltimore). It is entitled "The Early Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Japan, 1853-1865." It consists of a course of lectures given early in the present year by Dr. Payson J. Treat, professor of Far Eastern History in Stanford University. The volume appears in the series known as the Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, and is especially timely in view of the study of our relations with Japan that has recently been so quickened by contemporary events. Dr. Treat's work presents American and Japanese diplomacy in a favorable light, and the volume lays a worthy foundation for the examination of relationships subsequent to 1865. We are assured that Dr. Treat is to carry his work on and to give us an equally valuable presentation of the later phases of our relations with Japan.

ESSAYS ON MUSIC AND PAINTING

Unicorns. By James Huneker. Charles Scribner's Sons. 361 pp. \$1.75.

Mr. Huneker's new book is a miscellany of short papers on a diversity of themes, most of them gathered from periodical pages, and most of them dealing with dreamers of dreams in the Seven Arts. The Unicorn is his symbol of fantasy and intellectual freedom. "He is Pan. He is Puck. He is Shelley. He is Ariel. He is Whim. He is Irony." Among the large and heterogeneous flock here appraised we find musicians, painters, novelists, poets, metaphysicians, critics—American, English, Irish, French, German, Russian, Polish—such artists as Edward MacDowell, Remy de Gourmont, Henry James, Michael Artzibashef, Paul Cézanne, George Moore, Chopin, Wagner, Brahms, Joris-Karl Huysmans, Claude Bragdon, and several others. Of nearly all of them Mr. Huneker writes with sympathy, with fancy, humor, and appreciation. And always he writes brilliantly; though here the style is not quite so coruscant, perhaps, as in some of his earlier volumes. But this book is more, much more, intimately personal than any other he has published; and it is all very interesting and very pleasant reading.

Interpreters and Interpretations. By Carl Van Vechten. Alfred A. Knopf. 368 pp. \$1.50.

A younger American writer who patterns after Mr. Huneker in his choice of subjects and (a long ways after) in his style here offers a collection of entertaining essays under two distinct groupings indicated by his title. In the first group, "Interpreters," he gossips divertingly about the art and personality of such public benefactors as Mary Garden, Olive Fremstad, Geraldine Farrar, Mariette Mazarin, Yvette Guilbert, Feodor Chaliapine, and Waslav Nijinsky. In the second part of his book Mr. Van Vechten celebrates himself with keen enjoyment in writing of rag-time as an art form (!), in extolling moving-picture orchestral concerts, in pleading for a revolution in the production of operas (particularly in New York), in a discussion of novels that deal with music and musicians; and finally pub-

lishes what is perhaps the first account of one of the strangest figures in the history of music, Erik Satie, the obscure forerunner of the French impressionistic school.

Concerning Painting: Considerations Theoretical and Historical. By Kenyon Cox. Scribner's. 258 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

Not only painters and art students, but as well the layman seeking to cultivate an intelligent appreciation of the art of painting, will find both interesting and profitable for enlightenment this new book by Mr. Kenyon Cox, a gifted and scholarly American artist who has achieved distinction alike as a painter and as a writer on his art. It is filled with the results of sound thinking on the problems of painting, set forth in a lucid, mellow, and illuminating style. Mr. Cox begins with an inquiry into what painting essentially is and into the nature of its appeal to humanity; at the end of which inquiry, after considering painting first as an art of imitation, and secondly, as an art of relation, and making clear this double aspect that makes painting the extremely complicated, difficult, and exacting art that it is, he concludes with the sane and comprehensive definition that "There will always be some oscillation between the poles of representation and relation; but good art will always try to find a place of balance between them, and the greatest painting will always be that which attains the greatest degree of truth as an art of imitation compatible with the highest beauty and expressiveness as an art of relation." In a second section, dealing with "The Golden Age of Painting," he discusses the art of Leonardo, Michelangelo, Raphael, and Correggio, as constituting "The Culmination of the Renaissance"; the work of the Venetian school, and the Dutch and Flemish Painting of the Seventeenth Century. A third and final part of the book is devoted to "Some Phases of Nineteenth Century Painting," the aspects treated being Naturalism (under which head we get swift flashes of light on the work of many "realists" of varying kind and degree), Classicism, and "Mural Painting in France and in America."

EDUCATION IN AND OUT OF SCHOOL

Children's Stories and How to Tell Them. By J. Berg Esenwein and Marietta Stockhard, Springfield, Mass.: Home Correspondence School. 352 pp. \$1.50.

A book of great value to all who wish to acquire the art of telling stories to young children. Part of the book relates to the technical equipment necessary, knowledge of words, precision and fluency in their use, voice placing and proper articulation. Other chapters discuss the story-teller as the artist in character-building, the instiller of life, and joy and culture and a definite spiritual impulse that enriches life. Expert advice is given on the selection, preparation and invention of stories, also adaptation and

methods of narration. Fifty carefully selected stories are included in the volume.

The Play Way. By H. Caldwell Cook, M. A. Stokes. 367 pp. \$3.

All parents and instructors of the young should read this leisurely book, which answers in detail our inquiries as to some of the methods employed by the best English schools in character building. Mr. Cook, who is a teacher of English in the Perse School, thoroughly believes in the "Play Way" of education, and the results of his experiments in this method of natural study are accompanied by many illustrations, which are of great interest in themselves. The chapters on "General Principles" and "General Methods" are in their

literary quality essays on cultural education. They are distinguished by a spiritual vitality remarkable in practical manuals of educational theory. Mr. Cook states that after the war a social revolution of some kind will be necessary in England, and that even though peace be established by force of arms, it will still be necessary to bring it into living practice. His "Play Way" of education is "an endeavor to achieve right conduct in a true blend of the functioning of all man's powers." One sentence in his conclusion is noteworthy: "The spirit which makes images and the spirit which breaks them is one and the same. The sole enemy is the want of spirit which renders worship to the mere image."

Religious Training in the School and in the Home. By E. Hershey Sneath, George Hodges and Henry Hallam Tweedy. Macmillan Company. 341 pp. \$1.50.

A handbook for teachers and parents, adapted to use in the home either with or independently of the "King's Highway Series." This book in the main falls in with the most modern ideas of teaching that moral and religious instruction is best imparted in the form of stories and by means of play. The authors emphasize their belief that the sound political life of the nation is dependent upon the proper religious and ethical training of the young.

OTHER TIMELY PUBLICATIONS

The Air Man. By Francis A. Collins. Century. Ill. 236 pp. \$1.30.

A vivid, nervous portrayal of what the last few years have seen accomplished in the art and science of aviation. It is a wonderful record of achievement vastly stimulated by the war. America's part in the modern conquest of the air, as Mr. Collins points out, did not end with the work of the Wright brothers. Even before the fighting had begun in Europe, in 1914, American airplane scouts had done important service for our Army in Mexico. To-day thousands of our young men are in training for air work in the war and no branch of the military or naval service is more attractive. This book gives non-technical answers to questions constantly being asked by the interested amateur.

An American in the Making. By M. E. Ravage. Harper & Brothers. 266 pp. \$1.40.

Most Americans have quite as vague a knowledge of the Rumanian "settlement," or colony, in New York City as they have of any village or city in Rumania itself. Americans, it is well understood, are produced from every nationality under the sun and so we may well believe that a Rumanian immigrant can in course of time be thoroughly Americanized. This autobiography tells how the process, begun before the Rumanian youth had left his native land, was continued in New York and completed in the Middle West. The young man who tells this story was first a peddler, then a bartender and sweat-shop worker, and later a student in the University of Missouri. The publishers assure us that the tale is true.

Pictorial Photography: Its Principles and Practice. By Paul Anderson. Lippincott. 302 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Here is "an American book on American photography" that should meet with a glad welcome from all those makers of camera pictures who wish to do more than merely "press the button," who, in short, have gone beyond the elementary stage and feel a desire for pictorial expression; for they will find discussed in its pages the points

on which they want helpful suggestions and definite instructions. It is written from the scientific point of view, but in a graphic and readable style, and is not ultra-technical. The author, who is the lecturer in a school of photography, combines pictorial appreciation with a clear grasp of the fundamental principles upon which depends the success of all worth-while photography, and he elucidates those principles as well as the technical methods of their application, so that the student-worker may find and correct his mistakes and develop with understanding. Apparatus, Manipulation of Negatives and Enlarging, Printing Methods (including the technic of photogravure) are dealt with at length, and there are chapters on the technic of color photography, on photography by artificial light, and on motion picture photography. The illustrations include many diagrams of instruments and processes and several attractive examples of photography.

"War Papers." War Committee, Chapel of the Comforter, 10 Horatio Street, New York.

We can win the war only if every element in the nation gives and gives of its best. What contribution can the Churches best give? An inspiring answer is supplied by the series of War Papers which are being published by the War Committee of the Chapel of the Comforter, of which the following have already been issued: (1) How to Help; (2) Why We Are at War; (3) The Causes and Conduct of the War. These fine and vigorously written papers suggest that the first and greatest contribution which the churches can make, is a moral and religious understanding of the war and its meaning: that it is being fought neither for political nor for economic reasons, but is, in a supreme sense, a religious war, a war for the ideals of humanity, of justice and righteousness. Copies of these papers can be obtained from the War Committee at 10 Horatio Street, New York, in large quantities, for distribution, at cost; fifty copies for a dollar, in the case of Paper II. The purchase and distribution of these papers by churches would seem to be an ideal way of helping the nation to win the war.

POPULAR AND PATRIOTIC VERSE

THE publishers state that there is a steady demand for poetry, especially for anthologies of modern verse. One particularly suitable as a Christmas gift book is "Christ in the Poetry of To-day," edited by Mrs. Martha Foote Crow. In her Bulletin, "The America of the Poets," Mrs. Crow writes that we should study poetry even in war-time: "Because war-time is a time of soul teaching; we need to understand our national soul to see whether it will ring true in the trial. The poetry of the era is the best reflection of that era's true self. Hence we have in the voluminous poetry of to-day a good touchstone for the revelation of our national self." Mrs. Crow's lists of selected poetry by living American poets may be obtained by addressing Mr. Paul M. Paine, Public Library, Syracuse, N. Y.

"A Treasury of War Poetry," edited by Mr. George Herbert Clark, Professor of English in the University of Tennessee, contains about 130 British and American poems of the war which, in Mr. Clark's opinion, will achieve permanence. There are the best war poems from well-known poets, the chance melodies of casual perfection from those not well known, and verse inspired by the actual scenes of battle. These poignant strains, which combine strength, vividness and artistic balance with beauty wrought from the travail of the spirit, can never die so long as men are moved by deeds of valor and by the high adventure of the questing spirit. Among the authors are: Rupert Brooke, Allan Seeger, John Galsworthy, John Masfield, Gilbert Chesterton, Henry van Dyke, Robert Bridges, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, and Vachel Lindsay.

While the tang of Autumn still lingers in the air, "Camp-Fire Verse," edited by William Haynes and Joseph L. Harrison, will give savor of one's memories of life in the forest. There are nearly 150 poems of high quality on the out-of-door life, hunting, fishing and the adventures of the trail in this attractive anthology. The introduction is by Stewart Edward White.

"The Answering Voice," an anthology of one hundred love-lyrics by women, selected by Sara Teasdale, presents a lyrical interpretation of woman's point of view in love. An intimate touch felt in the delicacy and tenderness of the selected poems marks it as a companionable volume and one that will comfort and heal.

The "Collected Poems," 1904-1917, by Wilfred Gibson, brings together the poems Mr. Gibson wishes to preserve in permanent form. They include poems from his volumes of realistic verse, "Daily Bread," "Womenkind," "Borderlands and Thoroughfares," "Battle and Livelihood," and

also a play, "Akra, the Slave," which is practically new to Mr. Gibson's many admirers in this country.

The volume of "The Newark Anniversary Poems" contains those poems which were winners in the Poetry Competition held in connection with the 250th anniversary celebration of the founding of the City of Newark. Other poems suitable to the volume have been included with the prize winners, also the Official Newark Celebration Ode. The introductory chapters and plan for a National Anthology of American Poetry are by Henry Wellington Wack, editor of the *Newarker*.

"American Patriotic Prose and Verse," by Ruth Stevens and David Harrison Stevens, offers standard patriotic selections for juveniles arranged chronologically in order to present the record of American history. Biographical notes and data are given under each title. A splendid volume to inculcate the ardor of patriotism in the youthful mind, and also an agreeable aid to teachers of American history.

"To Uncle Sam and His Allies," McLandburgh Wilson dedicates a stirring collection of patriotic lyrics, "The Little Flag on Main Street." The poems are all in some way commemorative of the war. Many temper its tragedy with gay humor; others are full of sympathy, understanding and high courage. "Where the Flag Shows" measures popular sentiment in regard to the Stars and Stripes.

There's a certain sort of glory
That is throbbing in the street;
You can read the battle story
In the faces that you meet.

They have flung the colors gleaming
From their offices and homes,
And the flag is proudly streaming
From the many-towered domes,

For the battle fire has known it
Where the cannon thunder rolls,
And the citizens have flown it
From the windows of their souls.

John Oxenham writes in the preface of his newest collection of poems, "The Vision Splendid," that whether the outcome of the latest world-tragedy is loss or gain, rests with ourselves. We must learn the lesson taught on Calvary, that earthly loss can be a gain unto eternal life. Less melodic than the verse of previous volumes, these poems nevertheless pierce through the material sheathings of life to the splendor of spirit which shines undimmed above the darkness and the tragedy of war.

¹ Christ in the Poetry of To-day. The Woman's Press (600 Lexington Ave., New York. \$1.

² A Treasury of War Poetry. Edited by George Herbert Clarke. Houghton, Mifflin. 280 pp. \$1.25.

³ Camp Fire Verse. Duffield & Co. 244 pp. \$1.25.

⁴ The Answering Voice. Edited by Sara Teasdale. Houghton, Mifflin. 85 pp. \$1.25.

⁵ Collected Poems. By Wilfred Wilson Gibson. Macmillan. 552 pp. \$2.25.

⁶ The Newark Anniversary Poems. Gomme. 187 pp. \$1.25.

⁷ American Patriotic Prose and Verse. McClurg. 171 pp. \$1.25.

⁸ The Little Flag on Main Street. By McLandburgh Wilson. Macmillan. 139 pp. 50 cents.

⁹ The Vision Splendid. By John Oxenham. Doran. 151 pp. \$1.

CHRISTMAS GIFT BOOKS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

"We may see how all things are:
Seas and cities, near and far,
And the flying fairies' looks
In the picture-story books."

—STEVENSON.

WITH the approach of the Christmas season grown-ups may enjoy the pleasurable task of selecting gift books for children and young people. Happily delivered for the time being from literature written for adults, from facts, logic and boredom, they may invade the bookshops, where gleam the shining covers of fairy-tales. Within the pages of fairy lore, they can return to the free spirit of childhood, ride the air on flying carpets, greet elves, sprites and genii familiarly, delve into the mysteries of earth, air, fire, and water, and revisit the magical land of "Once-upon-a-time."

Dr. Stanley Hall has said: "Let me tell the stories to the children and I care not who writes the text-books." The child-nature is infinitely plastic to suggestion, and in the average acutely aware of literary texture. Only stories with definite moral, intellectual and imaginative values should be given to children. It is possible to find books that satisfy a natural love of beauty, zest for romantic adventure, and answer the querying of the youthful mind that gropes after fact-knowledge. Such books assist in crystallizing a proper attitude toward life, and build into the personality the positive qualities of candor, courage, stability, and faith.

FAIRY TALES AND NURSERY RHYMES

THE fairy tales that compare most favorably with those of the brothers Grimm, and Hans Andersen, are those commonly told by Russian peasants to their children and to each other. In



COVER DESIGN BY
CHARLES LIVINGSTON
BULL FOR "OLD CROW
STORIES," RETOLD FROM
INDIAN LEGENDS AND
FOLK TALES BY KATHAR-
INE JUDSON

"Old Peter's Russian Tales," by Arthur Ransome (Stokes), Peter, the Russian story-teller, sits in a little hut in a great forest of tall trees and tells tales to the children over the steaming samovar. Among the stories are "Frost," "The Daughter of the Snow," "The Cat Head-Forester," "Baba Yaga," and many others, equally naive and delightful.

"Tales of the Persian Genii" are wonder stories from the Persian retold by Francis Jenkins Olcott. (Houghton, Mifflin.) They carry boys and girls to Oriental gardens where they find Good Genii, Wicked Marids, fairies, witches, enchanters

and Flying Afrites. The first two series are taken from a quaint old volume published in England in 1765. Every story has ethical and educational value and assists in the development of the imagination. Four fantastic color plates of great beauty and bizarre design, executed by Willy Pogany, illustrate the tales.

"The Wonder Book of Fairy Tales" (Stokes) includes the best of old familiar fairy lore, exquisitely illustrated in color and in black and white by Florence Choate and Elizabeth Curtis, Grimm, Hans Andersen, the Arabian Nights, and the Old Tales of Perrault, are some of the

sources from which the stories have been drawn. The type is of a large size that will offer no strain to juvenile eyes.

"The Red Indian Fairy Book," by Francis J. Olcott (Houghton, Mifflin), contains sixty-four stories taken from the legends of various Indian tribes. One learns much from these tales of the poetic feeling possessed by Indians for birds, beasts, flowers, prairies, and forests. The illustrations are by Frederick Richardson.

"Indian Legends in Rhyme," by Grace and Karl Moon (Stokes), tell stories gathered at first hand from the Navaho Indians of the great Southwest. Very beautiful drawings in color and in black-and-white accompany the rhymes.

Katharine Judson has drawn the material for her amusing "Old Crow Stories" (Little, Brown) directly from Indian lore. They are illustrated by Charles Livingston Bull.

Quaint and curious tales of the Iroquois and Algonquin Indians have been retold by Ethel Brill in a form suitable for children in "The Boy Who Went East" (Dutton). They are delightful fairy stories and incidentally teach much about the life and thought of the North American Indians.



JACK CLIMBING THE
BEANSTALK

(A drawing in color by Elizabeth Curtis, from Stokes' "Wonder Book of Fairy Tales")

"Through the Rainbow" (Revell), by Florence Peltier, is one of the most distinctive fairy books of the year. The Raindrop Fairy takes a little girl through the different colored bands of a rainbow, and on to the end, where she finds the mysterious "Pot of Gold."

In "The Magic Slippers" (Little, Brown), Mabel Blodgett writes the story of the Princess Florizelle, who received a pair of sky-blue velvet shoes for tending the magic rosebush. These fairy



THE PRINCESS AND HER GOLDEN BALL

(From "The Frog Prince," a fairy story in Stokes' "Wonder Book of Fairy Tales." Drawing in color by Florence Choate)

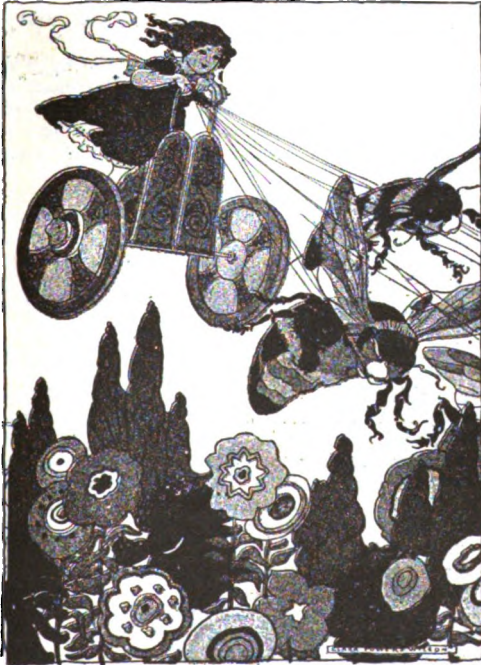


DRAWING BY ARTHUR RACKHAM, FOR "KING ARTHUR AND HIS KNIGHTS"

SLY OLD CROOKY CROW



DRAWING FOR "THE FUNNY FEATHERS," WRITTEN AND ILLUSTRATED BY LANSING CAMPBELL



FANTASTIC COLOR PLATE BY CLARA BOWERS WILSON, FROM "THROUGH THE RAINBOW," A FAIRY STORY BY FLORENCE PELTIER



A QUAIN DRAWING IN COLOR BY H. WILLEBEEK LE MAIR, FOR TRANSLATIONS, SET TO MUSIC, OF "OLD DUTCH NURSERY RHYMES"



DECORATIVE DRAWING FROM "THE SEVENTH CHRISTMAS," BY CONINGSBY DAWSON

shoes take her on many adventures, past the Ogre's castle and on to the land where Florizelle "lived happily ever afterwards."

A new edition of "The Water Babies," by Charles Kingsley, is beautifully illustrated in color by Maria L. Kirks (Lippincott).

"More Fairy Tale Plays," by Margaret Merington (Duffield), places in dramatic form, "Puss in Boots," "Three Little Bears," "Hearts of Gold," and "Hansel and Gretel."

"Dutch Nursery Rhymes" (McKay) will prove exceptionally pleasing to young musicians and child artists. It contains thirty-one pages of pictures and Dutch ditties set to the original tunes harmonized by J. Röntgen. The English translation is by R. H. Elkin, and the whimsical drawings in color executed with careful technic are the work of H. Willebeek Le Mair.

There are charming rhymes about Adirondack wild flowers, fairies, birds and sprites in "Beyond the Mountain," by Sarah Phelps Stokes Hallett. (Dutton.) The illustrations are by Katherine Pyle.

"In Picture Land," by Florence W. Switton (Dutton), will teach children to understand standard art. The famous paintings children love best are reproduced, accompanied by little explanatory stories in verse.

If you do not know what a "happifat" is be sure and make their acquaintance in "The Happifats and the Grouch," written and illustrated by Kate Jordan. The "happifats" love children, best of all little babies, and they are mortal enemies of the "Grouch."

The authentic "Old Mother Goose," with pictures by Mary Rose Donovan (Penn), will please youngsters. For those slightly older there is a splendid adventure story, "Castaway Island," by Perry Newberry, with pictures by F. A. Anderson (Penn).

BOOKS ABOUT ANIMALS AND BIRDS

"Wonders of the Jungle," by Prince Gnosh (Heath), will interest boys who like stories of the jungle and of animal life. Another book of

exceptional character is "Me'ow Jones," by Edward Lyman (Doran). This is the true tale of a Belgian refugee cat.

"Greyfur Neighbors" (two volumes) and "The Adventures of the Greyfur Family" (two volumes) are pleasant little tales with funny pictures (Lippincott).

"Mrs. Specklehen," an English book (Frowde, Hodder & Stoughton), has most amusing pictures, and "John Martin's Annual" (Doubleday Page), a larger story-book, carries many humorous sketches.

The "Funnyfeathers" (Dutton), one of the season's most entertaining books for children, has been illustrated by the author, Lansing Campbell. The book will delight small folks who like to invest birds with individual characters. The drawings in color and in pen-and-ink may be easily copied by ambitious youngsters who like to draw.

BOOKS FOR OLDER BOYS AND GIRLS

As a best suggestion, there is "The Romance of King Arthur and his Knights," abridged from Malory's "Morte D'Arthur," illustrated by Arthur Rackham (Macmillan). The text has been prepared under the editorship of Alfred W. Pollard, whose fine scholarship has made the books decidedly the most literary juvenile of the year. The adventures of King Arthur and his knights have given Mr. Rackham opportunity for many delicate and suggestive drawings in color and in pen-and-ink.

"The Seventh Christmas," by Lieutenant Coningsby Dawson (Holt), is a poetic tale of the happenings of the seventh Christmas in the carpenter-shop of Joseph in Nazareth. Rarely has there been written a Christmas story of such deep meaning and power. The symbolism is that of the eternal triumph of good over evil, and of life over death.

"Robin Hood," a standard juvenile by Paul Creswick (McKay), returns in a buoyant reprint, with color illustrations by N. C. Wyeth. These new pictures recreate the atmosphere of "Merrie England," and add much to the zest of the book.

"The White Christmas and Other Merry Christmas Plays," by Walter Ben Hare (Denison's), contains six sprightly dramas for children and young people. They are easily acted and produced, and their ideal is that of the Christmas season: Peace on earth, good will toward men.

Olden stories of chivalry and of the memorable deeds of famous knights are retold by Sir Henry Newbold in "The Book of the Happy Warrior" (Longmans, Green). Many of these are from the Latin and the French. Every story in the book should be familiar to the boy who loves his own land and aspires to the honor of becoming one of her defenders. The drawings in color and black and white are by Henry J. Ford.

"Insect Adventures," by J. Henri Fabre (Dodd, Mead), contains selections from the *Souvenirs* simplified for young people.

"With Cortez, the Conqueror," by Virginia Watson (Penn), is a sumptuous book for young people that follows closely Prescott's wonderful history, "The Conquest of Mexico." There are very beautiful and realistic full-page drawings in color by Frank E. Schoonover.

STORY BOOKS BY FOREIGN AUTHORS

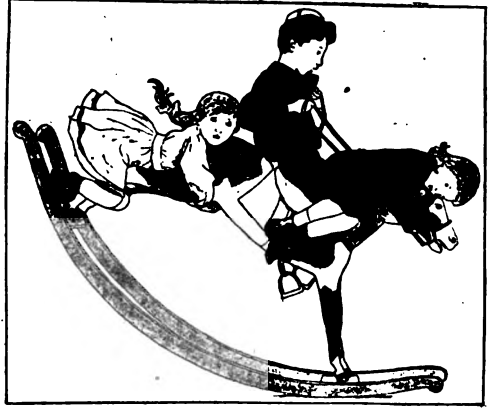
"What Sami Sang with the Birds" (Cromwell), by Johanna Spryi, author of "Heidi," is one of the helpful stories one can place in the hands of children. It has an old-world simplicity and charm, definite literary value, and teaches independence of action, love of nature, and trust in God.



MARGARET WIDDEMER

(Author of "The Wishing Ring Man," a story for young folks from sixteen to sixty)

Two holiday books by Anatole France are entitled "Girls and Boys" and "Our Children." The drawings and decorations are by the well-known interpreter of French child life, Boutet de Monvel.



COVER DESIGN FOR "GIRLS AND BOYS," BY ANATOLE FRANCE

(Drawn by the successful painter of child life, M. Boutet de Monvel)

A CLASSIFIED LIST OF HOLIDAY BOOKS

EDUCATIONAL GIFT BOOKS

Gardening for Little Girls. By Olive Hyde Foster. Duffield. 75 cents.

The World's Wonder Stories. By Adam Gowans Whyte. Ill. 284 pp. \$1.75.

American History for Little Folks. By Albert F. Blaisdell and Francis K. Ball. Little, Brown. Ill. 75 cents.

The Dot Signal Book (Semaphore system manual). By Clifford Sherman. Houghton, Mifflin. 50 cents.

When Daddy Was a Boy. By Thomas Wood Parry. Little, Brown. Ill. \$1.25.

An Eskimo Robinson Crusoe. By Roy J. Snell. Little, Brown. Ill. \$1.

The Way of the Gate. King's Highway Series. Ill. Macmillan. 65 cents.

The Way of Green Pastures. King's Highway Series. Ill. Macmillan. 65 cents.

The Adventures of Paddy the Beaver. By Thornton W. Burgess. Little, Brown. Ill. 50 cents.

Under the Blue Sky. By Zoe Meyer. Little, Brown. Ill. 50 cents.

Little Heroes. By Dorothy Donnel-Calhoun. Abingdon Press. Ill. 25 cents.

Little Folks on Thrones. By Dorothy Donnel-Calhoun. Abingdon Press. Ill. 25 cents.

Little Heroines. By Dorothy Donnel-Calhoun. Abingdon Press. Ill. 25 cents.

Little Folks Who Did Great Things. By Dorothy Donnel-Calhoun. Abingdon Press. Ill. 25 cents.

Little Star Gazers. By Julia Augusta Schwartz. Stokes. Ill. \$1.

STORIES OF SURPRISE AND ADVENTURE

The Treasure of Mushroom Rock. By Sidford F. Hamp. Putnam. Ill. \$1.25.

The Angel of Christmas. By Stella G. S. Perry. Stokes. Ill. 75 cents.

A Reversible Santa Claus. By Meredith Nicholson. Houghton, Mifflin. Ill. \$1.

Long Live the King. By Mary Roberts Rhinehart. Houghton, Mifflin. Ill. \$1.50.

IMAGINATIVE TALES

Mother West Wind. "When" Stories. By Thornton W. Burgess. Little, Brown. Ill. \$1.

Daddy's Bedtime Outdoor Stories. By Mary Bonnar. Stokes. Ill. 60 cents.

Guild, the Cavern King. By Mary L. B. Branch. Sherman French. \$1.

Cloud Boat Stories. By Olive Roberts Barton. Houghton, Mifflin. Ill. 50 cents.

In Santa Claus' House. By Florence Irwin. Little, Brown. Ill. \$1.25.

BOOKS OF RHYMES

Muvver and Me. By Robert Livingston. Houghton Mifflin. Ill. \$1.

All Around the Sun-Dial. By Caroline Hoffman. Dutton. Ill. \$2.

OLDER JUVENILES

The Wishing Ring. By Margaret Widdemer. Holt. 302 pp. \$1.25.

The Little Match Man. By Luigi Barzini. Philadelphia: Penn. 164 pp. \$1.25.

Elizabeth Bess, A Little Girl of the Sixties. By E. C. Scott. Macmillan. Ill. \$1.25.

The Princess of Let's Pretend. By Dorothy Donnel-Calhoun. Dutton. Ill. \$1.50.

While Shepherds Watched. By Richard Maher. Macmillan. \$1.25.

Boys and Girls of Many Lands. By Inez McFee. Crowell. Ill. 371 pp. \$1.75.

The Five Babbitts at Bonnyacres. By Walter A. Dyer. Holt. Ill. \$1.30.

The Boy Scouts on Crusade. By Leslie W. Quirk. Little, Brown. Ill. \$1.25.

The Boy Settler. By Edwin L. Sabin. Crowell. Ill. \$1.

Boy Holidays in the Louisiana Wilds. By Andrew Wilkinson. Little, Brown. Ill. \$1.50.

THE INVESTOR AND THE FALLING MARKET

THE period between the middle of October and the 15th of November was the most trying one to the holder of investment issues since the war began. He saw the market value of the highest grade securities shrink day after day, some days \$4 and \$5 a share, and equities that have been years in the making apparently destroyed. Very few who bought the best grade dividend-paying railroad common and preferred stocks at the lowest prices available in other declines since 1907 are now able to show a profit. In many instances quotations have gone below those of twenty and twenty-five years ago. Shares that have always commanded a good premium over par when they paid dividends of 5 and 6 per cent. are now at an alarming discount from par, though the actual amount of surplus over and above their dividend requirements is as large, and frequently larger, than in the past.

The Decline in Stocks

The investor who had not considered the seriousness of the war has had its depreciating effects brought home to him in pronounced fashion by this decline. He wonders what the remaining equity may be. Should he take what is left, selling at a serious loss what he has, or pin his faith in the future and buy more?

Months ago securities of the type under discussion seemed to be selling on a basis of yield that discounted further decline. It was known that at least \$2,000,000,000 worth had been liquidated by Europe. Her supplies, except those placed as collateral under foreign loans, had been rather thoroughly exhausted. A 6 per cent. return on a stock that earns its dividend twice or more times over has ever been attractive to the American investor. Where there was the possibility of some future appreciation in value such stocks were preferred to notes with one-fourth to one-half of 1 per cent. more return.

But war conditions have not seemed to satisfy the former investor at 6 per cent. He wanted 6½ and he got it. Then he was able to get 6¾, and finally, in the early part of November, he could make the most dis-

creet selection and provide himself with "gilt-edged" shares on a basis of from 7 to 8 per cent. Great Northern preferred, which had been sold by the hundreds of millions of dollars' worth to shareholders, at par, was offered below 90, and Northern Pacific, one of the most widely distributed railroad stocks, bought at par by its stockholders ten years ago, when the market quotation was 175 and better, dropped as low as 83½. The Pennsylvania Railroad has financed a large part of its requirements in the past decade with stock at par, but recently the selling price of this stock has been only 60 per cent. of the highest figure since 1909.

Holding and Buying Railroad Securities

Allowing for the general shrinkage in securities, due to the requirements of the Government and the readjustment to meet the rising returns on foreign issues of bonds, for the liquidation by wealthy owners because of their high taxes, and to undoubted selling of both stocks and bonds underlying foreign loans, there is the prominent factor in the railroad stock decline of fear that our Government may not recognize the seriousness of the railroad credit situation and support it before it is too late, and also the increasing anxiety over Government ownership.

The first condition promises to be relieved, at least temporarily, by another increase in freight rates. The Eastern carriers appeared before the Interstate Commerce Commission on November 5 and presented a strong argument for an immediate advance in their tariff. For the first time shippers interposed no serious objection—in fact, they agreed to stand by the decision of the Commission, even if it went against them. The relief expected will, in turn, diminish the possibility of Government control by assisting railroad credit and thereby improving service and enlarging facilities for such service.

A little study by the individual investor will prove to him whether the earnings behind his securities warrant holding them. It is obvious that this is no time to take risks or to hope for any decided improvement in net earnings over those current. If this study

satisfies him that the margin of safety is small, the only policy to pursue is to make exchange into other securities where the margin is large, even at some considerable sacrifice in value of principal and in income. On the other hand, where the margin is ample and the principal amount not required for current income it would be most unwise to dispose of prime investment railroad stocks at the present time.

But to go further: Should more of such stocks be purchased? It is the opinion of the writer that this may be done with safety. First of all are the Government require-

ments. Every individual should place his affairs in such shape that he can participate in each loan offered to the extent of from 10 to 50 per cent. of his income. There are many who are now relatively as wasteful of their income as the prodigal son, and while their principal is shrinking, they are making no effort to rebuild the broken structure of their fortunes, either large or small. They should do this by personal economy. Such economy, thoroughly carried out, would provide the basis of much capital surplus for investment in the type of stocks referred to in this and other articles.

WAR SAVINGS PROMOTION

AN organized movement for thrift has been instituted by the War Savings Committee in Washington, of which Frank A. Vanderlip is chairman, and whose work is expressed through the War Savings Certificates and the Thrift Stamps.

The plan under which saving on a small scale per individual is being promoted is one of the most interesting features of the war-financing program. It is simple in its operation and generous in its results.

To illustrate: At every post-office in the country and in practically all banks, department stores, at railway ticket-offices, at the cigar stand—in all places where people come together or at points from which they radiate—there will be placed on sale Thrift Stamps. These cost 25 cents each and are the size of a two-cent stamp. The purchaser is provided with a Thrift Card, which has spaces for sixteen stamps. When filled, the total value of the stamps, which may be added one at a time or in any number up to sixteen, will be \$4. The holder of the Thrift Card containing sixteen stamps turns this in, with cash of 12 cents up to 23 cents according to the month, and receives a War Savings Certificate with an attached stamp. If bought in December of this year or in January of 1918 this first stamp is valued at \$4.12. There is one cent a month increase. Consequently the cost of the stamps at the beginning and the end of each year, to 1923, is as follows:

	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
January	\$4.12	\$4.24	\$4.36	\$4.48	\$4.60
December	4.23	4.35	4.47	4.59	5.00

The Government pays interest at the rate

of 4 per cent. per annum on the War Savings Certificates, but nothing on the Thrift Stamps. Owing to the difficulty and expense in mailing or paying out the small sums that would be involved if the semi-annual interest payments on coupon or registered bonds were to be observed, the interest is allowed to accumulate and is compounded quarterly. If the original investment should have been \$4.12, the Government in 1923 would return the holder of the certificate \$5. This would actually mean that he had been getting $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on his money during the life of the certificate. For example: Amount paid in, \$4.10. Interest for five years at 4 per cent., 20 per cent. on \$4.10, or about 82½ cents. If there had only been the flat 4 per cent. rate of interest the return would be \$4.92½. Postal savings banks pay 2 per cent. interest per annum, the majority of savings banks 3 to 4 per cent., and very few as much as $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

It is expected that just as the buyer of a 25-cent Thrift Stamp will continue to buy until his sixteen spaces are filled and he is entitled to a War Savings Certificate stamp, so will the holder of the Savings Certificates go on adding stamps until the twenty spaces are covered with stamps and the 1923 value of the completed certificate is worth \$100. The plan holds before the individual the constant desire to complete his card or certificate and he saves and denies himself what is unessential and so does his bit for the Government and puts by for a rainy day.

The War Savings Certificates can and should be registered at the post-office most convenient to the holder and in his or her

name with full address. This relieves him of worry over loss. On the other hand, the Thrift Stamps cannot be registered and should therefore be attached to the Thrift Card as soon as purchased.

It is the confident expectation that \$500,000,000 as a minimum and \$2,000,000,000

as a maximum can be gathered in by the Government through this novel method. Consider now the wisdom of giving a War Savings Certificate stamp or even a Thrift Stamp for a Christmas present instead of some useless and quickly destroyed or forgotten article.

INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 884—PRESENT-DAY INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Within a short time I shall have a considerable fund for investment and would appreciate some suggestions as to its distribution. I note Pennsylvania Railroad stock is now low in price and that United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland notes can be purchased on a high-yield basis. What rate of dividend does Pennsylvania pay? At present prices, would you consider Union Pacific common a better purchase than Pennsylvania? What rate does Union Pacific pay?

To reply first of all to your specific questions about the stocks: Pennsylvania pays dividends at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum, figured on the basis of \$100 par value, whereas Union Pacific common pays regular dividends at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum, and for some time past has paid 2 per cent. per annum extra dividends. As between these two stocks, we think our preference would be Union Pacific, although Pennsylvania is to be considered a high-grade issue of its class.

Good, standard railroad stocks like these, we believe, might very well be considered for the investment of a part of your fund. We believe also that some of the short-term foreign issues like the British notes might advantageously be bought, with the addition, perhaps, of some of the short-term domestic corporation issues, such as Bethlehem Steel 5's, due in February, 1919; Delaware & Hudson 5's, due in August, 1920; General Electric 6's, due in July, 1920, and Great Northern 5's, due in September, 1920.

Then, for a substantial part of your fund, we think you might well consider high-grade, standard, long-term bonds yielding in the neighborhood of 5 per cent. at the coupon rate. The following issues are legal for the investment of savings-bank and trust funds in New York State. They are, therefore, representative of a very high-grade class of investments, and at prevailing prices they look attractive for the employment of private funds:

Baltimore & Ohio gold 4's, Northern Pacific general 3's, Illinois Central refunding 4's, Union Pacific first refunding 4's, Scioto Valley & New England 4's, Pennsylvania general 4½'s.

Or there are bonds of a trifle lower grade which appear scarcely less attractive at prevailing quotations, such, for example, as Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fé adjustment mortgage 4's, Atlanta & Charlotte Air Line 5's, Louisville & Nashville—Lexington & Eastern 5's.

No. 885—THE STOCK EXCHANGE AND THE "CURB" MARKET

I have lately been tempted to venture upon a little speculation in stocks, and have been watching quota-

tions on both the New York Stock Exchange and the "Curb" market. I am somewhat puzzled to know what the distinction is between these two markets for stocks. No one here seems to be able to explain the situation to me. Can you?

The reply we can make to this inquiry is to quote the following from the *Commercial & Financial Chronicle* of New York (a recognized authority on matters pertaining to the security markets), which appears as an introduction to that publication's record of "curb" prices:

"It should be understood that no such reliability attaches to transactions on the 'Curb' as to those on the regularly organized stock exchanges. On the New York Stock Exchange, for instance, only members of the exchange can engage in business, and they are permitted to deal only in securities regularly listed—that is, securities where the companies responsible for them have complied with certain stringent requirements before being admitted to dealings. Every precaution, too, is taken to insure that quotations coming over the 'tape,' or reported in the official list at the end of the day, are authentic.

"On the 'Curb,' on the other hand, there are no restrictions whatever. Any security may be dealt in and anyone can meet there and make prices and have them included in the lists of those who make it a business to furnish daily records of the transactions. The possibility that fictitious transactions may creep in, or even that dealings in spurious securities may be included should, hence, always be kept in mind, particularly as regards mining shares. In the circumstances it is out of the question for anyone to vouch for the absolute trustworthiness of the record of the 'Curb' transactions, and we give it for what it may be worth."

No. 886—ERIE COMMON

I am the administrator of an estate in which there is considerable Erie common. Would you advise selling or holding the stock for a better market? I have several months yet in which to close the estate.

There appear to have been special circumstances surrounding the recent decline in the market price of this and other Erie issues, in view of which we are inclined to think it would be to your advantage to wait. The general character of the stock in question is such that we think it would undoubtedly be wise to make a change eventually, however. You appreciate, of course, the risks one always runs in undertaking to make definite forecasts of the future course of market prices of purely speculative securities like Erie common.

